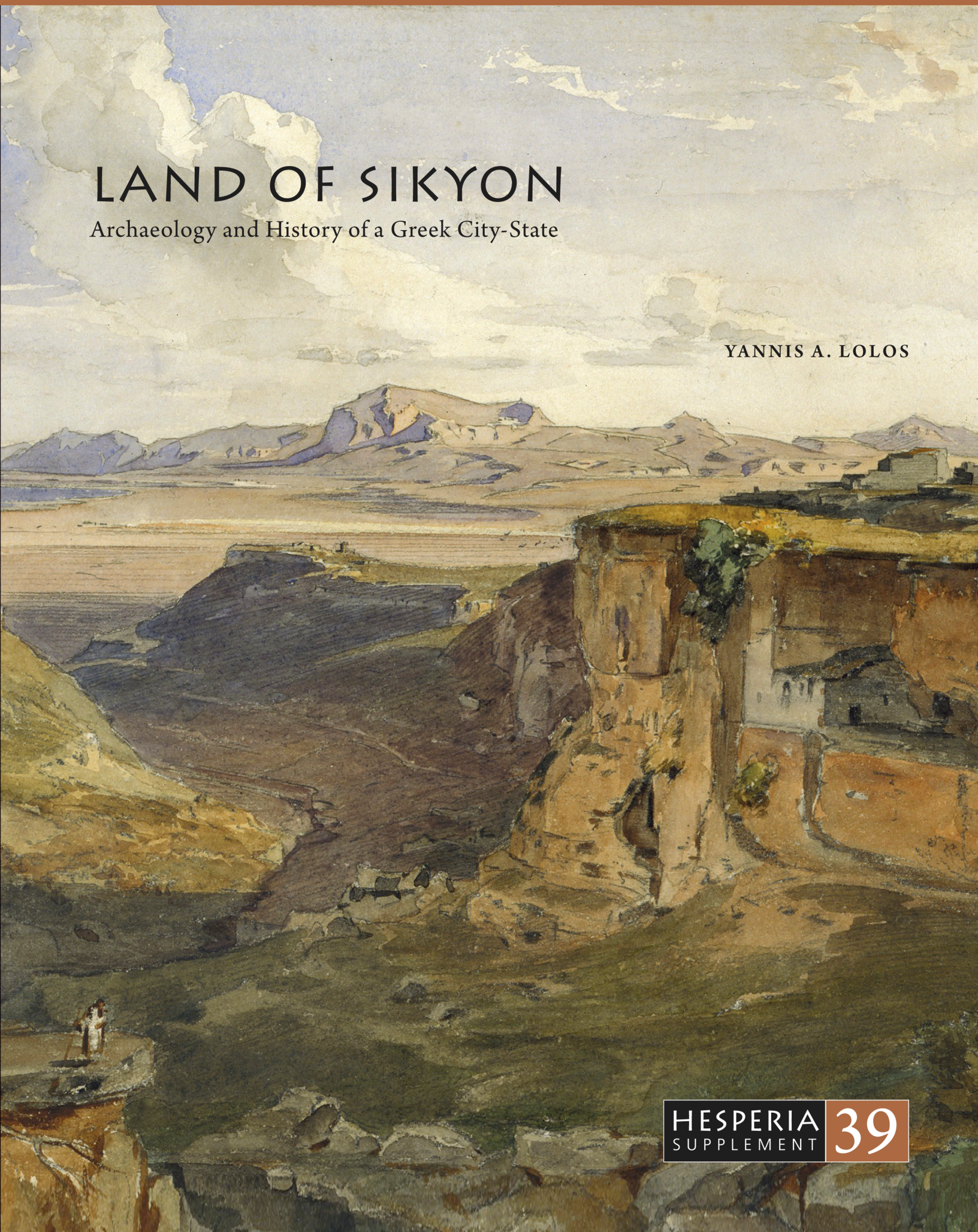
LAND OF SIKYON

Archaeology and History of a Greek City-State

YANNIS A. LOLOS



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LAND OF SIKYON

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Yannis A. Lolos

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY
Aristoteles Koskinas, Lina Kormazopoulou, Ioanna Zygouri,
Vassilis Papathanassiou, and Angelos Matthaiou

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The archaeological exploration of the territory of an ancient Greek city-state is a formidable task, as I have come to realize. Sikyon in antiquity comprised a land of approximately 360 km^2, which extended from the coastal plain to the semimountainous and mountainous zones of the south, and included various geomorphological units: alluvial plains, conglomerate and marly conglomerate terraces, upland basins, rolling and steep hills, and mountainsides.The sheer size and scope of the land of Sikyon—its geographical variety, but also the legacy of its ancient history as told by the written sources—posed great challenges. Faced with such an overwhelming project, I decided to tackle it in stages. I first familiarized myself with the topography, then investigated the passes and roads crossing the countryside from antiquity to early modern times, and finally explored the settlement patterns and other remains of human activity in the area across the centuries. The end result is a reconnaissance of the land of this important city and should by no means be considered a final treatment of the subject. In fact, in many respects my work invites further exploration of specific areas and sites that have yielded significant finds or have raised puzzling questions.

In all stages of the research, I was fortunate to have wise guidance and tremendous help and support from various individuals. This study started as a doctoral dissertation in the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of California at Berkeley. I am deeply indebted to my advisors, Ronald S. Stroud, Stephen G. Miller, and Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr., for their insightful and thorough comments. Ron Stroud, in addition, accompanied me in the field twice, and has enthusiastically embraced the whole effort throughout. I benefited from discussions with the late W. Kendrick Pritchett, who shared with me his unparalleled knowledge of ancient Greek history and topography. Yannis Pikoulas spent two weekends in Sikyonia with me, and he read parts of the manuscript, making important additions. My debt to him and to his scholarly work is apparent throughout the book. Many thanks are also due to John Cherry, with whom I had a number of stimulating conversations on survey archaeology during 1998–1999.

I am grateful to the staff of the 4th and now 37th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities—namely, the ephors Elsa Spathari, Zoe Aslamantzidou, and Alekos Mantis; the archaeologists Anna Banaka and Yota Kassimi; and the draftsperson Kiki Athanasouli—for their efficient help in acquiring the permit for the fieldwork. The secretary of the Greek Archaeological Society, Vasilios Petrakos, and the archivist Ioanna Ninou promptly responded to my requests for material from the Orlandos archive. The archaeologist Photini Balla helped me with the survey of the city walls in the early stages of the project. During the 2001 field season I was assisted by three young archaeologists, graduates of the University of Ioannina: Aristoteles Koskinas (author of Appendix II), Myrsini Gouma, and Kostas Satolias. Their great interest in the project, their expertise, and their amazing stamina enabled us to cover significant ground that year. The architectural plans that accompany the text (Figs. 1.34, 3.46, 4.45, 4.56, 4.66, and 4.81) are the product of an electronic survey conducted with enthusiasm and energy by three senior students of topography in the Technological Institution of Athens: Dimitris Karakaxas, Vasilis Marras, and Kostas Botos. I am extremely grateful to them, as well as to their advisors Makis Avoritis and Philippos Zoidis, who made available to us a high-quality laser theodolite (Sokkisha Set 4c). All photographs are my own unless otherwise indicated. Excerpts of ancient literary sources are from the Loeb editions unless otherwise indicated.

Special thanks are due to the local inhabitants of the area, who literally guided me to the antiquities of their villages. Without them my task would have been much more difficult and much less successful. My aunts Charikleia Lolou and Maria Predari, residents of the village of Kokkoni, and my uncle, the late Evgenios Karachalios, native of the village of Stylia, put me in touch with people living throughout Sikyonia. In almost every village I encountered at least one inhabitant (and often more) who was genuinely interested in ancient remains and was willing to share his or her knowledge with me. Among these, I am especially indebted to the following: Angelos Bouvis (Kiato); the late Christos Kakavakis (Vasiliko); Photis Ioannou (Tarsina); Panagiotis Dardanis (Stimanga); Antonis Teknos (Kastraki); Georgios Stasinopoulos and Nikos Mikos (Bozika); Dimitrios Tourgellis (Asprokampos); Takis Kallianiotis, papa-Anastasios Skouphis and the late Spyros Papoutsis (Titane); Dimitrios Triantaphyllou and Christos Kalantzis (Gonoussa); Kostas Zarkos, Panagiotis Zarkos, the late Nikolaos Zarkos, Panagiotis Tsolakos, and Sotiris Lepesiotis (Kryoneri); Vasilis Mytas (Souli); Spyros Drimeris (Megali Valtsa); the late Dimitrios Georgiou (Throphari); Nikos Kampouris and Panagiotis Vasilopoulos (Panariti); Panagiotis Tsatsaris (Manna); Yannis Antoniou (Velina); Vlasis Sotiropoulos and Nikos Valatas (Zemeno); Vassilis Papaioannou (Thalero); Tasos Pappas (Pasio); Stavros Belitsis and the late Aristomenes Arberores (Archaia Korinthos); Andreas Papachristou (Velo); Nikos Bitsakos (Vochaiko); Kostas Sokos (Ano Diminio); Yannis Karathanassis (Evangelistria); Konstantinos Kellaris and Evangelos Theleritis (Kaisari); Georgios Karachalios (Melissi); Dimitris Kitsalias (Poulitsa); Antonis Karachalios (Stylia); and Kostas Tsiougos (Ellinochori). Petros Tsiougos, former head *(proedros)* of the community of Ellinochori, deserves special mention, since

he has been like a father to me during the course of the project, always ready to guide me to the antiquities of his village and its broader area.

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would like to thank my family for their encouragement throughout, and Leda Costaki for her unlimited support and assistance. This volume is dedicated to the memory of my father, Andreas, who did not live to see it completed.

Postscript. The manuscript for this book was submitted at the end of September 2005. Since then, a five-year intensive surface survey was conducted on the plateau of Sikyon by the University of Thessaly, in collaboration with the 37th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, and the University of York. The results of these investigations, which are now being processed, supplement and in some cases correct earlier observations presented in this volume. I have tried to take into account these recent findings during the final review of the text, but have kept changes and additions to a minimum.

Introduction

Archaeologists and ancient historians associate the name Sikyon with the artistic excellence exemplified in the now-lost works of her famous sculptors and painters, as well as with two powerful political figures, the tyrant Kleisthenes in the Archaic period and the general Aratos in the 3rd century B.C. Accordingly, excavations in the city have had the specific aim of recovering works of art and monumental buildings, both of which were commonly encountered in the area of the agora and the theater. These artistic expressions, however, are only a single, limited aspect of the history of the area. In my investigation of Sikyonia I have moved beyond the civic and temporal boundaries that have limited earlier studies to focus on the Sikyonian countryside from antiquity to the Ottoman era. At the same time, the geographical extent of my study, within the political boundaries of the city-state, reveals its bias toward the period of the Greek polis. Before that period (in Mycenaean times) and after it (in the Byzantine and Ottoman eras), Sikyonia was part of larger administrative and territorial units. Since the study area was not a self-sufficient unit in these periods, the patterns observed relate to, and are determined by, this broader context.

ORGANIZATION

The structure of this book reflects my gradual approach to the Sikyonian landscape. The first chapter deals with the political boundaries of the ancient city-state, its physical landscape, and its natural resources, and examines how these resources were exploited in antiquity as well as in post-antique periods. In Chapter 2, I outline the political and military history of the area from Mycenaean times to the Greek War of Independence, basing my account mainly on written testimonia.

In the third chapter I deal with the roads that crossed Sikyonian territory, for which literary sources are limited but physical remains are abundant. Literary evidence is even more scanty concerning fortifications; I discuss these in Chapter 4, which, like Chapter 3, is based to a great extent on the results of my topographical survey of 1996–1998. My pairing of these

two chapters assumes a relationship between road networks and military needs in ancient Greece. Modern scholars have not given as much attention to this relationship as to the impact of trade routes on land development,[1] yet we often find in connection with roads, either alongside or overlooking their course, various forts (φρούρια, τείχη) and fortified posts: patrol houses (περιπόλια), guard houses (φυλακτήρια), and watch/signal towers (φυλάκια, φρυκτώρια, and σκοπαί).[2] These posts were meant to accommodate a small garrison, or simply a few guards, in order to watch over the main country roads leading into and out of the state's territory and to patrol its frontiers. Some of these structures were in signal communication with forts or the city itself. Together they formed the defensive web of the state's territory, securing military and civic readiness in critical periods. This does not mean that the guards stationed in these forts and towers could keep a hostile army out of the city's territory.[3] Their role was to watch over any threatening movements of the enemy, and to some extent deter small troops of hit-and-run marauders. Forts also served as rallying points for the people inhabiting the countryside in critical periods.

The various forms of settlement in Sikyonia, from the *asty* itself to small towns (πολίσματα), villages (κῶμαι), and simple farmsteads, are discussed in Chapter 5, which mainly draws upon the results of the extensive site-based survey that we carried out between 2000 and 2002. Finally, in Chapter 6, I explore the sanctuaries of the city and the countryside as they can be reconstructed from literary testimonia, rescue excavations, and our survey evidence.

The text is complemented by a series of appendixes. The Register of Sites in Appendix I includes habitation sites (abbreviated HS in the text); special-purpose sites (SP), namely, nonhabitation sites such as quarries, cisterns, terrace walls, sanctuaries, rural churches, storage sheds, and animal pens; traces of roads (RS); defensive sites (DS); and, finally, alleged sites (AS), that is, sites that are mentioned by earlier investigators or local informants but that no longer exist, or could not be located. The distinction between these different types of sites, particularly between habitation and special-purpose sites, is not always straightforward, as I explain below. In addition, a few sites had more than one function, such as Titane (HS-67), which was primarily a sanctuary with a settlement around it and a fort planted on the hill, or Thekriza (HS-54), a large settlement with a military tower adjacent to it. In such cases, I have usually created a separate entry in the Register for each function (e.g., for the military tower adjacent to Thekriza, see DS-10). In the second appendix, Aristoteles Koskinas presents a preliminary study of the roof tiles observed in the survey, the most common type of artifact found in the countryside and one whose significance has been little explored. The third appendix deals with the two aqueducts of Sikyon, remains of which were found in various places but are not recorded in the Register of Sites. The fourth appendix focuses on a rock-cut inscription that I located near what I consider to be the southwestern border of Sikyonian territory. In Appendix V, Lina Kormazopoulou, Ioanna Zygouri, and Vassilis Papathanassiou present a recently excavated sacred cave—in fact, the only excavated cave of Sikyonia frequented during the Archaic and Classical periods. An inscribed sherd that was found in that

1. The only study to address the road and defensive systems together was published by Pikoulas (1995). The author presents abundant physical evidence for roads connecting the Corinthia to Arkadia and the Argolid, and raises the possibility that some of these roads had been built by the Spartan *symmachia* during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.; see Pikoulas 1995, pp. 349–352, more emphatically argued in Pikoulas 2001.

2. Contra Munn (1993, p. 16): "the assertion that forts were intended to defend roads is a modern deduction, supported by no ancient authority." This *argumentum ex silentio* is not convincing; ancient sources rarely mention common, let alone obvious, practices of their time. The fact that many Greek forts had a commanding view over main routes and passes is not an accident, but implies a deliberate decision on the part of the state.

3. Harding (1988) and Munn (1993, pp. 18–25) convincingly argue against Ober's thesis (1985) that Athenian border forts were meant to prevent enemies from entering Attica.

cave and identifies the divinities worshiped there is the topic of the sixth appendix, authored jointly by Angelos Matthaiou and myself. In the final appendix, I present a 16th-century inscription built into a church below the village of Vasiliko that gives the name of the founder and the date of that monument.

RESEARCH

Survey Work

As stated above, my approach toward the Sikyonian countryside was gradual, starting with a topographical survey and proceeding to an extensive survey of broader scope. In the earlier stages of the study (1996–1998), I familiarized myself with the landscape, defining its political boundaries, and explored the road network, as well as the defensive installations, forts, and towers. The starting point for such field investigations has traditionally been the local café or *kapheneion,* an ideal place to meet with the inhabitants of a village or town. This method was adopted by Yannis Pikoulas in his surveys of Lakonia, Arkadia, Argolis, and the Corinthia, and it yielded spectacular results.[4] It operates on the simple and logical premise that no one knows a given area better than the people who live there, cultivate the land, graze their animals, or simply hunt for pleasure. Obviously, not every farmer, shepherd, or hunter is aware of all of the visible antiquities in their area; my experience has shown that only a few have the curiosity, sharp eyes, and drive for historical knowledge that mark true connoisseurs.

My first task, then, was to find the "right people," the second to convince them to share their knowledge with me. I was not always successful, and sometimes the information provided was insufficient to guide me to particular spots: a short section of wheel-ruts hidden in the bushes can easily escape the attention of even the most observant surveyor. This is one of the benefits of collaborating with locals, namely, to learn about and access areas that are now completely overgrown with thick vegetation but were formerly traversable. Local inhabitants can also describe structures that no longer exist, whether because of infrastructure work or because of the aggressive agricultural exploitation that is now widely practiced throughout the Greek countryside. In both of these respects our survey work greatly benefited from close collaboration with the inhabitants of local communities.

The exploration of past habitation and other signs of activity in the countryside was the aim of the extensive survey of 2000–2002. It was carried out in two stages. First, I solicited the help of locals, particularly farmers, in order to locate and record sites with artifact scatters. In the second stage, I walked the recorded sites (as well as other areas, chosen at random) with a small team of experienced archaeologists. In addition to the standard equipment (brush, measuring tape, compass, conventional camera, record sheets, etc.), we carried a digital altimeter, a digital camera, and a handheld GPS (satellite coverage in most parts of Sikyonia is fairly good). We walked the fields usually spaced 5 m apart, and occasionally 2.5 m

4. The method is described in Pikoulas 1995, pp. 9–13.

apart. The direction of fieldwalking and the space between walkers was often predetermined by the orientation and layout of the vineyards that dominate the Sikyonian landscape; in most areas of the Corinthia today, vineyards are planted along parallel lines set 2.5 m apart.

Our first concern was to verify that we did have a "site," as opposed to an off-site scatter, and this we established by comparing the artifact density on the site to the density of finds in the surrounding area. Our next concern was the nature of the site, which we determined based on the amount, kind, and overall presence of pottery, as well as on the site's location and associated structures. Thus, miniature vases are typical of sanctuaries, and tableware, cookware, and storage vessels are typical of habitation sites, whereas good-quality tiles (with fine glaze) and dressed blocks are rather inconsistent with a simple animal pen. Of course, reality is always more complex, since a country house can later be converted into a storeroom or an animal pen, as still happens in Sikyonia today. The exact location of a site is given in X/Y coordinates in the Greek Geodetic Reference System (*EGSA* 87).[5]

Written Sources

In identifying and interpreting various sites I took into consideration appropriate ancient and medieval narratives, historical maps, and descriptions offered by early modern travelers and 20th-century scholars. These documents were invaluable in contextualizing, confirming, and often supplementing the physical remains.

Ancient writers not only provide us with historical cases for the use of roads and fortresses, as well as occasionally mentioning settlements and sanctuaries of the *chora,* they also include topographical clues that help us locate and identify some of these sites. Their testimonies are based on autopsy (ὄψις) and personal experience (ἐμπειρία). That autopsy had a value central to ancient historiography has been recognized only relatively recently.[6] Personal experience as a methodological concept developed in the 4th century and appears prominently in the work of Ephoros,[7] which is particularly significant for us since Diodoros, who drew extensively on Ephoros's narrative, is one of our main sources concerning Sikyonian topography. Xenophon, in his *Hellenica,* includes lengthy chapters on events that took place in the northwestern Peloponnese and involved the territories of Corinth, Sikyon, and Phlious. Xenophon's physical presence in Corinth lends credibility to his account: Diogenes Laertius tells us that Xenophon found refuge in Corinth in the aftermath of the battle at Leuktra and quotes Demetrios of Magnesia, who wrote that Xenophon died there in the year 360/59 (Diog. Laert. 2.53, 2.56).[8] Plutarch's *Life of Aratos,* which I used extensively, is based on the memoirs of the famous Achaian *strategos* himself. Pausanias visited Sikyon after leaving Corinth and before heading to Phlious; his itinerary and his topographical notes are particularly helpful in trying to reconstruct the urban topography, as well as the road network and sacred landscape of the state.

However valuable historical testimonia may be, they contain few explicit references to roads, defensive structures, settlements, or sanctuaries

5. For our method of obtaining site coordinates, see below, pp. 269–270.

6. See in particular Nenci 1955; Laffranque 1963; Schepens 1980. Nenci (1955, p. 29) observes that "Greek historiography is the daughter of geography," in which autopsy was the obvious means of research. In this respect it differs radically from modern historiography, which, as Hockett (1955, pp. 7–8) puts it, "is not a science of direct observation." This new conception of the task and method of history goes hand in hand with the appearance of a new type of historian in the 19th century. Whereas in the past, the majority of historians had played a significant role in the public life of a city, the 19th century saw the appearance of the "scholar"; in Schepens's words (1980, p. 12), "the βιβλιακὴ ἕξις took priority over the ἐξ αὐτῶν πραγμάτων ἕξις" (my translation).

7. For the historical method of Ephoros, see Schepens 1970.

8. For Xenophon in Corinth, see Delebecque 1957, pp. 312–341; and Anderson 1986.

unless these sites happen to play a role in the events under discussion. Watch/signal towers, for example, are nearly absent from the narratives of the historians. Likewise, Pausanias is an invaluable source on urban topography and the sanctuaries of the countryside, but he had little interest in other types of sites, such as smaller settlements and defensive structures.

Having considered the limitations of the ancient sources, we can now assess the value of the diaries of early modern travelers. Unlike the ancient historians, early travelers were primarily concerned with the antiquities themselves, including forts, towers, roads, and settlements. They visited Greece when it was still untouched by technological development, even as it was defined in their time. Intensive farming was limited to a few areas, whereas the majority of mountainous land was devoted to grazing and cereal cultivation. An impressive array of travelers visited Sikyon, either from Corinth or Patras, during the early 19th century: Clarke (1801–1802), Gell (1804–1805), Dodwell (1801, 1805–1806), Leake (1805), Pouqueville (1816), and Ross (1840); these were followed by, during the 1840s and 1850s, Rangabé, Vischer, Clark, and Wyse (among others).[9] Travelers from earlier centuries include Cyriaco di Ancona (1436), Wheler (1675), and the infamous Abbé Fourmont (1729–1730). Cyriaco passed by Sikyon briefly in late April 1436 on his way from Corinth to Kalavryta, but his writings are almost entirely lost.[10] Unfortunately, the correspondence of Fourmont remains largely unpublished, but Wheler's description is available.[11] Study of their accounts and the location of their reference points, many of which have since changed, is facilitated considerably by old maps and drawings.

One of the earliest and finest maps is the *Carte de la Grèce,* drafted by the Expédition scientifique de Morée and published in 1852. In the second half of the 19th century, Miliarakis (1886) and the Guides-Joanne (1891) both published maps marking the names of mountains, rivers, plains, and villages in the area. A second tradition, which started with Leake (1830) and Curtius (1851–1852) and continued with Kiepert's *Neuer Atlas* of 1879, emphasized ancient toponyms and aimed to locate them and mark them on a map. The maps produced by these scholars are full of suggestions regarding the locations of various forts, *polismata,* and *komai,* or the courses of ancient roads, based on their own interpretations of the material evidence and of the relevant sources. The maps of the earlier tradition mark the main roads in use during the time they were drafted. Many of these undoubtedly go back to the Classical period: hardly any wagon roads were constructed, at least in this part of Greece, in Byzantine, Frankish, and Ottoman times, due to the general absence of wagons,[12] and we know that the European travelers moved about Greece on foot and on horseback.[13] The first program of road building in Greece was established by King Otto in 1833, but very few roads were actually constructed.[14] On the other hand, not all 19th-century roads marked on contemporary maps were ancient; some were created to serve villages of the post-Medieval era. These villages appear on some early maps as well as in archives dating from the period of the second Venetian occupation, such as the Nani Archive or the list of Alberghetti.[15]

The earliest attempts to address the topography of Sikyonia were made by Robert Gompf and Hermann Bobrik, in 1832 and 1839, respectively,

9. See Clarke 1818; Gell 1817; Dodwell 1819; Leake 1830; Pouqueville 1826, 1827; Ross 1841; Rangabé 1857; Vischer 1857; Clark 1858; Wyse 1865.

10. Stoneman 1987, p. 30.

11. Wheler 1682.

12. The first two-wheeled chariot in Greece was introduced during the first years of Otto's kingship: Despotopoulos 1940, pp. 535–536.

13. In 1800, the French painter and antiquarian François Louis Fauvel, wishing to send antiquities to France, had to have a cart brought to Athens from Toulon; see Pikoulas 1995, p. 25, n. 51.

14. *MEE*, vol. 10, pp. 815–816, s.v. Ὁδοποιία Ἑλλάδος (A. Oikonomou). In 1852, the entire road network of Greece was only 168 km long: see the table in Despotopoulos 1940, p. 537.

15. See below, pp. 354–359.

but neither of these authors was able to visit the area personally. A remarkably high-quality article by Ludwig Ross on the fortresses of the Sikyonian territory appeared in 1840. In the 1920s, Ernst Meyer visited the western section of Sikyonia as part of his Peloponnesian "Wanderings" and produced a chapter on it for his 1939 monograph. He was succeeded in 1970 by Nikolas Pharaklas, who published the results of his fieldwork as a separate volume of the Ancient Greek Cities series. Pharaklas's "survey" is by no means comprehensive, and it contains a number of inaccuracies and errors. Nonetheless it does provide, along with Meyer's chapter, precious evidence for now-lost antiquities. Important topographical and archaeological information is also included in local books and pamphlets dealing with various historical aspects of a handful of Sikyonian villages. Finally, Charles Skalet's (1928) and Audrey Griffin's (1982) monographs on Sikyon focus on the political history of the state and its artistic tradition, but their topographical contributions are minimal.

Excavations

The first reported dig in Sikyonian soil dates from 1802. In late summer/early fall of that year, Sebastiano Ittar, working on behalf of Lord Elgin, spent 15 days in Sikyon where "he employed two diggers for six days for diggings made round the gymnasium, stadium, theatre and other investigations."[16] Systematic excavations came later and concentrated on the plateau of the Hellenistic and Roman city: first the American School of Classical Studies focused on the theater, and later the Greek Archaeological Society worked in the area of the agora under the direction of Anastasios Orlandos and, to a lesser extent, Kalliope Krystalli-Votsi.[17] Orlandos's discoveries are important for understanding the spatial organization of ancient city, as I outline in Chapter 5. Finally, the local Ephoreia of Antiquities has carried out a few rescue excavations both on and below the plateau of the city, as well as in other areas of Sikyonia.[18] Their results supplement our survey data, particularly for areas where surface survey was essentially fruitless—as, for example, on the coast, where the ancient strata are buried beneath a thick alluvial fan.

16. Smith 1916, p. 219. The later American and Greek excavators of the area do not seem to have taken notice of these amateur initiatives.

17. See Brownson and Young 1893; Earle 1889a, 1889b, 1891, 1892, 1893; Fiechter 1931; Fossum 1905; Krystalli-Votsi 1984, 1988, 1991a, 1991b; McMurtry 1889; Orlandos 1933, 1934, 1935a, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1947, 1952, 1954, 1955, 1956; Petrakos 1989; Philadelpheus 1926a.

18. See Alexandri 1965; Charitonidis 1968, p. 124; Daux 1956, p. 256; 1958, p. 702; 1963, p. 736; Drosogianni 1968; Georgopoulou 1989; Kassimi 2004; Kormazopoulou and Zygouri 2003; Koutivas 1962, pp. 56–59; Krystalli 1968; Krystalli-Votsi 1976, 1983; Pallas 1977, pp. 175–176; Pyriovolis 1986; Skarmoutsou 1992; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 1999; Skias 1919; Stikas 1947; Tsophopoulou-Gkini 1988.

Physical Environment and Resources

Sikyonia occupies the area in the northern Peloponnese between Achaia to the west and the Corinthia to the east, opposite the city of Kirra on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf.[1] In this chapter I discuss the physical environment of the state. I begin with a description of its landscape, and then proceed to an examination of its political boundaries and its geology, climate, and water sources. Next, I briefly present the ecosystem of the area, and finally, its natural resources. Familiarity with all of these physical details is necessary in order to put the political history of the state, its roads and defensive works, and its settlements and sanctuaries in their proper context. Nikolas Pharaklas devotes a section to geography in his monograph on Sikyonia, but it is brief and not comprehensive.[2]

THE LANDSCAPE

The territory of ancient Sikyon stretched from the Nemea River in the east to the Sythas River in the west, and from the Corinthian Gulf in the north to Thyamia and modern Gavrias in the south (Map 1). It included two mountain ranges that run roughly in a northeast–southwest direction and are separated by a deep river valley. There were also two plains: the western plain between Vesiza and the northernmost foot of Mount Kyllene, and the fertile plain along the gulf, fed by numerous rivers and cut by several ravines. Roughly measured, some 83% of the Sikyonian territory (300 out of 360 km^2) was mountainous or semimountainous (240 km^2 and 60 km^2, respectively). The territory rises from sea level to an elevation of ca. 1,200 masl in the south and southwest, and to ca. 700 masl in the southeast.

Mountains

The mountain range of Trikaranon, in modern times known as Spiria, dominates the eastern part of Sikyonia. It is mentioned a number of times by Xenophon, in connection with military events involving the city of

1. On the location of Sikyonia between Corinthia and Achaia (Pellene), see Hdt. 1.145; Ephoros, *FGrH* 2A, F20, 18c; Strabo 8.2.2, 8.7.4; Paus. 7.6.1, 7.26.12, 8.1.2; [Scylax] 42, 43. On Kirra opposite Sikyon, see Strabo 9.3.3: πόλις ἀρχαία Κίρρα . . . ἵδρυται δ' ἀπαντικρὺ Σικυῶνος.

2. Pharaklas 1971, pp. 1–5. The author merely presents the main geographical features (mountains and plains) and refers to the political boundaries of the state, with the exception of its problematic southern boundaries, which are not discussed at all.



Figure 1.1. Kokkinovrachos (K) and Vesiza (V) from Gavrias, looking north

Phlious (*Hell.* 2.5, 2.11–13, 7.2.1). As the etymology indicates, Τρι-κάρανον comprises three summits aligned almost perfectly along a north–south axis: Evangelistria (elev. 806 masl), Kastro (579 masl), and Prophetes Elias (724 masl). The last peak separates the valleys of Phlious and Nemea.[3] We know the ancient name only for the northernmost and highest peak, Thyamia, which was the border between the states of Sikyon and Phlious. From Thyamia the mountain slopes down, toward the Sikyonian plain to the north, in three successive steps.[4]

The Trikaranon range is the only one mentioned in ancient literature. The mountainous range to the west and across the Asopos River valley is crowned by the flat summit of Vesiza (1,211 masl), perhaps the ancient Gylis (Fig. 1.1).[5] This range stretches from the coastal plain in the north to Gavrias mountain and the Stymphalian basin in the south, and presents, in addition to Vesiza, a number of elevated points: most conspicuous are Kastro (928 masl), which overlooks the pass from the valley of Kaisari to the Stymphalian basin, Kokkinovrachos (1,009 masl), which is the southernmost peak of the mountain range, and Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi (900 masl), which offers a commanding view toward both the Phliasian and Sikyonian plains. To the northeast of Vesiza, the elevated terraces of Vasiliko (120–240 masl) and Tsakriza (200 masl) present sheer scarps toward the coastal plain.

The plain of Kaisari, which extends between Vesiza to the east and the mountainous plateau to the west, is approximately 7 km long and 1.5 km wide (Fig. 1.2). It is closed to the north by the Thekriza hill, and to the south by a projection of the Vesiza range. The plain slopes slightly toward its southern end, where a lake was formed, locally remembered as λίμνη Παπαρρηγοπούλου. It was drained sometime in the late 19th century to

3. The two valleys are distinct entities, but are easily confused: the modern town in the valley of ancient Phlious has taken on the name of "Nemea" (officially "Nea Nemea" to distinguish it from the small village in the ancient Nemea valley which is officially known as "Archaia Nemea"). For that reason, I will use the name Nemea only with reference to the ancient site and river of that name, and the name Nea Nemea with regard to the town and valley that were called Phlious and Phliasia, respectively, in antiquity.

4. The profile of the mountain ridge is nicely drawn by Philippson (1892, p. 118).

5. The evidence for this identification is presented in Appendix VI.

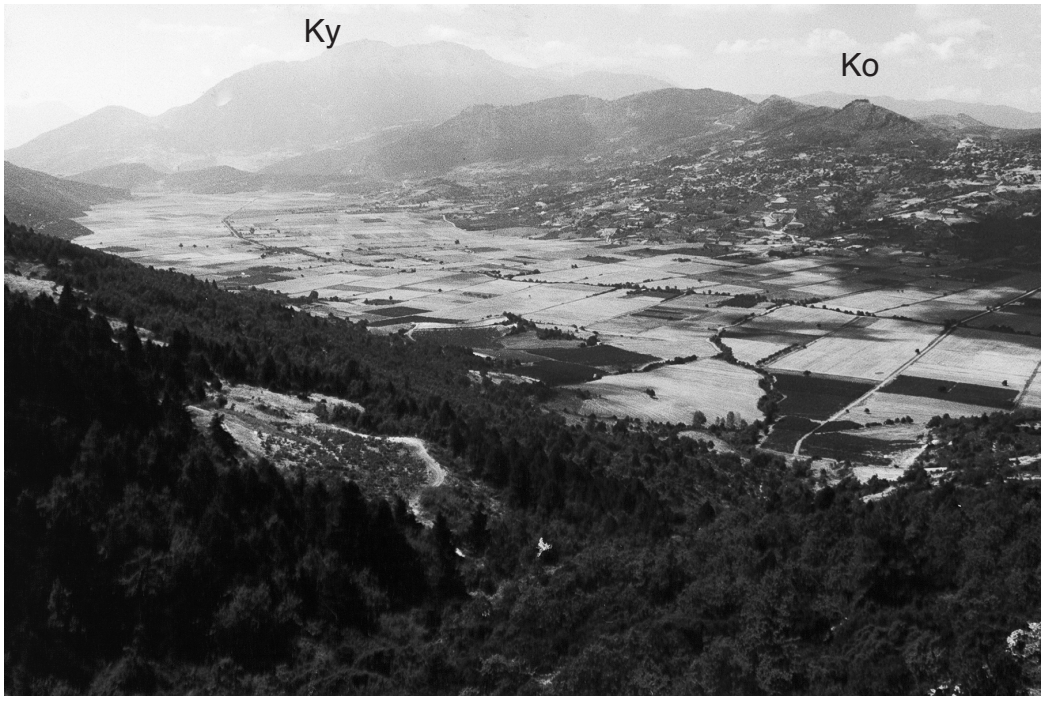


Figure 1.2. The plain of Kaisari from the Vesiza range, looking southwest: Mount Kyllene (Ky) is in the background, the peak of Konomavra (Ko) to the right

make this part of the plain available for cultivation.[6] The small lake of Kaisari was reported by travelers in the early and mid-19th century, but we cannot be certain of its extent in antiquity, or if it existed at all.[7]

The heights to the west of the plain are essentially the northeastern extension of Mount Kyllene, and they drop steeply to the bed of the Sythas (or Trikalitikos) River to the west. They contain a few characteristic peaks, including Markoutsa (1,338 and 1,266 masl) and Konomavra (1,200 masl) overlooking the plain (Fig. 1.2), and a plateau to the north known as Λάκκα of Velina, after the name of the neighboring village. The Lakka plateau is the only land suitable for plowing; the rest of the area is mostly uneven and until recently was covered by forests. Today, apple trees thrive along the western slopes down to the valley of the river. The forested plateau of Moungostos is separated from the plateau of Velina to the south by a narrow gully. It forms peaks along its sides, most notably Thekriza to the south (900 masl), which overlooks the plain of Kaisari, Prophetes Elias to the west (943 masl), and Skempi to the north (699 masl) above the village of Megali Valtsa.

To the northwest of Moungostos the hill of Tsouka of Zemeno rises to an elevation of 811 masl, and further to the north the Kastro of Xylokastro to 201 masl. The flat summit of Tsouka resembles the top of the Panagia of Koryphi, the mountain to the northwest of Zemeno and across the Sythas River (Fig. 1.3). This Achaian mountain was for some time in the possession of the Sikyonians, after they captured the town of Donoussa.[8] From the area north of Moungostos, the ground descends unevenly toward the plain, interrupted by numerous river gullies and delimited on both east and west by elevated ridges. The western ridge carries the natural pass through the area of Zemeno to Xylokastro, above the eastern bank of

6. The draining was done through the opening of a tunnel that channels water toward the Stymphalian basin: Miliarakis 1886, p. 153.

7. Gell 1817, p. 19; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 499; Clark 1858, p. 337.

8. See below, pp. 17–18 and 65.

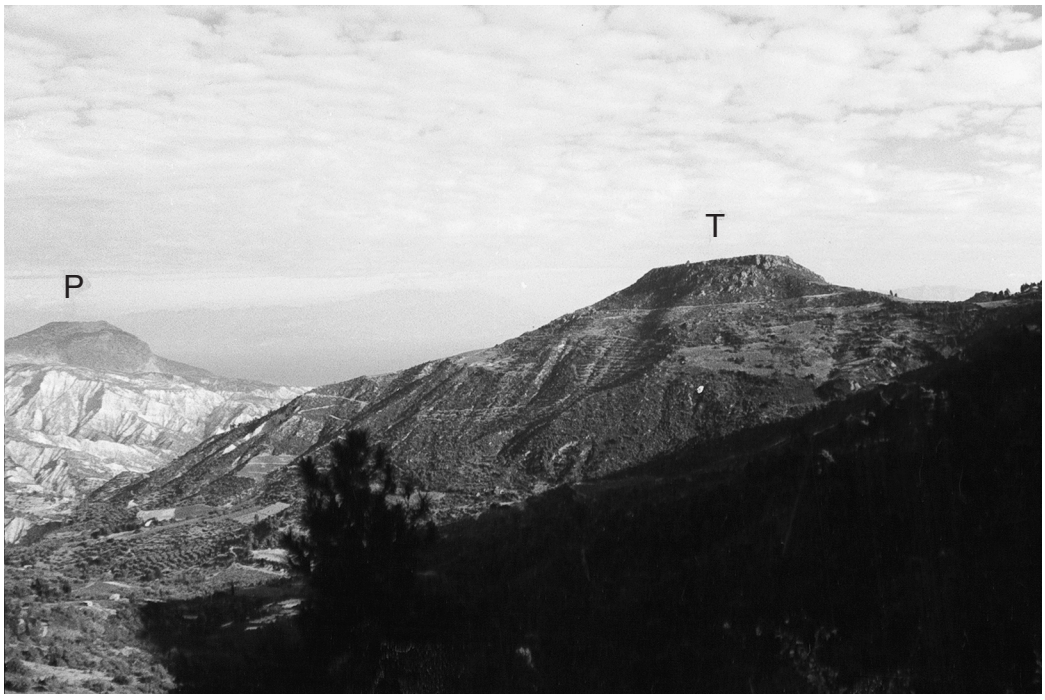


Figure 1.3. Tsouka of Zemeno (T) and Panagia of Koryphi (P), looking north-northwest

the Sythas River. The less prominent, eastern ridge runs almost parallel to the western bank of the Seliandros River through the village of Lalioti to Diminio and the coastal plain.

Rivers

As we have seen, the plain of Sikyon is crossed by several major rivers that flow from the mountains in the south into the sea, as well as by numerous ravines. These water courses are all of torrential type, meaning that their water flow is significantly reduced, or ceases entirely, during the summer.

The Nemea River to the east, known locally as Zapantis, and formerly as the river of Koutsomadi from the name of the village in the Nemean valley, has a relatively shallow but wide bed. It is fed by drainage from the heights to the south of the sanctuary of Nemean Zeus and empties into the gulf by the village of Vrachati.[9] The name of the river is preserved by Strabo and Livy, who both refer to it as the boundary line between Corinth and Sikyon.[10] The history of the river is gradually starting to emerge, thanks to excavation work at Nemea. The former director of the excavations, Stephen G. Miller, kindly shared this information with me:

> The present line of the river along the sanctuary was the creation of trenching by French engineers in 1884. Before that time there was, within the valley proper, no river. Hence it is clear that the valley regularly flooded during the winter, which explains why the modern village of Archaia Nemea was founded only after the valley was drained, namely in 1885. [Here, Miller points to the report of Dodwell, who visited the site in 1805, as well as to engravings

9. On the map drawn by the Expédition scientifique de Morée it is marked as Koutsomati.

10. See below, p. 16. In addition, Bursian (1872, p. 23, n. 4) maintains that the Nemea River is called Langia by Statius (*Theb.* 4.717, 4.775); cf. also Gompf 1832, p. 27. This cannot be so, for Statius refers to the spring east of the Sanctuary of Zeus and not to the river; see *Nemea* I, pp. 220–221 and n. 623.



Figure 1.4. The Asopos River valley, looking northeast

> of the first half of the 19th century, all referring to the existence of a marshy land and the absence of a river at that time.] The excavations have also shown that there was a river, much more substantial than today's, in the 12th and 13th centuries after Christ, but clearly no river between those times. There has to have been a river in Archaic and Early Hellenistic times (the antiquities, such as the drain of the Bath, attest to it), but all traces have been eradicated by the Early Christian version [of the river]. Finally, there is from this year's [1998] work, clear evidence for a good-sized river (although not as large as the Early Christian version) in the 13th century B.C., which also dried up completely and had its course changed dramatically in the Archaic period (it flowed beneath the Heroon of Opheltes).[11]

For the past hundred years, according to travelers' reports and the memory of the locals, the water level in the river has remained low (except for rare winter floods), and the river has always dried up in the summer.[12]

Approximately 7 km (as the crow flies) west of the Nemea River flows the Asopos, the most important river of Sikyonia (Fig. 1.4). Five small ravines intervene between the two rivers, but none contains a stream that flows into the sea.[13] The Asopos, formerly known as Agiorgitikos (Αγιωργήτικος), has its sources on Mount Pharmakas, to the south of the Phliasian plain, and through a long course empties into the sea between Kiato and Velo.[14] The average discharge of the Asopos is 3,800 m^3/hr during the winter months, and 650 m^3/hr in the summer.[15] Pausanias (2.5.2–3), after describing the course of the river, reports the contemporary belief among Sikyonians and Phliasians that its water was not local, but came from the Maeander River, which had crossed the sea from Miletos to the

11. S. G. Miller (pers. comm.).

12. Clarke (1818, p. 530) calls it a "rivulet"; Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 505) describes it as shorter and narrower than the Asopos River, with its water flow depending closely on seasonal changes; Bursian (1872, p. 23) says that the water of the river often does not reach the gulf.

13. The *remata* in question are (from east to west): Γουργουρότη, Χαϊκάλη, Περιστεριώνα, Φίλιζα, and Ρουμπί. They are not labeled on Map 1.

14. The modern name Agiorgitikos, or river of Agios Georgios, derives from the town of that name (now called Nea Nemea) in the Phliasian plain.

15. Voudouris 2001, p. 17.

Peloponnese. The origin for this tale may be the convoluted course of the Asopos River, which in sections resembles a meander pattern. During the winter months, the water descended so strongly that the Sikyonians and the Phliasians compared it to the raging of bulls.[16] Leake described the course of the river as "rapid, white, and turbid."[17] In the early 1970s the water rose so high that it spilled over and damaged the 11 m high Turkish bridge in the plain.[18] The valley formed by the river at its northern end was referred to by Strabo as the Ἀσωπία χώρα, cultivated in antiquity as in modern times.[19] The "Asopeia" opens up to the north of Megali Lakka (Μεγάλη Λάκκα) of the village of Ellinochori, and extends toward the sea. Olive trees now cover a substantial part of it, and this must have been true in antiquity as well, given the many ancient references to the great value and healing properties of Sikyonian oil.[20]

The Helisson River, about 3 km to the west of the Asopos and known locally as Zorzi (Ζορζή) or river of Lechova (ποτάμι της Λέχοβας), runs below the northern cliffs of the Sikyonian plateau to meet the gulf just west of the town of Kiato (Fig. 1.5). The ancient name of the river is given by Pausanias who, having descended from Sikyon, reports encountering along the *leophoros* (main road) to Achaia first the Helisson and then the Sythas River.[21] The Helisson's sources are located in the area of the village of Kryoneri, some 7 km (as the crow flies) south of Sikyon. The river forms a fairly wide valley to the northwest of Sikyon. In the 1950s this section of the riverbed was dredged to a considerable depth and the earth was used for the construction of the highway to Patras.[22] Alfred Philippson writes that, in his time, the torrential water of the Helisson had caused many disasters, and that locals had unsuccessfully tried to dam it by means of low walls.[23] Statius writes in a highly poetic fashion of the winding banks of curved Helisson and its reputation of cleansing the "Stygian Eumenides."[24] However, despite the etymology of Helisson, its watercourse today is not very winding and is certainly straighter than that of the Asopos.[25] In addition, the grove of Eumenides was described by Pausanias (2.11.4) as lying above the right bank of the Asopos, not of the Helisson. It is therefore likely, as Conrad Bursian first suspected, that the poet confused the two rivers.[26]

The next large river to the west of the Helisson originates on the slopes of Kyllene above the village of Trikala, and empties into the gulf west of Xylokastro (Fig. 1.6). It is known as Trikalitikos and forms a wide and deep valley. The ancient name for this river is Sythas (Σύθας), and I argue below that it was the boundary between Sikyon and Achaia. Four less important

16. Ael. *VH* 2.33.7.

17. Leake 1830, p. 356.

18. On this bridge, see below, pp. 99–100.

19. Strabo 8.6.24: τῆς δὲ Κηλώσσης μέρος ὁ Καρνεάτης, ὅθεν λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσωπὸς ὁ παραρρέων τὴν Σικυωνίαν καὶ ποιῶν τὴν Ἀσωπίαν χώραν, μέρος οὖσαν τῆς Σικυωνίας; also 9.2.23: . . . καὶ ὅτι ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ ἄλλος ἐστὶν Ἀσωπὸς καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀσωπία, δι' ἧς ῥεῖ.

20. See below, p. 40.

21. Paus. 2.12.2; for the passage, see below, p. 159.

22. The practice of bulldozing earth from riverbeds for road-terracing purposes has been quite common in Greece; see, e.g., *SAGT* I, pl. 106:b, which shows trucks hauling gravel on a road that descends to the Sarantapotamos River.

23. Philippson 1892, p. 119.

24. *Theb.* 4.52–54: "et anfractu riparum incurvus Elisson. saevus honos fluvio: Stygias lustrare severis Eumenidas perhibetur aquis."

25. The name comes from the word ἕλιξ, "spiral," and serves to remind us of the danger of identifying ancient places solely on the basis of the etymology of their name.

26. Bursian 1872, p. 26, n. 1.



Figure 1.5. The Helisson River valley between Tsakriza (left) and the Sikyonian plateau (right), looking north

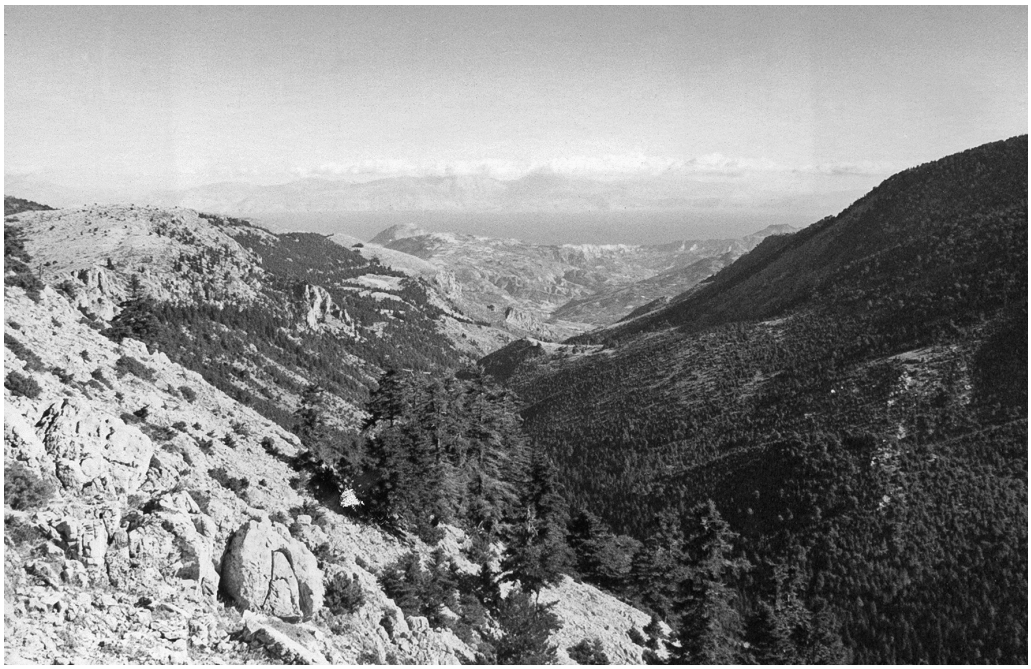


Figure 1.6. The gully of the Sythas River from the northern slopes of Kyllene, looking northeast



Figure 1.7. The Agiorgitiko branch of the *rema* of Thalero from the area of Throphari, looking northeast. Three villages are visible: Sykia (S), Melissi (M), and Thalero (Th).

rivers empty into the sea between Helisson and Sythas (from east to west): Kyrillou (Κυρίλλου), Seliandros (Σελίανδρος) or *rema* of Lalioti, *rema* of Thalero, and Katharoneri (Καθαρονέρι).

The ancient literature preserves the names of two Sikyonian rivers other than those already mentioned. The first, Selleeis (Σελλήεις), is mentioned by Strabo as a river around Sikyon: ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἔφυρα πλησίον κώμη (8.3.5).[27] The closest river to Sikyon, after the Asopos and the Helisson (and less than a kilometer west of the latter), is the *rema* of Kyrillou, with the larger of its two tributaries (Gourgourati) having its source in the area of Souli.[28] Therefore, until there is evidence to the contrary, I consider the ancient Selleeis to be the *rema* of Kyrillou and not the *rema* of Lalioti, as previous scholars have suggested.[29]

The second Sikyonian river that has yet to be identified is the Kephissos. Strabo mentions it briefly (Ὁ ἐν Σικυῶνι Κηφισσός, 9.3.16) as one of six rivers in Greece with that name. The Sikyionian Kephissos was reportedly mentioned by Polemon in his lost treatise *On the Rivers* (of Sicily).[30] We know nothing more about the location of this river, but it could not lie to the east of Sikyon since none of the ravines between the Asopos and

27. See also Eust. ad *Od.* 1.260 (1.56.17 van der Valk). The *kome* of Ephyra has not been securely identified, and therefore the suggested locations cannot be used for identifying Selleeis: see below, pp. 320–323. Cf., e.g., Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 499), who attempts to identify Selleeis with a tributary of the Helisson River, or the Helisson River itself, based on a tentative location of Ephyra to the south of the village of Souli.

28. This is the *rema* described by Leake as a "small stream" and identified with Sythas: see below, p. 16. Rangabé (1857, p. 44) thought that the Selleeis of Strabo and the Helisson of Pausanias refer to the same river, because of the specification περὶ Σικυῶνα. The preposition περί, however, does not necessarily imply physical contact but only proximity.

29. Guides-Joanne 1891, p. 400; Kiepert 1879.

30. The information is given by the scholiast to Euripides' *Medea* (ad 835; vol. 2, p. 185 Schwartz); also Eust. ad *Il.* 2.523 (1.422.14 van der Valk).

Nemea rivers are significant enough to cross the plain and empty into the gulf. If we identify the Selleeis with the *rema* of Kyrillou, then the Kephissos could be any of the remaining three rivers to the east of the Sythas. Seliandros, or the *rema* of Lalioti, originates from the plentiful springs of Megali Valtsa, the same sources that fed the western aqueduct of Sikyon.[31] It carries more water in the winter season than the rivers to its west. The *rema* of Thalero has its sources in the area of Mikri Valtsa and, crossing the plain obliquely, empties into the gulf east of Sykia (Fig. 1.7). Finally, Katharoneri flows from the area of Throphari and Zemeno to the sea, tracing a deep but narrow valley and bisecting the village of Sykia. In the late 19th century, its course served as a dividing line between the demes of Sikyon and Pellene.[32]

Coastal Plain

The southern limit of the Sikyonian plain, which extends along the Corinthian Gulf, is reflected in the line of the corresponding section of the highway to Patras. To the west of Sikyon, it is reduced to a narrow strip of land, with its widest section lying between Sikyon and Corinth. The width of the plain in this area today is between three and four kilometers, although it must have been somewhat less in antiquity since the northwestern side of the Peloponnese has risen over a meter in the past two thousand years, as explained below. The fertility of the plain was proverbial in antiquity. Athenaios reports that to petitioners with trivial requests such as "How could I become rich, son of Zeus and Leto?" the Pythia gave the mocking reply, "If you take possession of the land between Sikyon and Corinth."[33] In the story of the foundation oracle of Taras, the future settlers, originally desiring the territory between Sikyon and Corinth, received the following response: "The area between Corinth and Sikyon is surely good; but you will not inhabit it, not even if you would become embronzed."[34] In Lucian's *Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί* (20), Adeimantos boasts of having bought up all of the land around the Athenian Acropolis, the seafront at Eleusis, a few lands around the Isthmus for the sake of the games, and the plain of Sikyon, and promises that soon "everything thickly covered, or well-watered, or fruitful in Greece" will be his.[35] Livy (27.31.1) calls the plain between Sikyon and Corinth "agrum nobilissimae fertilitatis" with reference to its devastation by the army of P. Sulpicius before the First Macedonian War.

POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

For ancient Greek cities, the existence of a frontier line defining their territory was inextricably linked to the identity of the city itself. Most telling of this mindset is a passage in Xenophon describing how Corinthian citizens felt about the unification of their city with neighboring Argos: "They perceived that their city was put out of existence, inasmuch as boundary stones had been removed and their fatherland was called Argos instead of Corinth" (*Hell.* 4.4.6).[36] In this section I focus on the boundaries of the Sikyonian state, presenting the evidence for the fairly well-established ones and proposing alternatives for the more problematic.

31. On the aqueduct, see Appendix III, pp. 582–584.

32. Miliarakis 1886, p. 115. Accordingly, half of the village of Sykia belonged to the deme of Sikyon, and half to the deme of Pellene.

33. Ath. 5.219a:
πῶς ἂν πλουτήσαιμι, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ; χλευάζων ἀπεκρίνατο·
εἰ τὸ μέσον κτήσαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος.
This oracular response was quoted by many ancient and medieval authors; for the references and a discussion on the nature of the reply, see Fontenrose 1978, p. 86 and n. 58.

34. Diod. Sic. 8.21.3: Καλόν τοι τὸ μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκήσεις, οὐδ' εἰ παγχάλκεος εἴης. Parke and Wormell (1956, vol. 1, pp. 72–73) more or less accept the authenticity of the story, unlike Fontenrose (1978, p. 280).

35. συνηρεφές ἢ ἔνυδρον ἢ εὔκαρπον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

36. For more references showing the value of frontiers to a Greek, see Sartre 1979, p. 213.

Eastern Border

The boundary between the Corinthia and Sikyonia, according to Strabo and Livy, was the Nemea River: ὁρίζει δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν καὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν ποταμὸς Νεμέα (Strabo 8.6.25); "Nemeam—amnis est Corinthium et Sicyonium interfluens agrum" (Livy 33.15.1). For the century between the end of the Achaian War in 146 B.C. and the foundation of the Roman colony of Corinth in 46 B.C., the eastern Sikyonian boundary extended to include "most of the Corinthian countryside" (τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔσχον οἱ Σικυώνιοι τὴν πλείστην τῆς Κορινθίας).[37] Although neither Strabo nor any other source specifies the extent of the newly acquired land, the fact that Sikyon also gained control of the Isthmian Games at that time suggests that most or all of the coastal plain past the Nemea River to the Isthmus of Corinth came into its possession.[38]

Western Border

Identification of the Sythas River

The western boundary of Sikyonia is more problematic. Pausanias states explicitly that the Sythas River separated Pellene and Achaia from Sikyonia (καθότι δὲ Πελληνεῦσιν ὅροι τῆς χώρας πρὸς Σικυωνίους εἰσί, κατὰ τοῦτο ποταμός σφισι Σύθας, ἔσχατος ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν, ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλασσαν, 7.27.12),[39] but the difficulty lies in identifying this river among the several rivers west of Sikyon that now flow into the gulf. Pausanias, after leaving the Sikyonian plateau on his way to Aristonautai, the harbor of Pellene, first crossed the Helisson, and then the Sythas:

> καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπεῖσιν ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστοναύτας τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληνέων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν· προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον Ἑλισσών τε καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Σύθας ἐστίν, ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν.[40]

The Helisson can be safely identified with the river of Lechova, which descends from the northern side of the Sikyonian plateau and empties into the sea by the town of Kiato. Trikalitikos, which is the next largest river to the west, is the best candidate for Sythas. The great distance, however, between this river and the Helisson (over 13 km), and the fact that four smaller rivers intervene between the two, have given rise to different topographical interpretations.[41] Leake identified Sythas with the *rema* of Kyrillou, which flows west of Kiato.[42] Kyrillou is indeed the first river west of Helisson but it is now, as it was when Leake saw it, a mere stream and not a significant river. The same applies to the other three rivers

37. Strabo 8.6.23; cf. Eust. ad *Il.* 2.570 (1.448.42–43 van der Valk); see below, p. 77.

38. Sikyonian control over the Isthmian Games is attested by Pausanias (2.2.2).

39. Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.14.28) refers to the same river as "Sys."

40. Paus. 2.12.2.

41. The different suggestions are summarized by Bölte in *RE* IVB^2, 1932, cols. 1836–1838, s.v. Sythas.

42. Leake 1830, p. 383; refuted by Rangabé 1857, pp. 45–47.

to the west of Kyrillou, namely, Seliandros, the *rema* of Thalero, and Katharoneri. Therefore, Pharaklas's suggestion that Katharoneri, a small river that empties into the gulf 4 km east of Xylokastro, is the ancient Sythas can hardly be sustained.[43] The identification of the Trikalitikos River (or river of Xylokastro) with the ancient Sythas goes back to the Expédition scientifique de Morée, and it has since been accepted by a number of students of Greek topography.[44] Corroborating evidence for the location of Sythas by Xylokastro is provided by Pseudo-Scylax, who testifies that the coastline of the Sikyonian state amounts to 120 stadia: Μετὰ δὲ Κόρινθον Σικυὼν πόλις. Ταύτης παράπλους στάδια ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν (*Periplus* 42).[45] Although the accuracy of the numerical data given in the *Periplus* has been questioned, and the exact equivalence between the "stadion" in question and our metrical system remains unknown, an estimate between a minimum of 21 and a maximum of 24 km for the 120 stadia must be correct.[46] The length of the present coast from the Nemea River to the river of Xylokastro is close to 22 km.

Evidence of Boundary Markers

Two more issues must be addressed here in relation to the western borders of Sikyonia: first, their flexibility, and second, the presence of boundary markers. Pausanias mentions the Sikyonian annexation of the Achaian town of Donoussa, which is probably located on the northern slopes of Mount Panagia of Koryphi, some 5 km beyond the Sythas River and above the village of Kamari.[47] The most likely period for this event to have taken place

43. Pharaklas 1971, p. 5. His suggestion is based on the assumption that the harbor of Pellene (Aristonautai) was located at the present bay of Sykia. Such a location, however, to the east of Trikalitikos, contradicts the ancient evidence. Pausanias (7.26.4) gives the distance between Aristonautai and the harbor of Aigeira as 120 stadia. The harbor of Aigeira has now been securely placed at Mavra Litharia (see Frazer 1913, vol. 4, pp. 176–178, and the recent geological work at the site: Papageorgiou et al. 1993; Papageorgiou and Stiros 1996; Stiros 2001). Consequently, any site east of the Trikalitikos River for the location of Aristonautai would be over 135 stadia from the harbor of Aigeira. Although the shoreline of the northern Peloponnese has changed since antiquity (see below, pp. 29–31), and Pausanias tended to round-off numbers when he described distances, a difference of 15 stadia or more is rather excessive. We have to accept either that Pausanias was wrong or that Aristonautai lay to the west of Xylokastro. Some early travelers placed Aristonautai at the mouth of the Sythas River, but with no hard evidence: Puillon Boblaye 1835, p. 28; Guides-Joanne 1891, p. 399. Anderson (1954, p. 74, n. 19), following Leake (1830, p. 384), places the Pellenean harbor at the village of Kamari, where the colonel saw "a little curve in the coast." As the configuration of the northern Peloponnesian littoral has changed over time, Leake's argument is not conclusive. Anderson reports seeing a stretch of an ancient foundation south of the Kamari railway station, but there is no indication that it belonged to a harbor installation. Besides, Kamari, less than 95 stadia from Aigeira, is too far west to be the site of Aristonautai. I believe the best candidate for the site of Aristonautai has been suggested by Miliarakis and Koutivas; they both saw remains of a breakwater east of the village of Kamari, and 2.5 km to the west of Xylokastro (Miliarakis 1886, p. 124; Koutivas 1962, pp. 35, 111). The site is located almost 22 km (ca. 120 stadia) to the east of Mavra Litharia, the harbor of Aigeira, which agrees with the account of Pausanias.

44. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 498; Rangabé 1857, pp. 46–47; Bursian 1872, p. 30; Miliarakis 1886, p. 11; Lolling 1889, p. 162; Frazer 1913, vol. 4, p. 185; Roux 1958, p. 144.

45. Puillon Boblaye (1835, p. 29) was the first to point out the value of Pseudo-Scylax's testimony for the location of the western Sikyonian borders. The consensus now is that his "Circuit of the Mediterranean" was compiled in the mid-4th century B.C. (Peretti 1979, pp. 496–497; Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 568).

46. Pseudo-Scylax was, with one exception, proven quite accurate in his section on the coast of the Akte in the Argolid. For the description of that coastline, a long stade of about 200 m is used: Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 568–572.

47. Paus. 7.26.13; for further discussion of Donoussa, see below, pp. 324–325.

is the reign of Kleisthenes in the 6th century B.C.[48] It is equally possible, as I argue in the next chapter, that with the consolidation of Achaia from the 5th century onward, Sikyon withdrew from Donoussa and returned to its old boundary east of the Sythas River.

Physical remains of what was interpreted as the western Sikyonian boundary were reported by two early travelers. Dodwell, journeying an hour and a half from Vasilika toward Kamari, "observed the remains of a wall that had once united the hill to the sea, and was constructed for the purpose of guarding the pass."[49] It is most likely that Dodwell is referring to the hill of Kokkinovrachos, between the villages of Melissi and Diminio, and that the pass in question refers to a narrow strip of land separating the hill from the sea. The same wall is described by Leake to the west of the village of Diminio (near the Seliandros) as "some ancient foundations on the road side, where appears to have been a wall reaching to the shore, from the mountain on the left."[50] Meyer tried in vain to find this wall at the beginning of the 20th century; I too have been unable to find any traces of it.[51] Without further description of this wall, and with the physical remains yet to be found, it is not possible to rule on its nature, date, or purpose. Dodwell interprets it as the boundary of Sikyon with Pellene, but this cannot be the case since it presumes that the Sythas River was farther east than is argued here. Nor could we posit a time in the Graeco-Roman history of Sikyonia when there would have been a need to confine the territory of the state more than 8 km to the east of the Sythas River.

A tall, conical heap of stones was excavated in 1906 to the east of this river, at the western edge of the forest of Moungostos. The conical heap was 20 m in diameter, 4 m in height, and consisted of rubble with scattered "Protocorinthian" sherds and fragments of ancient roof tiles.[52] Because the flat area where the stones were found is not rocky, the excavator, Andreas Skias, rightly postulated that the stones had been carried there on purpose, together with the ceramic fragments. According to Skias, this heap of stones was one of the horoi of the Sikyonians toward the Pelleneans. Skias gives no elevation for the stone pile, but presumably what he identified as a *soros* stood on the hill of Prophetes Elias of Moungostos (SP-14), at an elevation of 943 masl. Today, only a few of the stones remain on site; most of them were thrown down the precipitous western flank of Moungostos during the excavation. Recently, a water tank was placed at what had been the center of the mound, further obscuring the ancient remains (Fig. 1.8).

Although he did not visit them, Skias reported the existence of two similar *soroi,* one about 2 km to the north and the other to the south of Moungostos and east of the village of Velina. A possible candidate for the northern *soros* can be found on the summit of Zitouliaris (Ζητουλιάρης, 851 masl), a hill rising to the southwest of the village of Zemeno and opposite the hill of Tsouka. Here I observed a heap of stones, some of them scattered around the slopes of the hill (SP-13; Fig. 1.9). Only the foundations of this heap, consisting of loose rubble, are now visible. The small number of roof tiles in the vicinity, and the nature of the scattered stones, make it unlikely that the material belonged to a towerlike structure. Rather, we have here the remains of a *soros,* located approximately 1 km

48. See below, p. 65.

49. Dodwell 1819, pp. 297–298. Vasilika is the Medieval name of modern Vasiliko; see below, pp. 287–288.

50. Leake 1830, pp. 382–383.

51. Meyer 1939, p. 9.

52. Skias 1919, pp. 45–46. Skias did not illustrate any of the sherds, so it is perhaps unwise to draw chronological conclusions from his term "Protocorinthian."



Figure 1.8. Prophetes Elias of Moungostos (SP-14): the water tank at the center of the *soros* excavated by Skias, looking east



Figure 1.9. View from Zitouliaris of Zemeno (SP-13) toward Prophetes Elias of Moungostos, looking south-southwest; remains of the *soros* are in the foreground.

north-northeast of Prophetes Elias of Moungostos and within visual range of the *soros* excavated there. As for a *soros* to the south of Moungostos and east of the village of Velina, I have not been able it to locate it; if it did exist, the plateau of Velina would be a suitable area for its location, in alignment with the two *soroi* to the north. The hypothetical western border marked by these *soroi,* extending from the area of the village of Zemeno to the surroundings of Velina, would have left outside Sikyonian territory the large, mostly mountainous, area now shared by the villages of Stylia, Panariti, and Manna.

Before we proceed with interpreting the evidence, we should keep in mind that there is no guarantee that these horoi were set up in ancient times, which is to say that they could belong to any post-antique period and

could have been erected for any reason, political, economic, or otherwise. Yet, the practice of marking a city's territory by erecting piles of stones on conspicuous hills and ridges was quite common in antiquity. An inscription found at Corinth and dated to the Roman period refers to Sikyonian horoi, but the fragmentary text gives no details on their nature or location.[53] Heaps of stones used as boundary markers are reported in the ancient sources, and examples have been found in the border area of Hermione and Epidauros; in the associated inscription, dated to the mid-2nd century B.C., the horoi, specified as *boleoi lithoi,* delimit a common territory for the Hermionians and the Epidaurians: εἶναι ταύτην κοινὴν Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων, | οὖσαν τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους, οἵ εἰσιν βολεοὶ λίθοι κείμε|νοι ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Φιλανορείας καὶ . . . .[54] Pausanias describes these specific βολεοὶ λίθων as σωροὶ λογάδων (2.36.3). Nine piles of rough stones in situ have been identified extending for a distance of 3.5 km and having an average diameter of 7 m.[55] Likewise, the ὅροι Σικυῶνος mentioned in the inscription from Corinth could refer to heaps of stones like the ones at Moungostos and Zitouliaris. Heaps of unhewn stones have also been recognized on the ridge of Mount Parnon in Lakonia, and identified with the Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, which were seen by Pausanias ἐπὶ τοῦ Πάρνωνος, and which constituted the horoi between the Lakonians, Argives, and Tegeans; the three *soroi* were round, 4.55 m in diameter and 1.2–1.5 m in height, and formed a triangle, which was presumably the common territory between the three *homoroi* states.[56]

But did the Sikyonian *soroi* define the same borderline as the Sythas River, or a different one? And if we assume that they did define the same boundary as the deep river gully, why were they necessary, and when were they set up? It is immediately apparent that the two preserved *soroi* were set up some 3 km to the east of the river course. One possibility is that they confined Sikyonia to the east of the Sythas, thus representing a contraction of the territory at some point in history. Accordingly, the narrow ridge between the gully of Sythas to the west and that of Katharoneri to the east, marked on the 1:50,000 topographic map as Rachi Breseri (Ράχη Μπρέσερη), would have constituted the remaining border toward the gulf (Fig. 1.10). A second possibility is that they were somehow associated with the Sythas River. Setting of boundary stelai in conjunction with a river is attested for Asia Minor. In a border settlement between Magnesia and Miletos of the 180s B.C., a river was set as the boundary between the two cities; in addition, the treaty provided for the setting of stones and stelai along both banks of the river:

> τῆς δὲ χώρ[ας | τ]ῆς περαίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς διεφέροντο Μάγνητες καὶ Μιλήσιο̣[ι, ὅ|ρ]ον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ὕβανδον ποταμὸν καὶ ἀπὸ το̣[ῦ | πο]ταμοῦ τούτου τὴμ μὲν ὑπεράνω πᾶσαν εἶναι Μαγνήτων, τὴ[ν δ' | ἀπ]οκάτω πᾶσαν ἕως θαλάσσης εἶναι Μιλησίων· καταπῆ[ξαι | δὲ] πέτρους καὶ στῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ̣ν στήλας ἑκατέρους παρὰ [τὸ ῥεῖ|θρο]ν̣ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μέρεσιν, καθότι ἐπέγνωσαν | [το]ὺς τόπους παραγενόμενοι οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἐπὶ τὰς συνλύ[σεις | πρ]εσβευταί, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὅρον διὰ παντὸς τό τε νῦν ὑπάρχ[ον] | [ῥεῖ]θρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑβάν̣δο̣υ̣ καὶ τοὺς παρατεθέντας π[έτ]|ρ̣υς καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν στήλας.[57]

53. *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 36–37, no. 65, lines 6–7: ὅροι Σικυ̣ών | [- - -]. The inscription was found east of Temple Hill and contains at least one poem to a hero, possibly Herakles: Powell 1903, p. 58, n. 36; *Corinth* VIII.1, pp. 155–156, no. 155.

54. *SEG* XI 377, lines 15–17. See the latest discussion of this border dispute in Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 596–606; on the meaning of *boleoi* and for the relevant bibliography, see Robert 1963, pp. 33–34.

55. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 600.

56. Paus. 2.38.7. The identification was made first by early travelers and then endorsed by Rhomaios (1908), who excavated the piles in the beginning of the century. Not everybody, though, has accepted this identification, and the cairns in question have disappeared in recent years. See the discussion in *SAGT* III, pp. 127–134; *SAGT* VI, pp. 105–106, with pls. 167, 168; also Phaklaris 1990, pp. 193–195.

57. *Syll.*[3] 588, lines 28–38 = Ager 1996, pp. 292–296, no. 109.



Figure 1.10. View from Zitouliaris of Zemeno (SP-13) toward the Sythas River, looking northwest: the hill of Tsouka (T) in the foreground; the characteristic badlands of the area of Pellene in the background; to the right is the Breseri ridge (B), which connects Zemeno with Xylokastro.

Similarly, the heaps of stones observed at Moungostos and Zitouliaris could have marked the western borders of Sikyonia together with the Sythas River. Placed where they were, they would have been conspicuous to all, but would not have been so if they were placed lower down and closer to the course of the river. In addition, Pausanias refers to horoi of the Pelleneans toward the Sikyonians by the Sythas River.[58] It is conceivable that these horoi, perhaps heaps of stones as well, stood above the western bank of the river, corresponding to the Sikyonian horoi on the east.[59]

Against this interpretation is the distance between the bed of the Sythas and the actual location of the horoi, which could hardly be described as παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον. To return to the case of the Hermionid, the *boleoi lithoi* there, which are uniformly placed on the highest points in the horizon, delimited a common territory of almost 30 km^2.[60] In our case, too, the course of the Sythas and its sloping terrain, perhaps on both sides, could have been the common territory between Pellene and Sikyon. A low estimate for the area of the κοινὴ χώρα on the Sikyonian side would be about 20 km^2.

In estimating the date when the boundary stones were set up, we have only historical considerations to guide us. Since such horoi were meant to secure recognition and stability of the borders, one would expect them to have been built in periods of tension between the two states. This would have been the period of the Sikyonian tyranny (mid-7th to mid-6th century), when Orthagoras and Kleisthenes were engaged in a long war against Pellene that may have ended, as we have seen, with the Sikyonian annexation of Donoussa. With the gradual decline of Sikyon in the post-Archaic era and the parallel rise of Achaia, it is very unlikely that Sikyon would have been able to hold on to Donoussa for very long. The state may well have felt compelled to set up these boundary markers in order to protect its retrenched borders.

58. Paus. 7.27.12; for the text of this passage, see above, p. 16.

59. On the practice of double boundary marking *(bornage),* see Sartre 1979, p. 217.

60. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 603.

Southern Border

The definition of the Sikyonian boundary to the south, that is, toward Nemea, Phlious, and Stymphalos, is even more elusive. For one thing, we do not have an ancient description, as such, of the southern borders of Sikyonia, or of the northern borderline of the neighboring states. Xenophon is the only author to refer to the Phliasian horoi toward the Sikyonians, in the context of the hostilities between the two states shortly after Epaminondas's third descent to the Peloponnese (366 B.C.). The Phliasians complained to the Athenian general Chares because the Sikyonians were fortifying a place on the Phliasian border: χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἡμῖν οἱ Σικυώνιοι τειχίζουσιν (*Hell.* 7.2.20). This χωρίον was Thyamia, and it was indeed captured by the Phliasians with Athenian help; its fortification continued for some time until the Phliasians agreed to abandon it in accordance with the peace treaty signed with Thebes probably in 365 B.C.[61] Ludwig Ross placed the fort on Evangelistria (DS-1), the highest peak of the Trikaranon range to the southwest of the village of Stimanga, and his identification has since been accepted by the majority of scholars involved with this part of the Corinthia.[62] The fact that the Phliasians vehemently opposed the enemy's fortification of a place on their own borders, and that immediately after the conclusion of peace they withdrew from it, suggests that neither of the two states had exclusive rights to the summit of Evangelistria; in other words, the border seems to have been common land, as in the case of the horoi on Mount Parnon in Lakonia or of Panakton between Attica and Boiotia.[63]

Thyamia is the only securely established point along the southern border of Sikyonia (Fig. 1.11). The remainder of the borderline is a matter of speculation. In the area east of Thyamia and as far as the Nemea River, a distance of 3 km, Sikyon bordered the valley of Nemea. The valley of the Sanctuary of Zeus is separated from Phlious by the southernmost runners of Trikaranon. Control of the sanctuary and its games, instituted in 573 B.C., was originally in the hands of Kleonai before passing to Argos.[64] If control of the sanctuary suggests ownership of the land, then we can argue

61. On this fort and its history, see below, pp. 216–218. On the dispute itself, see Piccirilli 1973, pp. 183–185.

62. Ross 1841, p. 41; for further bibliography, see the entry for this site in Appendix I. The choice of the highest summit in the range as a boundary provides further evidence for the impact of the landscape on boundary delineations.

63. οἱ μὲν δὴ Φλειάσιοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ ξύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.11). Regarding Panakton, which was disputed between the Athenians and Boiotians during the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides (5.42.1) writes that according to ancient oaths the hill was to be grazed in common (κοινῇ νέμειν) by the two contestants. On this issue, see Ober 1995, p. 113 (with bibliography).

64. On the control of the Nemean Games, see Miller 1982, pp. 106–107; Perlman 2000, pp. 131–152. Excavations at Nemea have shown that the games were not held on the site from the late 5th century until the 330s: Miller 1980, p. 186. At that time the games returned to Nemea but Argos probably still kept control of them, and in the first half of the 3rd century the Argives brought the games to Argos again. Perlman, based on literary sources, doubts that the games were transferred to Argos at the end of the 5th century.



Figure 1.11. The suggested southern borders of Sikyon as seen from the heights of the village of Kephalari, looking east: Vesiza (V), Kokkinovrachos (K), Thyamia (T), and Gavrias (G)

that the valley of the Sanctuary of Zeus belonged to Kleonai, at least from the early 6th century. Plutarch mentions a dispute between the Sikyonians and the Kleonaians over the nationality of a Pythian victor, and vaguely places the event in the early 7th century:

> Σικυωνίοις δὲ καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ Θεὸς προεῖπεν μαστιγονόμων δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε Τελητίαν παῖδα στεφανούμενον ἐν Πυθίοις ἀφαιρούμενοι Κλεωναίων ὡς ἴδιον πολίτην διέσπασαν.[65]

If we accept that Sikyon and Kleonai had common borders in the 6th century, we can interpret Plutarch's passage as an indication of a boundary dispute between the two states a century earlier, perhaps involving the area around Chalki, a village on the eastern bank of the Nemea River, to the east of Evangelistria.[66]

Sikyonian ownership of the site of Titane (HS-67), to the west of Thyamia and across the valley of the Asopos, suggests that the border between Phliasia and Sikyonia ran to the south of this sanctuary.[67] To the west of the village of Bozika, the hill of Kokkinovrachos rises to an elevation of 1,009 masl. The summit preserves a rectangular tower, which

65. Plut. *Mor.* 553A–B. Plutarch places the event in the period before the reign of Orthagoras.

66. This interpretation was first advanced by Griffin (1982, p. 38, n. 20), though she did not discuss the topography. She interpreted the passage as referring to a victory in athletic contests, and since athletic contests were not introduced in the Pythia before the First Sacred War, she argued that the incident is anachronistic and must be assigned to the 6th century instead. In fact, the chronological discrepancy of this passage was first pointed out by Parke and Wormell (1956, vol. 1, p. 117), based on the fact that the Pythian games in the 7th century did not include any events for boys (παῖδας).

67. On Titane, see below, pp. 389–398.

is surrounded by a fortification wall with six towers spaced at intervals (DS-4).[68] Based on the location of this fort and its substantial size, I interpet this structure as a border fort of Sikyonia toward Phliasia to the southeast and Stymphalia to the southwest. The actual border between the three states must have been located to the south of Kokkinovrachos, perhaps around the villages of Asprokampos and Kastraki, or on Gavrias, which is one of the two highest mountains east of Mount Kyllene (along with Vesiza) and directly overlooks the Phliasian plain.[69] The fact that the summit of Gavrias, rising 1,208 masl, has no traces of ancient fortifications favors the latter possibility.[70]

In the area west of Kokkinovrachos and Gavrias to Mount Kyllene, Sikyon bordered Stymphalos, but the precise boundary line is not known. Two questions are central here: (1) was the plain of Kaisari part of Sikyonian territory;[71] and (2) did Sikyonia stretch as far as the Sythas River, thus occupying the forested area defined by the villages of Manna, Kaisari, Velina, and Stylia? On the basis of the natural resemblance between the plain of Kaisari and the plain of Stymphalos to the south, Ernst Curtius assigned them both to Arkadia.[72] However, as Lucien Lerat and Kendrick Pritchett have pointed out, natural features do not always determine political boundaries.[73] If we consider Kokkinovrachos to be a border fort of Sikyonia, it would be reasonable to think that the *kampos* in question, which opens to the north of Kokkinovrachos and closer to Sikyon, was within Sikyonian territory. On the other hand, boundary lines were not

68. For a detailed discussion of this fort, see below, pp. 234–240.

69. The suggestion that Gavrias was the τριεθνές was first made by Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 482): "Dem Berge Spiria, welcher auf dieser Thalseite, Phlius näher als Sikyon, die Gränze bildete, entspricht auf dem jenseitigen Ufer der Besitza, dessen Abhänge aber den Sikyoniern gehörthen. Wahrscheinlich reichte das Gebiet derselben bis an den Gaurias, so dass hier die Gränzen von Stymphalos, Phlius und Sikyon zusammenstiessen." Russell (1924, p. 43), following Curtius, believes that the western boundary of Phliasia lies along Gavrias. Similarly, Jost (1985, p. 100) considers Gavrias the boundary of Stymphalia toward the east. The close proximity of Phlious to the southern Sikyonian border is mentioned by a scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios: κεῖται δὲ ἡ Φλιοῦς ἐπὶ ὅροις τῆς Σικυῶνος (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.116 [p. 16 Wendel]). In modern times, during the administrative organization of the independent Greek state in 1840, it was the watershed of the Vesiza range that determined the boundary between the demes of Sikyon and Nea Nemea. Accordingly, the villages of Kryoneri (Mantzani), Paradeisi, and Gonoussa (Liopesi) were assigned to Sikyon, while Titane (Voivoda), Bozika, and Kastraki (Mazi) were part of Nea Nemea (Kousoulos 1971, pp. 407–408).

70. A rubble wall runs along the western side of the summit of Gavrias, but it is mostly likely Medieval in date; see below, pp. 264–265. Rousset (1994, pp. 121–122) argues that in inscriptions dealing with city borders *phrouria* are never mentioned as being along the borders, but are slightly set back.

71. This question was first formulated by Bobrik (1839, p. 8), who tentatively attributed the Kaisari plain to Sikyonia, but with no supporting arguments.

72. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 488: "Es [the plain of Kaisari] ist die Vorhalle des grösseren Seethales [of Stymphalos] und wie dieses an seiner tiefsten Stelle mit stehendem Wasser bedeckt ohne sichtbaren Abfluss. Es ist wahrscheinlich, das dies seiner Natur nach zu Arkadien gehörige Thal auch politisch mit demselben verbunden war." Lolling (1889, p. 176) discusses the plain of Kaisari in his paragraph on Stymphalia, and says that the northern exit of the plain was separated from Sikyon only by low hills. Pharaklas (1971, p. 2) drew the western "natural" boundaries of Sikyonia along Gavrias, Vesiza, and Tsouka of Zemeno (from south to north), thus leaving the valley of Kaisari and the mountainous area to the west of it outside Sikyonian territory. He offers no discussion of the ownership of the plain of Kaisari, and I suspect that his reason for defining the western Sikyonian frontier east of this plain is his belief that Katharoneri is the ancient Sythas River.

73. Lerat 1952, pp. 76–77; endorsed by Pritchett, *SAGT* VII, pp. 49–50; *SAGT* VIII, p. 12. In the case of the Lokrian boundary with the Aitolians, for example, the boundary line was not along the river Mornos, but must have been further south and closer to the Corinthian Gulf, confining the territory of Lokris to a coastal stretch of only seven or eight kilometers. See also Rousset 1994, p. 119, n. 86.

necessarily straight, and may well have presented projections and recesses. To the west of Kokkinovrachos and along the *kampos,* I recorded several structural remains.

On a hill called Kastro, rising to 928 masl between the villages of Kephalari and Asprokampos, Ioannis Peppas reported traces of a circular rubble wall (SP-18).[74] The summit is now densely covered with prickly oaks that prohibit thorough investigation. A thick layer of rubble is, however, visible around the top, showing clear signs of recent illegal digging on the site. Nearby I observed three scattered rectangular blocks of limestone with swallowtail and Γ-shaped clamp cuttings on their short sides, and some roof-tile fragments. Very few instances of horizontal fastening have been observed in the masonry of Greek military structures, particularly in the case of independent towers.[75] Therefore, these blocks and roof tiles must be assigned to a different type of structure, perhaps one of religious character—a peak sanctuary. Although more evidence is needed to establish the sacred character of the structure that stood on the Kastro, it is worth noting here that Arkadian mountain peaks were exceptionally well endowed with sanctuaries.[76] Some of them were associated with plains and valleys, some with main lines of communication, and others with disputed border areas.[77] Regarding Stymphalos, however, we have no textual reference to a sanctuary in the countryside and very little archaeological data.[78] The situation is different regarding Sikyonia, where we have some textual and physical evidence for sanctuaries in the *chora.* Most relevant to our discussion is the Sikyonian cult of Dionysos Ἀκρωρείτης, literally "of the mountain ridge," mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion.[79] It is conceivable that a peak sanctuary was founded on the Kastro of Asprokampos, defining the Sikyonian ἄκρα toward Stymphalos.[80]

On the hillslope west of Kastro and above the village of Kephalari, no traces of ancient buildings have been found.[81] Remains of a fortification wall can be seen around the summit of a hill known as Goulas (DS-6), at the southern end of the plain of Kaisari, together with ancient tile fragments, broadly datable from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, and a few ashlar blocks scattered on its eastern side. Recent bulldozing of the top of the hill makes the interpretation of the remains even more difficult, but it is certain that a garrison stationed on that hill would have been able to control the two passes from the plain of Kaisari, to Stymphalos in the southwest and to

74. Peppas 1993, p. 183.

75. Lawrence (1979, p. 216), speaking of the wall of Athens: "Sockets for these and other types of clamps are commonly seen in temples, or even in civic buildings, but rarely in fortifications." The corner blocks of Classical towers 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7 at ancient Leukas show clamp and dowel cuttings, but perhaps all of these massive structures were part of large rural farms: Morris 2001, pp. 295, 310–314, 317–319, fig. 13.

76. For the wealth of Arkadian peak sanctuaries, see Jost 1994, p. 218.

77. Artemis and Poseidon, and sometimes Demeter, were often associated with plains liable to flooding, as at Stymphalos, Alea, Orchomenos, Kaphyai, and Pheneos (Jost 1994, p. 220). Cult places dotted along the main lines of communication have been observed at Thelpoussa (Jost 1994, p. 223). Locations for Artemis worship proliferated along the mountain borders of Arkadia and the Argolid (Schachter 1992, p. 55; de Polignac 1995, pp. 36–38); Apollo and Hermes were also worshipped on frontiers (Sartre 1979, pp. 221–223).

78. Jost 1985, p. 106.

79. Ἀκρώρεια: ἄκρον ὄρους: οὕτω δὲ παρὰ Σικυωνίοις ἐτιμᾶτο [ὁ Διόνυσος]· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Σικυωνίοις Ἀκρωρείτης. . . .

80. On border sanctuaries, see Rousset 1994, pp. 119–121. In addition, de Polignac (1995, pp. 37–38) points to cases where a cult was shared by two (neighboring) states.

81. The hill of Dyo Vouna, to the south of Kephalari, shows scattered rubble from a modern sheepfold.

Phlious in the southeast.[82] The ancient fort of Agios Vlasios (DS-9), 1,600 m to the northeast of Goulas, allowed its garrison a panoramic view of the plain, but not a visual link with Goulas. A circular tower (DS-16) standing on a low hill between the two forts and above the road to Stymphalos served this very purpose, since from it one could see both Goulas and Agios Vlasios.[83] Finally, the foundations of a square tower, 9.5 m on a side, are preserved on the summit of Thekriza (DS-10), a hill at the northern end of the plain with a commanding view of the plain below.[84] It is possible that this tower marked the southern limits of Sikyonian territory, thus leaving the plain of Kaisari to the Stymphalians. Towers built near state borders are known from other areas in Greece, although the "nationality" of many of these towers has not been established.[85] Moreover, one could associate this tower with the two heaps of stones to the north, and draw the southwestern borders of Sikyonia along the line of Moungostos. In this case, the entire area to the west of the plain of Kaisari, and as far as the Sythas River, would be outside Sikyonian territory. Yet, there is some evidence suggesting that the tower of Thekriza was not built on the borders of the state.

Possession of the plain of Kaisari is somewhat connected with possession of the mountainous area between the plain and the Sythas River. If we suppose that the plain was Sikyonian and that the Sythas River was the boundary between Achaia and Sikyon all the way to Kyllene, then we must assign the forested area to the west of the plain to Sikyonia as well. This would explain the presence of Late Classical or Hellenistic ashlar blocks and roof tiles at the site of Vourlies (SP-10), to the southwest of the village of Manna. The remains may belong to a border watch/signal tower of the Sikyonians with an unimpeded view of the Sythas gully and Pellene. On the other hand, Curtius and Kiepert both drew the area west of the plain of Kaisari as part of Achaia, perhaps influenced by the organization of the Greek provinces earlier in the 19th century.[86]

The archaeological and epigraphical evidence from this area includes two segments of ancient road, a polygonal terrace wall, fragments from a Doric temple, and two inscriptions. The first inscription, alleged to have been found at Baltiza, above the village of Klimenti, provides perhaps the strongest evidence for assigning the plain and the highlands to the west to Sikyon. It is a bronze tablet relating in meter the story of Iphinoe, one of the daughters of Proitos, who were cured by Melampous.[87] This 4th-century B.C. inscription is significant for our purpose because, according to one tradition, the Proitidai were healed of their madness at Sikyon. The inscription claims to mark the place where Melampous hid the drugs used for the cure; if the area of Baltiza was that place, then Baltiza lay within the political boundaries of Sikyon. The second inscription, located above the village of Manna, contains the word "public" and can be dated to the 4th century B.C. In my discussion of this inscription in Appendix IV, I argue that it must be connected to the forest area between the Sythas River valley and the *kampos* of Kaiseri and its exploitation for lumber.[88] Although, the ownership of this public land is not securely established, its location to the east of the Sythas River valley favors its connection to Sikyonia. Thus, the ancient road located near the village of Stylia may be connected with the transportation of wood supplies to Sikyon from the southwestern fringes of its territory.[89]

82. See below, p. 240.

83. See below, pp. 240–244.

84. On this tower, see below, pp. 244–246.

85. A good example of a border tower is the one at the village of Rhakai in Boiotia. Camp (1991, pp. 193–197) convincingly showed that the tower was Boiotian and stood on the border between Koroneia and Livadia.

86. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, pl. XIV; Kiepert 1879. In 1840 this mountainous area, along with the villages of Klimenti, Panariti, Markasi (later Manna), and Velina, was designated as the "deme of Pellene" (Kousoulos 1971, p. 408). Doing so, however, was historically inaccurate, as Miliarakis (1886, p. 116) first observed, since Pellene lies above the west bank of the Sythas River.

87. For the text and a translation of this inscription, see below, pp. 403–404.

88. See Appendix IV, pp. 585–588.

89. On the remains of this road (R11 on Map 4), see below, pp. 163–166.

Estimated Size of Sikyonian Territory

First, to summarize what I propose concerning the frontiers of the Sikyonian state: the eastern borders, toward the Corinthia, are securely established since they followed the course of the Nemea River probably as far south as the area of the village of Chalki. The western borders, toward Pellene, were determined by the Sythas River, fairly securely identified with the river of Xylokastro. The two heaps of stones found 3 km to the east of that river either could represent a second (retracted) boundary line or could define, together with possible stone markers above the western bank of the river, a common land between the two states. The southern borders, toward Nemea, Phliasia, and Stymphalia, stretched from the summit of Evangelistria to the pass between Gavrias and Kokkinovrachos. From here the line could extend either (1) northward along the ridge of Vesiza to Moungostos and the Sythas River, or (2) westward to the Kastro of Asprokampos and along the foothills of Kyllene to the Sythas River, thus incorporating the plain of Kaisari and the adjacent highland to the west. In the former case, the total planimetric area of Sikyonia equals 285 km^2, in the latter, 364 km^2.[90] If we associate the *soroi* between the plain of Kaisari and Zemeno with the (western) boundary line along Vesiza range, then the total area is limited to 270 km^2.[91] Based on the evidence presented above, I am inclined toward the higher figure for the area of the territory (360 km^2); I assign the plain of Kaisari to Sikyon, and consider the Sythas River to have served as a borderline as far as the hill of Isomata, to the south of Manna. If we add to this planimetric area the uncalculated area of the hills and mountain slopes (represented on the maps by contour lines), then we arrive at 372 km^2 as the total surface area of the Sikyonian territory. Compared with its neighboring states, Sikyon possessed the second largest territory, yet it was still considerably smaller than the Corinthia.[92]

Medieval and Ottoman Periods

The structures of the ancient polis system collapsed with the fall of the Roman empire in the late 4th century, and Sikyon became part of larger administrative units—initially, the province of Achaia, and later the *theme* of Peloponnesos, with Corinth as its capital.[93] With the coming of the

90. Beloch (1906, p. 57) gave an estimate of 360 km^2 for the Sikyonian territory, while Cavaignac (1912, p. 274) proposed 400 km^2. Adcock (*CAH* 3, p. 698) appears to have followed Beloch. Beloch's estimate is quite close to the larger of the two figures I propose here. Hyginus, a Roman geographer of ca. A.D. 100, lists Sikyon among the large islands ("insulae maximae") and calculates its perimeter to be 1,200 stadia: "Sicyon, ager bonus, circuitu stadia mille centum" (*Fab.* 276.4). This number, which represents a minimum of 200 km, is totally fictional since the actual perimeter of the "large version" of Sikyonia can hardly exceed 78 km.

91. Pharaklas (1971, p. 3) also gives 270 km^2 as the post-Hellenistic Sikyonian territory, defined to the west by the Katharoneri River. The pre-Hellenistic area would amount to 315 km^2, because of the incorporation of Donoussa. There is no indication, however, that Donoussa remained Sikyonian throughout the Classical period. I consider both the annexation of Donoussa (in the tyrannic period) and of the entire Corinthian plain (in the post-Achaian War era) as exceptional events, with only temporary consequences on the territory of Sikyon.

92. Size estimates for neighboring territories: Corinth: 880 km^2 (Beloch 1886, p. 115); Phlious: 180 km^2 (Beloch 1886, p. 115); Corinth and Kleonai together: ca. 1,000 km^2 (Sakellariou and Pharaklas 1971, p. 3). No figures are available for Stymphalos or Pellene, but their territories were manifestly smaller than that of Sikyon.

93. See below, pp. 81–82.

Franks in the early 13th century, the Corinthia constituted a separate *castellania,* which included part of the modern Argolid as well.[94] The Ottomans, in their turn, adopted the Franco-Venetian administrative division with only minor changes, as shown in an Ottoman register of 1668–1669.[95] According to this register, the *sancak* of Morea was divided into 22 *kaza,* among which was Corinth *(Kördus).*[96] When the Venetians again became masters of the peninsula in the late 17th century they converted the *kaza* into *territorii.* The main difference is that the *sancak* of Morea was now divided into four provinces *(provincie),* one being Romania. The province of Romania included the *territorii* of Nauplion *(Napoli),* which served as its capital, Corinth *(Corinto),* Tripolis *(Tripolizza),* Argos, and Tsakonia *(S. Pietro di Zacugna).*[97] The *territorio* of Corinth included 113 villages that spread beyond the boundaries of modern Corinthia into the Argolid.[98] The extent of this territory (also known as *Corintia* or *Saccania*) is shown *grosso modo* on several maps of the early 18th century.[99] It comprised, in ancient terms, the *chorai* of Corinth, Sikyon, Pellene, Pheneos, Stymphalos, Epidauros, Troizen, and Megara.[100] When the Ottomans returned to the Morea, they reestablished their previous administrative divisions, but the geographical boundaries of the *territorii,* now *kaza,* remained unaltered.

GEOLOGY, CLIMATE, AND WATER SOURCES

Geology

Neogene extension—that is, crustal extension of the later Tertiary period, which produced grabens and horsts including the Gulf of Corinth graben—has affected the northeastern part of the Peloponnese where the territory of Sikyon extends.[101] The great fertility of the coastal plain is due to alluvial deposits that derive from the weathering of the neighboring rocks and are transported by the rivers and torrents. Early travelers through this plain were struck by the characteristic whitish color of the soil.[102] These alluvial deposits, which accumulated over two great ages and which Claudio Vita-Finzi labeled Older and Younger Fills, are also responsible for the

94. On the geographical extent of the diocese and *castellania* of Corinth, see Bon 1969, pp. 479–486; Kordosis 1981, p. 32.

95. See the comparative table in Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 160–162.

96. Stojkov 1970, pp. 215–216.

97. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 162–165. The territory of Corinth included the coast opposite the island of Poros *(Porto Porro).*

98. For a list of the *ville*, see Pacifico 1704, pp. 118–119.

99. See Zacharakis 1982, pls. 136 (by J. Danckerts), 155 (by N. de Fer), 173 (by J. B. Homman), 448 (by M. Seutter), 477 (by G. and L. Valck), 484 (by N. Visscher), 486 (by C. Weigel), 494 (by F. de Wit).

100. Sakellariou 1939, pp. 99–103.

101. Higgins and Higgins 1996, p. 69. In my study of the geology of this region, I used the following sheets of the Hellenic Institute of Geology and Mineral Exploration (IGME), scale 1:50,000: Korinthos (1971), Nemea (1970), and Xylokastro (1989).

102. "It is composed of a white argillaceous earth, which is is extremely slippery after rain, and our baggage horses were continually falling" (Dodwell 1819, p. 293). Philippson (1892, pp. 118–119) describes it as "ein weisslicher Mergel."

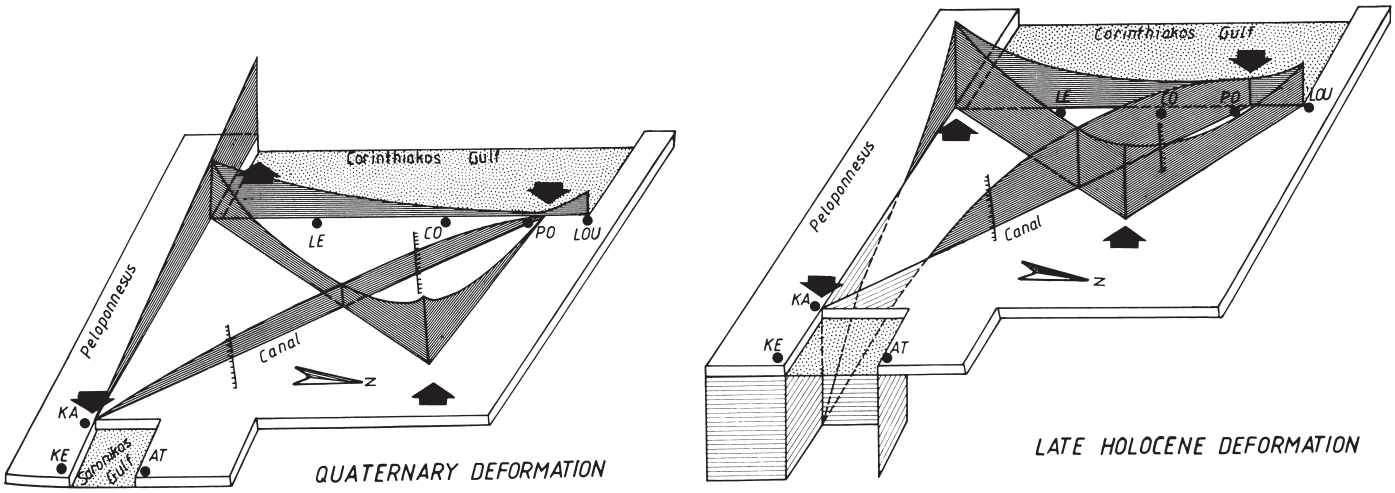


Figure 1.12. Quasi-perspective block diagram of the Isthmus deformation. Arrows indicate torsional deformation: Le = Lechaion, Co = Corinth, Lou = Loutraki, Ka = Kalamaki.
Mariolakos and Stiros 1987, p. 227, fig. 4

progressive silting of the plain. Accumulations of the Younger Fill since the Classical period range between one and three meters in depth, depending on where one stands in the plain.[103] The phenomenon is common in sites located in a plain and in close proximity to hills and torrential rivers.[104]

Another phenomenon that affected the shape of the coastal zone of Sikyonia, and of the northern Peloponnese in general, is the uplift of the northern half of the peninsula since antiquity. This theory, proposed by Pritchett in 1965, has received closer attention from geologists in recent years.[105] Research based on geomorphological, marine biological, and archaeological data points to a Quaternary deformation of the northern Peloponnese, understood as an arc-type uplift (Fig. 1.12).[106] As a result of this uplift, the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf is emerging, while the northern one is submerging. Thus, the Corinthian deformation is represented as two antithetic folds, a bulge to the south and a depression to the north. The middle of the coast experiences the maximum amplitude of this motion, and marine Pleistocene strata have been found in this area at a height of 1,800 masl.[107] This conclusion has been confirmed by examining the sites of the harbors of ancient Lechaion and Aigeira, to the east

103. My estimate of the thickness of the alluviation is based on the depth of fill overlying (1) an ancient rectangular building, recently excavated at the upper (southern) reaches of the plain near the church of Agios Nikolaos (unpublished); and (2) a funerary monument, located lower in the plain, at the intersection of the highway to Patras with the road connecting Vasiliko to Kiato. The latter monument is part of the large cemetery of Chtiri, which was in use from the 6th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., and which was excavated in 1966 and again from 1976 to 1979. It is worth mentioning here that the excavator, Krystalli-Votsi, fails to give the depth of the graves in any of her brief reports. On Vita-Finzi's fills, see Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 290–291 and 305–311.

104. Most characteristic is the plain of the panhellenic sanctuary at Olympia, which extends below the hill of Kronos and is bounded by the Alpheios and Kladeos rivers. There, the clay that was swept down from the Kroneion and the overflowing of the Kladeos formed a deposit over the ancient buildings of an average depth of six meters: *Olympia* II, p. 64, fig. 28, p. 83, fig. 39 (track of the stadium, Leonidaion). Pritchett devoted part of his introduction to *SAGT* VIII (pp. xiv–xxi) to the heavy alluviation in the plains, citing examples from many parts of Greece including the plains of Amphilochian Argos, Arkadian Orchomenos, and Marathon; cf. Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 291–295.

105. *SAGT* I, pp. 12–13; Vita-Finzi 1978, p. 55; Mariolakos and Stiros 1987; Stiros 1988.

106. The uplift is believed to have extended to the peninsula's southern end, although with a much smaller amplitude: the Corinthian uplift is 1,800 m versus 800 m for the central Peloponnese (Stiros 1988, p. 204).

107. Mariolakos and Stiros 1987, p. 227; Papageorgiou et al. 1993, p. 279.

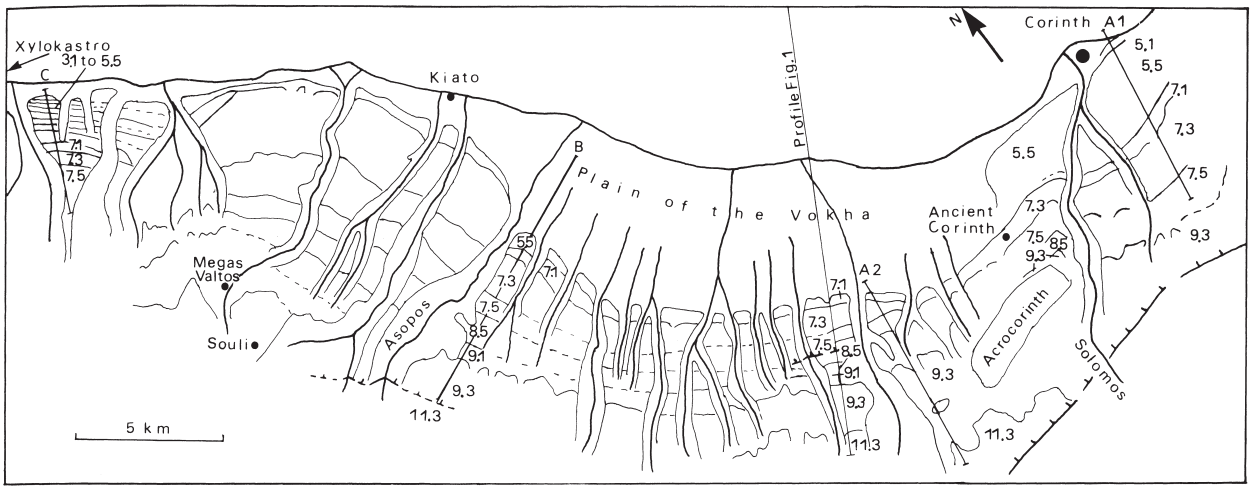


Figure 1.13. Morpho-stratigraphic map of the principal marine terraces between Corinth and Xylokastro.
Keraudren and Sorel 1987, p. 101, fig. 2

and west of Sikyon, respectively.[108] At Lechaion, lithophaga mollusks are exposed on the walls of a channel connecting the open sea with the inner basin of the harbor, at a height of ca. 1.1 m above the present sea level.[109] At Mavra Litharia, the harbor of Aigeira, marine conglomerates containing pottery fragments were found up to a height of 2 m above the water. These conglomerates must have been formed at the bottom of the harbor, during or even after its period of use; in other words, the ground has risen at least 2 m in about 2,000 years.[110] The rate of uplift was not steady over time, but was caused by a series of violent earthquakes, a not uncommon occurrence in this tectonically active area.[111] Lakis Papaphotiou has gathered references to 50 earthquakes that may have affected the Corinthian Gulf since antiquity.[112] Sikyon is explicitly mentioned in connection with the earthquakes of 303 B.C. and A.D. 142–144; the latter quake nearly depopulated the city, according to Pausanias (2.7.1).[113]

Seismic uplift is thought to be responsible for the presence of older fossiliferous rocks at the entrance of the harbor of Lechaion, tentatively dated between 500 and 200 B.C.[114] Remains of vermetid shells at the harbor of Aigeira, lying 1 m above present sea level and dated to ca. A.D. 1000–1200, correspond to an episodic uplift of the area at that time.[115] If we take into consideration that the Corinthian uplift reaches 2 m (maximum value) around Aigeira, that it equals 1 m at Lechaion, and that it dies out toward the Isthmus, we could expect the uplift of the Sikyonian coast to have been close to 1.5 m over the past 2,000 years. No estimates have yet been made concerning the effect of such an uplift on the ancient coastline, in particular, how far inland the water would have come in antiquity as compared to the present day.

Seismic uplifts in the Quaternary period may also account for a number of marine terraces in the northern Peloponnese. Twenty such terraces have been recognized between Xylokastro and Corinth, climbing westward regularly from the low area of the Isthmus and resembling a large staircase (Figs. 1.13, 1.14).[116] The inhabitants of the northern Peloponnese often refer to these formations as πατήματα, literally "steps." A zone ca. 3 km wide, extending from the Nemea River to the area of Megali Valtsa and including the plateau of Sikyon, is characterized by a layer of consolidated

108. For geological examinations of these two harbors, see Papageorgiou et al. 1993, Papageorgiou and Stiros 1996, and Stiros et al. 1996; cf. Papaphotiou 2002, pp. 280–304.

109. Mariolakos and Stiros 1987, p. 227; Stiros et al. 1996, p. 256.

110. Papageorgiou et al. 1993, pp. 277–278.

111. Papageorgiou et al. 1993, p. 280; for a discussion of earthquakes in Greece since antiquity, see Papazachou and Papazachou 1989.

112. Papaphotiou 2002, pp. 166–272.

113. See also Papaphotiou 2002, pp. 181–182 and 196–197.

114. These dates are based on radiometric data; Stiros et al. 1996, p. 259.

115. The date was established by radiocarbon analysis of a sample of a fossil *Dendropoma:* Papageorgiou and Stiros 1996, pp. 212–213; Stiros 2001.

116. Keraudren and Sorel 1987; Stiros et al. 1996, p. 255.

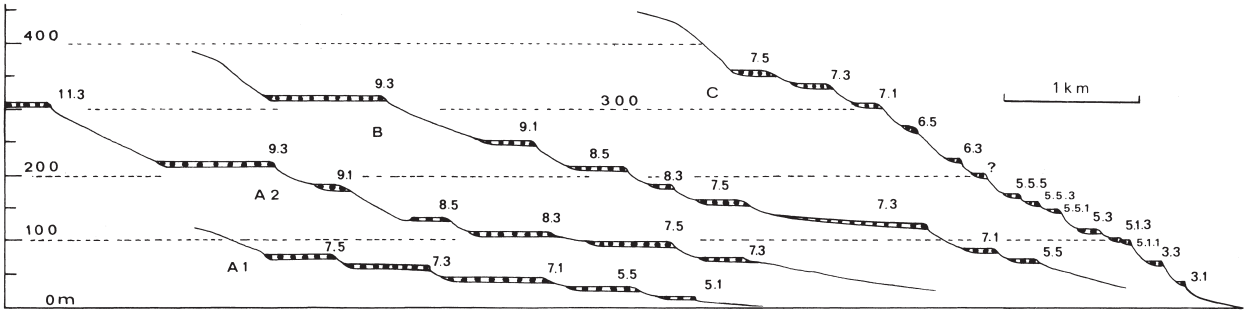


Figure 1.14. Morphological profiles of the principal marine terraces between Corinth and Xylokastro showing their numbers, homology, and westward altitudinal growth: A1 = Corinth section, C = Xylokastro section. Keraudren and Sorel 1987, p. 102, fig. 3

Quaternary conglomerates (Map 2). Further south, the mountainous area, which includes the Trikaranon and Vesiza ranges and extends as far as the Nemean and Phliasian valleys, consists of various types of marls, including sandstones and pebbly conglomerates. The peaks of these mountain ranges are covered with well-cemented conglomerates.[117]

The plain of Kaisari, just like the Corinthian plain to the north, is characterized by alluvial deposits. To the north of this plain, the area of Souli is characterized by marls, whereas Moungostos to the west is marked by cohesive conglomerates 150–200 m thick. Similar types of conglomerates dominate the plateau to the west of Kaisari, among the villages of Kephalari, Manna, Velina, Stylia, and Klimenti. However, the eastern slopes of this plateau (including the areas of Kaisari and Klimenti) consist mainly of marls.[118] The area centered around Megali Valtsa, and including Mikri Valtsa and Thalero to the north, Throphari, Zemeno, and Stylia to the west, and Lalioti to the northeast, is a distinct formation; it consists of an alternation of white to yellowish marls, gray sandy marls, sparse sand, and loose conglomerate intercalations of small thickness. To the north of the Megalos Valtos formations, the terraces of Melissi, Diminio, and Pasio are characterized by colluvial formations, that is, terra rossa and clay material originating from the weathering of the conglomerates. However, the scarps of these terraces are marly. Finally, the area delimited by Melissi, Zemeno, and Stylia in the east to the Sythas River in the west and beyond is mainly composed of sandy marls (called "of Rethi-Dendro").[119] This loose earth gave way to a number of landslides over the centuries, and led to the formation of very characteristic scarps, locally called ρίπες—the recognizable feature of badlands (see Fig. 1.10).[120]

The main geological features of the area of ancient Sikyon—namely, the alluviation of the plain, the uplift of the coast, its intensive seismic history, and the predominance of relatively soft stones—have a direct bearing on the preservation and identification of antiquities today, as I will show in subsequent chapters. The question of harbors and beaches also relates to the geology of the area. The present coastline of Sikyonia, from the Nemea River to Xylokastro, includes only one natural bay, that of the village of Sykia. Although the shape of the coast has been altered since antiquity, we can be fairly certain that there was no other natural bay closer to Sikyon. This forced the Sikyonians to create an artificial harbor between the Asopos and the Helisson rivers.[121] The construction of the harbor may well go back to the tyrannic period (mid-7th/early 6th century B.C.), since we know that

117. As correctly drawn by Philippson (1892, p. 117, fig. 15).

118. As was already quite accurately described by Philippson (1892, p. 121): "Am Ostrand des Plateaus steigen wir nur sehr wenig nach dem Dorf Klimenti hinab (973 m), welches ebenfalls wieder an der Grenze des Konglomerates gegen den darunter liegenden Mergel liegt."

119. The territory of ancient Pellene is almost entirely dominated by this type of soil.

120. Grove and Rackham (2001, pp. 283–284) noticed that badlands in the northern Peloponnese coincide with the Corinth fault zone.

121. The northern end of the breakwater of this harbor appears today as a conspicuous mound within the town of Kiato. I provide a description of this mound and discuss the topographical relationship of the harbor to the city and its acropolis in Chapter 5.

Kleisthenes and his fleet took part in the First Sacred War.[122] Due to the lack of bays along the coast, the beaches, which consist of small pebbles, form an essentially continuous line from the village of Vrachati in the east to Xylokastro in the west.

Climate

Climatic conditions in Sikyonia have not changed dramatically since antiquity, although considerable fluctuations on both a global and a local scale are attested through literary sources and modern scientific analysis.[123] Thus, we know that winters became progressively cooler from Classical to Late Roman times, a Medieval Warm period was succeeded by a Little Ice Age, and extreme events (deluges, cold, and drought) alternated between ca. 1200 and 1700.[124]

The present climate of Sikyonia is overall semiarid, but varies according to the seasons: from November to February it is subhumid, in March subarid, in April and October arid, and between May and September extremely arid. Also, in the coastal and low-elevation zones the climate is drier than in the western mountainous zones.[125] Total annual rainfall at the Sikyon weather station (150 masl) is 484 mm, at the Velo station (20 masl) 471.4 mm, and at the Chalki station (250 masl) 552.5 mm, whereas at Kephalari (760 masl) it is 936.3 mm (Table 1.1).[126] There is a clear division in terms of precipitation, and a definite correlation between elevation and rainfall. Furthermore, it has been estimated that rainfall increases by 40 mm for every 100 m in elevation. Thus, the western Corinthia, which contains higher elevations, experiences the maximum rainfall, whereas the eastern, lower part and the coastal zones experience the minimum.[127] Rainfall is distributed unevenly throughout the year; maximum precipitations are observed in the fall and winter months (from October to March), whereas June and July are the driest months of the year.[128] Extreme weather conditions are rare in Sikyonia. Between 1981 and 1987, the Sikyon station recorded only two days of snow per year, seven days of thunder, and zero days of frost.

The average temperature taken at the Sikyon and Velo stations was 17.5°C (Table 1.2). The coldest months are December through March, with average temperatures ranging between 8°C and 11°C, and the warmest are June through September, with average temperatures of 23°C to 28°C. Again, temperature changes with elevation; thus, the average temperature at the Kyllene station (1,500 masl) is 8.28°C.[129] It has been estimated that in the Corinthia the temperature drops 0.589°C for every 100 m in elevation.[130] This means that the average annual temperature of Sikyonia ranges between 17.5°C at the Velo station (almost at sea level) to ca. 11°C at the highest, southwestern fringes of its ancient territory.

Sunshine in Sikyonia is relatively abundant, as shown in Table 1.3. The annual hours of sunshine at the Velo station amount to 2,767, while the total at the Sikyon station is 2,706 hours. The summer months have the most sunny days as opposed to the winter period.[131] Correspondingly, cloudiness is greatest in winter months (between 4 and 5) and minimal (between 1 and 2) in the summer period (Table 1.4).[132] One interesting

122. Schol. ad Pind. *Nem.* 9.5; see below, pp. 64–65.

123. See Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 141–142. Air temperature from 1900 to 2000 has risen between 0.3°C and 0.6°C due to the phenomenon of global warming: Voudouris 2001, p. 80; cf. Grove and Rackham 2001, p. 128. My discussion of climate, and that on hydrology that follows, is based primarily on data obtained from the National Meteorological Service (EMY), and on Voudouris's (2001) climate study of the *nomos* of Corinthia, of which Sikyonia forms the western part.

124. Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 130–145 and 150.

125. Voudouris 2001, pp. 74–76.

126. Voudouris 2001, p. 23, table 4.

127. Voudouris 2001, pp. 28, 34–36.

128. Voudouris 2001, pp. 31–32.

129. Voudouris 2001, p. 46.

130. Voudouris 2001, pp. 50–51.

131. Voudouris 2001, pp. 52–53.

132. Cloudiness is measured on a scale of 1–8.

TABLE 1.1. AVERAGE MONTHLY AND TOTAL ANNUAL PRECIPITATION AT THE SIKYON, VELO, CHALKI, AND KEPHALARI WEATHER STATIONS*

Station	*Jan*	*Feb*	*Mar*	*Apr*	*May*	*Jun*	*Jul*	*Aug*	*Sep*	*Oct*	*Nov*	*Dec*	*Total Annual*
Sikyon (1981–1987)	58.6	79.0	61.3	54.3	16.7	7.3	1.4	6.8	7.3	58.5	68.7	64.1	484.0
Velo (1987–2000)	77.1	48.3	57.5	26.2	27.0	4.8	4.9	15.3	21.5	37.2	87.1	64.5	471.4
Chalki (1975–1999)	85.3	65.8	71.5	36.2	24.1	9.2	5.3	10.9	14.0	54.0	83.3	92.9	552.5
Kephalari (1950–1997)	127.9	87.1	120.9	67.8	48.7	22.8	17.2	40.8	47.6	103.2	119.0	133.3	936.3

Source: Voudouris 2001, p. 23, table 4.

*Measurements are in mm.

TABLE 1.2. AVERAGE MONTHLY AND ANNUAL TEMPERATURES AT THE SIKYON AND VELO WEATHER STATIONS*

Station	*Jan*	*Feb*	*Mar*	*Apr*	*May*	*Jun*	*Jul*	*Aug*	*Sep*	*Oct*	*Nov*	*Dec*	*Annual*
Sikyon (1981–1987)	9.6	8.5	10.1	15.3	20.3	25.2	27.5	26.9	24.0	18.4	13.0	10.6	17.45
Velo (1988–1997)	8.8	9.1	11.2	15.0	20.3	25.3	27.9	27.2	23.2	18.3	13.1	10.0	17.45

Source: Voudouris 2001, p. 46, table 15.

*Measurements are in degrees Celsius.

TABLE 1.3. MONTHLY AND TOTAL ANNUAL HOURS OF SUNSHINE AT THE SIKYON AND VELO WEATHER STATIONS

Station	*Jan*	*Feb*	*Mar*	*Apr*	*May*	*Jun*	*Jul*	*Aug*	*Sep*	*Oct*	*Nov*	*Dec*	*Total Annual*
Sikyon (1981–1987)	146	107	150	225	291	341	358	335	283	195	143	132	2,706
Velo (1987–1998)	146	151	180	226	292	343	366	339	265	200	146	113	2,767

Source: Voudouris 2001, p. 52, table 20.

TABLE 1.4. AVERAGE MONTHLY AND ANNUAL CLOUDINESS AT THE SIKYON WEATHER STATION*

Station	*Jan*	*Feb*	*Mar*	*Apr*	*May*	*Jun*	*Jul*	*Aug*	*Sep*	*Oct*	*Nov*	*Dec*	*Annual*
Sikyon (1981–1987)	3.9	4.8	4.7	3.5	2.8	1.7	1.1	1.1	1.3	3.1	4.0	4.0	3.0

Source: National Meteorological Service.

*Measurements are on a scale of 1–8.

TABLE 1.5. AVERAGE MONTHLY AND ANNUAL RELATIVE HUMIDITY (%) AT THE SIKYON AND VELO WEATHER STATIONS

Station	*Jan*	*Feb*	*Mar*	*Apr*	*May*	*Jun*	*Jul*	*Aug*	*Sep*	*Oct*	*Nov*	*Dec*	*Annual Average*
Sikyon (1981–1987)	68.9	71.3	67.6	60.6	55.2	51.5	47.3	49.1	52.1	62.8	70.4	69.9	60.6
Velo (1988–1996)	73.9	70.6	71.0	66.5	60.4	53.8	51.7	54.1	61.5	68.8	75.6	75.9	65.3

Sources: Sikyon = National Meteorological Service; Velo = Voudouris 2001, p. 56, table 23.

feature is that cloudiness is rarely complete even in winter, since most days fall within the 1.6–6.4 bracket. Relative humidity is generally less in eastern than in western Greece, and the coastal zone of Sikyonia has an annual average of 60%–65% (Table 1.5). Humidity is higher in winter months (around 70%) and lower in summer (around 50%). Along the coast (Velo), humidity never falls below 50% because of the proximity of the sea; in the mountainous regions, the differences are greater, with very humid winters and dry summers.[133]

The intensity of the winds in Sikyonia and their direction are analyzed in Table 1.6. I grouped the winds into four categories—calm, light, moderate, and strong. Light winds correspond to 1–2 on the Beaufort scale (i.e., a speed of 1–12 km/hr), moderate to 3–5 Beaufort (13–35 km/hr), and strong to 6–7 Beaufort (36–55 km/hr). Both stations show a high percentage of calm, although at Sikyon it reaches an annual average of 81.1% as opposed to 46.5% at Velo, undoubtedly due to the proximity of the sea. Both areas are dominated by moderate winds, light winds are not as common, and strong winds are rare. The two areas also differ in their prevailing winds. The coastal zone is affected by winds blowing from the northeast and east, and less so by northern and southern winds.[134] On the contrary, the prevailing winds on the Sikyonian plateau are (in decreasing order) the northwest, west, east, and north, while northeast winds appear from July through October. The Etesian winds (commonly called *meltemia*) blow from northern directions (north, northeast, and northwest) from late July to September, and are occasionally strong. In antiquity it was no different, if we trust the comment of Eustathios: "the northern wind, according to the Sikyonians, comes in late summer, namely the Etesian. And they say that the Etesian winds are stronger and drier than the winds blowing in wintertime."[135]

Water Sources

The landscape's form, its soil composition, vegetation, and climatic conditions all have a direct impact on the aquifer and the location of springs. Along the coastal plain, the aquifer was very close to the surface, and this explains the number of wells dug in antiquity as well as in modern times. In recent decades, however, excessive tapping of the aquifer by means of deep boreholes and electric pumps for irrigation has exhausted the shallow water-bearing strata and the springs that used to flow in the coastal plain.[136] As a

133. Voudouris 2001, pp. 56–57 (based on comparison of data from the Velo, Corinth, and Trikala stations).

134. Voudouris 2001, pp. 68–71.

135. Eust. ad *Il.* 21.346–349 (4.515.7 van der Valk): ὀπωρινὸς δὲ Βορρᾶς κατὰ τοὺς Σικυωνίους ὁ θερινός, ἤγουν ὁ ἐτησίας. ἰσχυρότεροι δέ, φασί, καὶ ξηρότεροι τῶν ἐν χειμῶνι πνεόντων οἱ ἐτησίαι.

136. For example, the springs of Vrachati and Nerantza, both located on the coast, dry out completely during the summer; this was not so as recently as the early 1980s. On the overuse of groundwater, see Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 351–360.

TABLE 1.6. MONTHLY FREQUENCY (%) OF WIND INTENSITY AND DIRECTION AT THE SIKYON AND VELO WEATHER STATIONS

	Sikyon (1981–1987)									*Velo (1987–1997)*								
January	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									80.1									45.4
Light	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2	0	3.5	0.3	5.7	1.2	3.6	2.6	2.1	3.4	1.4	0.9	6.6	21.8
Moderate	1.5	2.4	1.6	0.3	1.6	0.5	4.7	1.2	13.8	2.2	13.3	6.7	1.2	1.4	0.8	0.9	2.2	28.7
Strong	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0.2	0	0.4	0.7	2.2	0.9	0	0.1	0	0.1	0.1	4.1
Subtotal	2.2	2.9	2.1	0.5	1.8	0.5	8.4	1.5		4.1	19.1	10.2	3.3	4.9	2.2	1.9	8.9	
February	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									79.0									45.1
Light	1.0	0.7	0.6	0	0	0.2	0.8	0.2	3.6	0.5	3.0	2.3	2.1	8.0	4.3	1.1	0.8	22.1
Moderate	2.0	1.8	3.0	0	3.1	1.2	4.1	1.4	16.5	2.4	10.9	7.7	2.0	1.5	0.8	1.3	2.6	28.7
Strong	0.0	0.2	0	0	0.6	0	0	0	0.8	0.2	2.0	0.5	0	0	0.3	0.2	0.6	3.7
Subtotal	3.0	2.7	3.6	0	3.7	1.4	4.9	1.6		3.1	16.0	10.5	3.6	9.5	5.5	2.6	4.0	
March	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									79.2									45.0
Light	1.0	0.5	0.9	0	0	0	0.9	0.5	4.0	1.5	3.5	2.0	3.0	6.1	2.8	1.6	0.8	21.4
Moderate	1.5	3.0	6.8	0.2	0.9	0.2	2.5	1.3	16.7	3.9	9.7	6.6	2.3	1.7	0.7	1.8	3.5	30.1
Strong	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.1	2.0	0.3	0	0.1	0	0.2	0.5	3.1
Subtotal	2.6	3.8	7.7	0.2	0.9	0.2	3.4	1.9		5.6	15.2	9.0	5.4	7.8	3.5	3.6	4.8	
April	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									79.8									47.3
Light	0.9	0	1.1	0	0.9	0	1.3	1.3	5.5	0.9	5.8	2.6	2.5	7.8	2.4	1.0	0.7	22.0
Moderate	1.1	1.3	1.5	0.5	1.0	0.7	2.6	4.8	13.7	4.1	6.3	6.5	3.1	2.4	0.9	1.6	4.4	29.4
Strong	0	0	0	0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.0	0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0	0	0.2	0.6	1.2
Subtotal	2.0	1.3	2.6	0.5	2.2	0.9	4.0	6.5		5.1	10.1	9.3	5.8	10.3	3.2	2.7	6.0	
May	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									78.6									46.2
Light	1.8	0.6	1.2	0	0.3	0	1.0	0.8	5.8	2.0	4.3	3.0	3.1	5.0	1.7	1.3	2.0	22.6
Moderate	2.9	1.5	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.3	1.7	5.6	14.3	5.3	9.5	5.7	1.8	1.0	0.3	0.9	4.9	29.5
Strong	0	0.1	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	0.6	1.2	0.1	0	0	0.1	0	0.1	0.2	0.9	1.5
Subtotal	4.8	2.3	2.4	0.6	0.9	0.5	2.7	7.0		7.5	13.9	8.8	5.1	6.0	2.1	2.4	7.9	
June	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									79.2									45.7
Light	2.3	0.9	0.8	0	0	0	0.9	1.9	7.0	1.8	3.5	4.2	3.1	5.5	1.4	1.3	1.9	22.8
Moderate	3.0	1.7	0.5	0	0.3	0	2.5	5.3	13.5	6.2	6.7	4.9	1.4	0.8	0.3	1.5	7.8	29.6
Strong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.3	0.2	0	0.1	0	0	0	0.3	1.2	1.8
Subtotal	5.4	2.7	1.3	0	0.3	0	3.5	7.6		8.1	10.2	9.2	4.5	6.3	1.7	3.1	10.9	
July	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									80.8									44.7
Light	1.4	2.1	1.7	0	0	0.1	1.5	2.1	9.0	2.2	6.5	4.2	2.5	4.3	2.4	1.4	1.1	24.8
Moderate	1.5	2.3	1.0	0	0	0.5	0.6	3.8	9.8	5.6	11.0	5.8	0.4	0.1	0.3	1.1	4.7	28.9
Strong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.7	1.3
Subtotal	2.9	4.5	2.8	0	0	0.6	2.1	6.3		8.0	17.7	10.2	2.9	4.4	2.6	2.8	6.5	

TABLE 1.6—*Continued*

	Sikyon (1981–1987)									*Velo (1987–1997)*								
August	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									82.1									48.7
Light	2.0	1.4	1.0	0	0	0	0.5	1.4	6.3	3.0	5.8	4.6	1.9	5.0	2.4	1.0	1.0	24.6
Moderate	2.8	2.9	0.6	0.1	0.1	0	2.5	2.1	11.1	6.2	11.0	5.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	2.2	26.2
Strong	0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0.3	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2
Subtotal	4.8	4.5	1.7	0.1	0.1	0	3.0	3.5		9.3	16.9	9.9	2.3	5.4	2.6	1.4	3.3	
September	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									85.9									46.6
Light	1.4	0.6	0.6	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	3.7	2.7	4.5	3.1	1.8	5.6	3.5	1.4	1.8	24.4
Moderate	2.0	2.5	1.4	1.1	0.1	0.1	1.7	1.8	10.0	4.9	9.5	4.8	0.4	1.7	0.6	0.7	5.1	27.6
Strong	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0.8	1.2
Subtotal	3.5	3.2	2.0	0.1	0.3	0.1	2.1	2.5		7.8	14.2	7.9	2.2	7.2	4.1	2.1	7.7	
October	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									83.4									46.7
Light	0.8	1.0	0.5	0	0	0	2.3	0.3	5.0	1.4	3.5	3.2	1.8	6.8	2.8	0.7	0.9	21.0
Moderate	1.2	4.8	2.8	0	0.3	0	2.1	1.7	11.6	3.8	10.3	7.1	1.5	2.1	1.4	0.6	2.8	29.6
Strong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.7	0.6	0	0	0	0	0.2	2.4
Subtotal	2.0	5.9	3.3	0	0.3	0	3.0	2.0		5.2	15.4	10.9	3.3	8.9	4.2	1.3	4.0	
November	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									82.2									48.4
Light	0.5	0.3	1.1	0	0	0	1.8	0.3	4.0	1.4	2.3	3.0	1.9	7.0	4.1	1.2	1.1	22.1
Moderate	2.2	2.4	2.9	0.1	0.3	0.8	4.5	0.3	13.7	1.5	9.3	7.0	2.2	2.3	1.4	1.4	2.4	27.4
Strong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	1.0	0.5	0	0.1	0	0	0.1	1.8
Subtotal	2.7	2.8	4.0	0.1	0.3	0.8	6.3	0.6		3.1	12.6	10.6	4.1	9.4	5.5	2.5	3.7	
December	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Total
Calm									83.5									48.3
Light	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.3	3.0	1.0	2.3	4.2	3.2	8.9	3.7	1.5	0.9	25.6
Moderate	1.4	2.7	3.6	0	0.7	0.5	2.3	2.0	13.2	2.0	7.5	5.6	1.5	2.6	1.2	1.2	1.6	23.1
Strong	0	0	0	0	0	0.2	0	0	0.2	0.3	1.5	0.7	0	0.1	0.1	0	0	2.8
Subtotal	2.2	2.9	3.8	0.2	0.9	0.9	3.4	2.3		3.3	11.3	10.5	4.7	11.6	5.0	2.7	2.5	

Sources: Sikyon = National Meteorological Service; Velo = based on Voudouris 2001, p. 70, table 33.

whole, Sikyonia is relatively well watered with hundreds of springs, some of which I mention in connection with settlements. The most copious ones are located in its southern and particularly its western semimountainous and mountainous areas. In fact, four of the most important water sources of the entire province of Corinthia fall within Sikyonian territory (Map 2): the springs of Se at Megali Valtsa (with an hourly discharge of 380 m^3); the springs of Mikri Valtsa (350 m^3/hr); the springs of Goura outside the village of Manna (300 m^3/hr); and the springs of Kyrillou near Pasio (110 m^3/hr).[137] Other abundant springs are located at Agia Paraskevi of Vochaiko, Anavara of Bozika, Gonoussa, Paradeisi, Melisiklias of Kryoneri (ca. 40 m^3/hr), Souphi of Lalioti, and Stylia. Many of these springs were tapped in antiquity: the springs of Se and Melisiklias fed the aqueducts of

137. Voudouris 2001, p. 17.

Sikyon in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as several mills in the Ottoman period, Anavara fed one of the aqueducts of the sanctuary of Titane, while Souphi and Mikri Valtsa provided water to large cisterns in Late Roman times for irrigation.

Athenaios, in discussing various wines, says that in Athens and Sikyon the water is hard: σκληρὰ τὰ ὕδατα (1.33c). Perhaps this further induced the Sikyonians to bring water to the city, by means of aqueducts, from springs located to the southwest and west of the plateau.[138]

FLORA AND FAUNA

Flora

Before embarking on a discussion of the Sikyonian flora, we may legitimately ask how far back its typical Mediterranean vegetation goes.[139] Largely thanks to pollen analysis, we know that by 7000 B.C. Mediterranean wildwood was "not much less varied than the vegetation today."[140] A marked difference with regard to the present situation is that the dominant maquis or savanna of today was not as ubiquitous then, and wildwood forest consisting mainly of deciduous oaks was more extensive instead. During the Neolithic period, deciduous oaks were gradually cleared from soils with agricultural potential, and this "progressive degradation"[141] of the aboriginal vegetation accelerated in subsequent periods of demographic growth, mainly during the Late Helladic and Classical eras. Paleobotanical and palynological studies carried out in other parts of Greece have shown that the "natural" vegetation as encountered on uncultivated slopes and long fallow fields has not changed dramatically since the Early Bronze Age. As Grove and Rackham explain, "Xenophon would instantly recognise most of nineteenth-century Greece, before the recent decline of cultivation and expansion of woodland in the mountains."[142]

Ancient written testimonia on the plants of Sikyonia are limited to a handful of references in Theophrastos, Athenaios, Pliny the Elder, Pausanias, and the lexicographer Hesychios. I will supplement this evidence with information on the principal plant communities of modern Sikyonia. Theophrastos offers a unique testimony on *herpyllos,* a wild species growing on Sikyonian mountains, and transplanted to the city (*Hist. pl.* 6.7.2): καὶ γὰρ ἕρπυλλός ἐστιν ἄγριος, ὃν κομίζοντες ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν φυτεύουσιν ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐκ τοῦ Ὑμηττοῦ.[143] Pliny (*HN* 19.55), relating the same story, lists *serpyllum et sisymbrium. Herpyllos* is the tufted thyme *(Thymus sibthorpii),* but the exact identity of *sisymbrium* is unknown—it is probably a kind of mint. Semus of Delos, in his work *On Paeans,* says that the Sikyonian *phallophoroi* do not use a mask, but wear a chaplet of *herpyllos* and *paideros,* on top of which they put a thick wreath of violets and ivy (*apud* Ath. 14.621f, 622c): οἱ δὲ φαλλοφόροι, φησίν, προσωπεῖον μὲν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, προπόλιον δ'ἐξ' ἑρπύλλου περιτιθέμενοι καὶ παιδέρωτος ἐπάνω τούτου ἐπιτίθενται στέφανον δασὺν ἴων καὶ κιττοῦ. ἴον is the violet *(Viola odorata),* and κιττός (or κισσός) a kind of ivy *(Hedera helix).* Athenaios quotes Timachidas and Philitas on a specific wreath that the Sikyonians call *iaccha*: Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ΙΑΚΧΑΝ τινὰ καλούμενον οἶδα

138. For the aqueducts of Sikyon, see Appendix III.

139. For the flora of the region, see esp. Polunin 1987; Sphikas 2001; and Grove and Rackham 2001.

140. Grove and Rackham 2001, p. 159.

141. Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 162–163.

142. Grove and Rackham 2001, p. 171. Indeed, due to the depopulation of the modern Greek countryside and the underexploitation of woodlands, forests and maquis have increased, expanding to areas that were hitherto cultivated: Grove and Rackham 2001, pp. 184–185.

143. Cf. Ath. 15.681f.

στέφανον ὑπὸ Σικυωνίων, ὥς φησι Τιμαχίδας ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις· Φιλίτας δ'οὕτως γράφει· "Ἰάκχα, ἐν τῇ Σικυωνίᾳ, στεφάνωμα εὐῶδες . . ." (15.678a). Pausanias says that the *paideros,* offered by the sacrificers to Aphrodite, grew only in the precinct of Aphrodite in the city, and nowhere else on earth, not even elsewhere in Sikyonia: ἔνεστι δὲ ὁ παιδέρως ἐν υπαίθρῳ τοῦ περιβόλου πόα, φύεται δὲ ἀλλαχόθι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς, οὔτε ἄλλης οὔτε τῆς Σικυωνίας (2.10.5–6). *Paideros* is considered to be the holm oak (*Quercus ilex*), a common evergreen shrub, but in light of Pausanias's passage we should reconsider this identification. Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge argues that *paideros* was a kind of hawthorn (*Crataegus* sp.), perhaps the *Crataegus azarolus,* endemic to Crete but rare in other parts of Greece.[144]

A shrub commonly found in Sikyonia, as in most other parts of peninsular Greece, is the kermes oak *(Quercus coccifera).* Pausanias (2.11.4) saw a sacred grove of kermes oaks (ἄλσος πρίνων) on the east side of the Asopos River, opposite Titane.[145] Indeed, the maquis covering the marly western slopes of Trikaranon, below modern Stimanga, includes kermes oaks. In the peribolos of Asklepios at Titane, Pausanias saw "old" cypress trees: καὶ κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου δένδρα ἀρχαῖα (2.11.6). This is not the only place in Sikyonia where cypress trees grew. Thanks to the Delphic accounts, we know that the *naopoioi* of Apollo purchased cypress wood from Sikyon.[146] Among the species of submarine vegetation, Pliny lists sea vines, sea figs, and sea palms that grow in Sikyon: "et aliae traduntur praegrandes circa Sicyonem, vitis enim passim nascitur, sed ficus sine foliis, rubro cortice; fit et palma fruticum generis" (*HN* 13.49).

Besides these explicit references to Sikyonian plants, we have a few pieces of indirect evidence for Sikyonian vegetation. Eustathios derives the very name "Sikyon" from the word σικύα, the bottle gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris),* or σίκυς, the cucumber *(Cucumis sativus),* either or both of which would presumably have grown in the area (ad *Il.* 23.299 [4.1302.20 van der Valk]: ἐκ δὲ σικύων, Σικυών). Photius (*Lex.* 1096) says that the Sikyonian name for "plums" (κοκκύμηλα) is ἀμάδρυα. Finally, Athenaios comments on the Alexandrian κολοκασία, adding that there is a sanctuary of Kolokasia Athena in Sikyon: ἐστὶ δ' ἐν Σικυώνι Κολοκασίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν (3.72b). It is possible that the goddess's epithet was derived from these roots *(Nelumbium speciosum)* growing in and around the sanctuary.

In modern times, approximately 28% of Sikyonian territory is shown covered by forests and shrubs on maps of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service (Map 3).[147] This corresponds to ca. 66 km^2 of forested area and 34 km^2 of shrubland. As elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the most common evergreen maquis of Sikyonia is the extremely resilient prickly or kermes oak *(Quercus coccifera),* which occurs both in shrub form and as a fully grown tree.[148] It is commonly found on the slopes of the Klimenti-Kaisari valley and of the valleys of the Nemea and Asopos rivers, as well as on the slopes of many marine terraces including those of Ellinochori and Stimanga. Among the deciduous oaks, *Quercus pubescens* grows on the slopes of Vesiza mountain, and makes up most of the Moungostos forest.[149] Firs and pines grow from the first terraces above the plain to the mountainous zone of Kyllene.[150] Most common are the Aleppo pine forests *(Pinus*

144. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, pp. 146–150.

145. See below, pp. 388 and 412.

146. See below, pp. 57–58.

147. In reality, the percentage is much larger (probably as high as 50%) given that only sizable tracts of forests and shrubs are marked on the military maps. Smaller areas are normally not indicated.

148. The shrub form predominates where flocks are grazed. Nowadays one encounters more kermes-oak trees than before the Second World War, when there were many more herds of goats.

149. Cf. Gell (1817, p. 19), who noted the "oaks" on Vesiza.

150. The coastal pine forest of Xylokastro (so-called Pefkias) was planted.

halepensis), which are encountered at lower elevations and on hillsides and usually have a rich understory of broadleaf evergreens, including prickly oaks *(Quercus coccifera),* strawberry trees (*Arbutus* spp.), lentiscs *(Pistacia lentiscus),* and cedars (*Juniperus* spp.). One finds them on the terraces of Ellinochori, the western slopes of Stimanga toward Asopos, the slopes of Kokkinovrachos (southwest of Vasiliko) toward the Helisson and Asopos rivers, the slopes of Kapandri and Lalioti toward the Seliandros River, the rocky slopes of Ano Melissi toward the coastal plain, the northern slopes of Moungostos, and the steep slopes of the Throphari and Zemeno areas toward the Katharoneri and Sythas rivers. Among the mountain conifers, the Cephalonian fir *(Abies cephalonica)* covers the summit of Vesiza and parts of the highlands bound by the villages of Kaisari, Kephalari, and Manna. In the same area one encounters black mountain pines *(Pinus nigra),* especially around the village of Velina.[151]

Willow trees (*Salix* sp.), plane trees *(Platanus orientalis),* poplars (*Populus* spp.), osiers *(Vitex agnus-castus),* myrtles *(Myrtus communis),* and oleanders *(Nerium oleander)* grow near the banks of the streams. Other trees and shrubs scattered amid forests, old fields, and abandoned terraces, and around the villages of Sikyonia, include musk trees *(Acacia farnesiana),* cypress trees *(Cypressus sempervirens),* fig trees *(Ficus carica), Prunus cocomilia,* maple trees (*Acer* sp.), judas trees *(Cercis siliquastrum), Calliotome villosa, Paliurus* sp., and *Pyrus spinosa.* The undershrub vegetation *(phrygana)* includes many herbs, such as thyme *(Thymus capitatus)* and oregano (*Origanum* sp.), and a variety of wildflowers commonly found in Greece.

Fauna

Very little is known of the animal communities of Sikyonia in the premodern periods, and almost nothing of its nondomesticated species. The mammals observed most commonly today are red foxes *(Vulpes vulpes),* golden jackals *(Canis aureus),* Eurasian badgers *(Meles meles),* beech martens *(Martes foina),* weasels *(Mustela nivalis),* hares *(Lepus europaeus),* rabbits *(Oryctolagus cuniculus),* wildcats *(Felis silvestris),* eastern hedgehogs *(Erinaceus concolor),* and mice (*Mus* sp. and *Apodemus* sp.). We have much less data on the presence of the Chiroptera order (bats) and the regional small mammal fauna (rodents and voles).

Better known are the numerous species of birds that can be found in the region. These include house martins *(Delichon urbica)* and red-rumped swallows *(Hirundo rustica),* jackdaws *(Corvus monedula),* magpies *(Pica pica),* robins *(Erithacus rubecula),* goldfinches *(Carduelis carduelis),* greenfinches *(Carduelis chloris),* nightingales *(Luscinia megarhynchos),* rock pigeons *(Columba livia),* wood pigeons *(Columba palumbus),* quails *(Coturnix coturnix),* woodcocks *(Scolopax rusticola),* house sparrows *(Passer domesticus),* swifts *(Apus apus),* blackbirds *(Turdus merula),* falcons (*Falco* spp., especially *eleonorae*), shelducks *(Tadorna tadorna),* kingfishers *(Alcedo atthis),* eagle owls *(Bubo bubo),* little owls *(Athene noctua),* scops owls *(Otus scops),* and, in the mountainous areas, partridges (*Alectoris* spp.).

151. Cf. Gell (1817, p. 19) and Leake (1830, p. 224), who recorded the "pine woods" of the highland between Klimenti and Manna; see also the description offered by Rangabé (1857, p. 47): "D'un côté, la vallée [of the Trikalitikos River] s'élève jusqu'au vaste plateau qu'occupent les villages de Velina, de Markasi et de plusieurs encore, et ses flancs sont couverts d'un rideau de forêts de sapins."



Figure 1.15. ***Trapetum mortarium*** **photographed between the villages of Poulitsa and Tarsina, present whereabouts unknown**

RESOURCES OF THE LAND AND SEA

Agriculture, pastoralism, fishing, quarrying, and woodcutting have been some of the major activities of the inhabitants of Sikyonia from antiquity to modern times.

Agriculture

Ancient Times

Judging from ancient references, olive trees and grapes must have been the major cultivars in the plain. Sikyonian olive oil was world famous, at least by Roman times, if we trust the testimonies of Vergil, Statius, and distinguished physicians and medical writers. Statius in his *Thebaid* (4.50) praises the fields of "olive-bearing Sikyon" *(oliviferae Sicyonis).* Vergil in his *Georgics* (2.519) refers to "Sikyon's olive bruised in the mill" *(teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis),* and his scholiast Servius adds that "Sikyonian oil is of great value."[152] Pausanias, when talking about the Phokian city of Tithorea, says that its olive oil "is less abundant than Attic or Sikyonian oil" (10.32.19). Dioskorides (*De materia medica* 1.30.5) describes the therapeutic qualities of the oil packed in Sikyon: σκευάζεται δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐν Σικυωνίᾳ, Σικυώνιον καλούμενον. δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει ποσῶς θερμαντικήν, ἁρμόζον ἐν πυρετοῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ νεῦρα πάθεσι. This quotation makes it clear that Sikyonian oil was exported in the 1st century A.D.; it must have continued to be exported in the 2nd century, since Galen repeatedly recommends it in his treatises.[153]

Surprisingly, we were able to find the *mortarium* of only one olive mill along the coastal plain, near the village of Poulitsa (Fig. 1.15).[154] Two hemispherical millstones *(orbes),* 0.55 m and 0.52 m in diameter, lie in the courtyard of the Sikyon Museum (Fig. 1.16), but their provenance is unknown. Part of the reason for the scarcity of this equipment in the plain must be their reuse in modern households.[155] To the south of the plain, we found pressing equipment, especially olive-crushers, at 10 sites (HS-30, HS-34, HS-38, HS-52, HS-67, HS-74, HS-90, HS-94, HS-97, HS-106),

152. Serv. ad Verg. *G.* 2.519: *oleum Sicyonium magno in pretio est.*

153. E.g., in *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 6: vol. 11, p. 686, line 18; vol. 12, p. 340, line 17 (ed. Kühn).

154. The Poulitsa *mortarium* is made of conglomerate stone, 1.8 m in diameter, and has a preserved inner depth of ca. 0.2 m; the height could not be measured because the *trapetum* was set into the ground.

155. Even the Poulitsa *mortarium*, which I recorded in the summer of 2001, has since disappeared.



Figure 1.16. Millstones in the courtyard of the Sikyon Museum

located on the first terraces above the plain and as far inland as Titane and Stylia (Fig. 1.17).[156] The mortaria that are preserved sufficiently for measurement are quite large: 1.5 m in diameter, 0.8 m in height, and with 0.2–0.3 m inner depth. Titane (HS-67) seems to have been especially active in olive production, since we found two *mortaria* here of large dimensions (see, e.g., Fig. 1.18). Likewise, the site of Kotroni below Stylia (HS-90) preserves two kinds of pressing equipment, a *trapetum mortarium,* 1.8 m in diameter and with 0.24 m inner depth, and a rectangular press bed, 1.1 × 1.3 m, both of conglomerate stone (Fig. 1.19). Nine of the ten sites have a Late Roman phase (HS-34 is the exception), and for four of those Late Roman was the period of primary occupation (HS-38, HS-74, HS-90, HS-94). This cannot be accidental, nor is it unique; the surveyors of the Methana peninsula, who documented a large assemblage of pressing equipment, observed that the great majority are associated with Roman and Late Roman sites.[157] Earlier pressing equipment, of the Archaic, Classical, and possibly Hellenistic periods, must have been made of wood, as suggested by a reference to a wooden press in the early-5th-century B.C. inscription from Kryoneri.[158]

The rectangular stone press bed of Kotroni was part of a lever-and-weight press, which could be used for either olive or wine production. The press would have included a cut block or natural boulder with two or more circular holes to hold a wooden press beam. At Kotroni, the press bed was not found in situ, and the remainder of the pressing apparatus was not in the vicinity. But additional evidence for a lever-and-weight press was found within the fort of Gonoussa (DS-3). Here the bedrock has been smoothly

156. In fact, the *trapetum*'s *mortarium* piece, that is, the large saucer, was found, not the *orbes,* the two hemispherical millstones attached to its cylindrical stem. In the whole of Sikyonia I was able to find only one such millstone, in a private house in Stimanga. A similar phenomenon is observed in samples from the Argolid and Arkadia: see Pikoulas 1995, pp. 365–366.

157. Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 262–264.

158. See below, p. 405 (for the inscription); also Mee and Forbes 1997, p. 261 (on the ephemeral nature of earlier pressing equipment).



Figure 1.17. ***Trapetum mortarium*** **photographed at Loutro of Lalioti (HS-106), present whereabouts unknown**

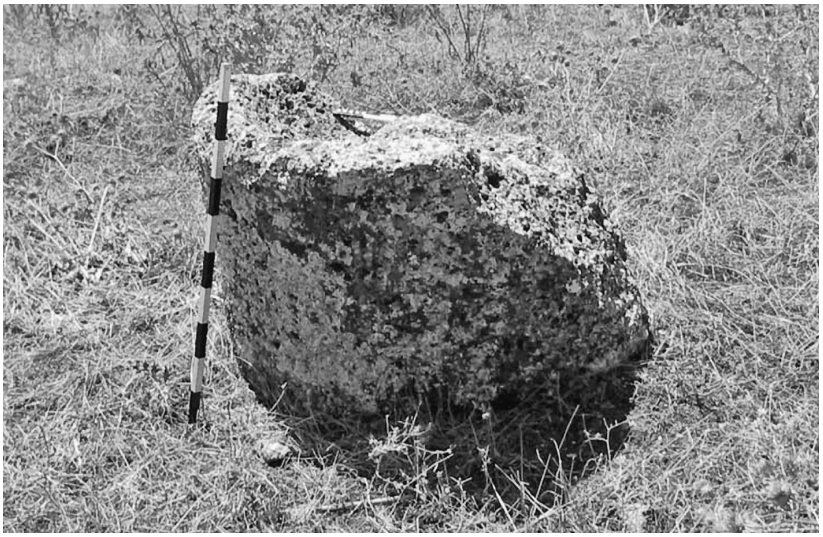


Figure 1.18. ***Trapetum mortarium*** **below (east of) the hill of Agios Tryphon of Titane (HS-67)**



Figure 1.19. Rectangular press bed at Kotroni (HS-90), below the village of Stylia. Note the abundance of olive trees in the surrounding area.

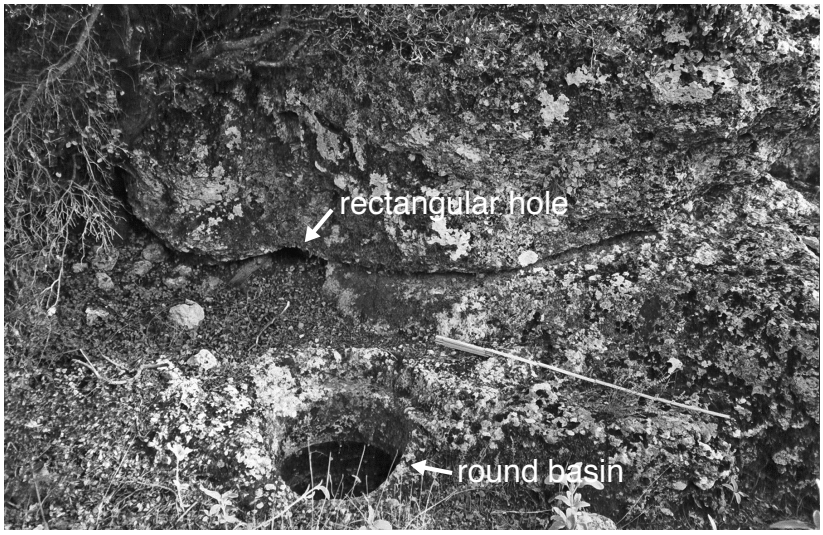


Figure 1.20. Olive- or wine-press installation within the Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3)

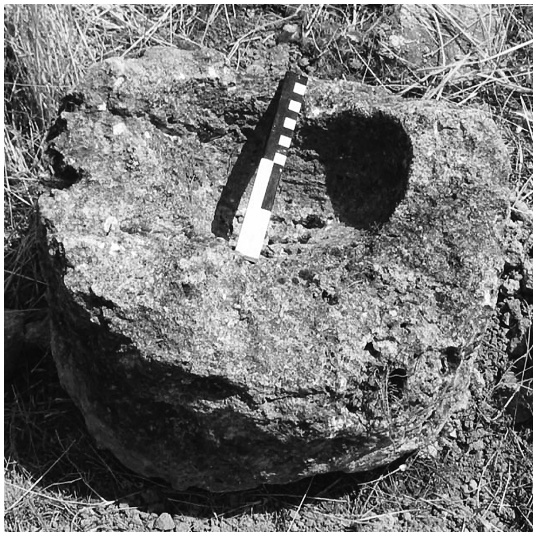


Figure 1.21. Smooth, ellipsoidal stone, probably a press weight, at Sesi 1 of Titane (HS-74)

dressed in order to form a vertical and a horizontal surface joined at right angles. On the vertical surface, measuring ca. 1 × 1 m, a rectangular hole with dimensions 0.14 × 0.11 m is cut to a depth of 0.1 m (Fig. 1.20). On the horizontal surface, a round basin is carved, 0.45 m in diameter and 0.40 m in depth. The rectangular hole was meant to receive the end of a wooden beam, which would have squeezed the stacks (presumably baskets, or *kophinoi*) of olives or grapes by means of heavy counterweights attached to its other end. The liquid produced would have been collected in the basin and then funneled into clay jars *(hypolenia)*. The fort is of Classical date, and the pressing installation may date from the same period.[159] We also found smooth, ellipsoidal stones, ca. 0.5 m in diameter and 0.2 m thick, at three settlement sites (HS-74, HS-94, HS-97; Fig. 1.21). These were probably used as weights for olive or wine presses. In addition, we found one possible stone roller, part of a "roller and bed" olive crusher, on a Late Roman farmstead site (HS-108).[160]

159. Another possibility is that the equipment was brought into the fort at a later date; on the installation of Roman and Late Roman olive-press equipment in ancient forts and towers, see Philaniotou 2003; Pikoulas 2003.

160. On this type of olive crusher, see Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 262–263.



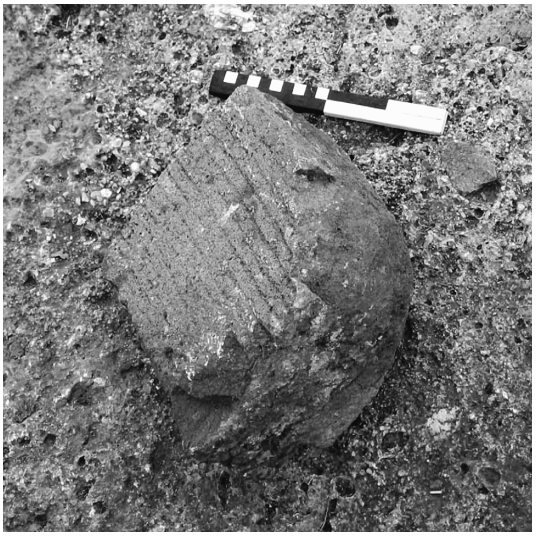


Figure 1.22 *(left)*. **Stone mortar at Bouzaka of Tarsina (HS-13)**

Figure 1.23 *(right)*. **Stone grinder from Pinigouri of Kryoneri (HS-55)**

Sikyon was also known for its production of wine, which Pliny (*HN* 14.74) lists among the highly esteemed foreign wines of his time. We found a characteristic wine-pressing basin, the ancient Greek *lenos lithinos* and modern Greek *patitiri,* near Krinai (HS-40). Unfortunately, this stone vat, used for treading grapes, disappeared before we were able to photograph and measure it. A clay floor, probably of a wine-press installation, was exposed at Melissi (HS-143) as part of a 6th-century A.D. settlement, but its excavator provided no details.[161]

Other food-processing equipment includes stone mortars, handheld grinders, and rotary querns. We found stone mortars at three settlements (HS-13, HS-47, HS-94), and another was reported and drawn by Eustathios Stikas from the tower of Thekriza (DS-10).[162] The mortar at Thekriza was found in four joining pieces within the Classical tower. It measures 0.59 m in height, with inner and outer diameters of 0.4 m and 0.7 m, respectively. The mortar at Tarsina (HS-13), found in a Roman/Late Roman context, measures 0.4 m in diameter and 0.3 m in height (Fig. 1.22). Pieces of stone grinders, which were used mainly for cereal grinding, were found at six sites (HS-48, HS-55, HS-73, HS-76, HS-97, HS-100), the majority in pre-Roman contexts (Fig. 1.23). Although cereals are not mentioned in the sources, they were certainly produced to satisfy the basic needs of the population. In a waste pile at Pano Kokkinia of Vasiliko, I found a fragmentary rotary quern, 0.36 m in diameter. Polybios (18.16.3) tells us that in a period of crisis, the Sikyonians appealed to Attalos I of Pergamon for help, and that the king responded in 197 B.C. by sending 10,000 *medimnoi* of wheat. Given the average rainfall, cereal cultivation would have been practiced from the coastal plain to the southern marine terraces around villages and farmsteads, as was the case up until a few decades ago. The agricultural produce, either solid or liquid, was stored in jars, mainly pithoi and amphoras, fragments of which our survey found by the hundreds.[163]

161. Drosogianni 1968.

162. Stikas 1947, fig. 2.

163. The southern Argolid surveyors argue that LR2 amphoras, ubiquitous in our survey, seem to have been used for olive oil: Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 402.



Figure 1.24. Terrace wall at Dardiza of Stimanga (HS-22)



Figure 1.25. Terracing on the southern slope of Rakitiza (HS-53), looking north

Terrace walls consolidated the cultivated surface by retaining the soil. We found seven walls constructed for this purpose, six built of irregular trapezoidal masonry (HS-22, HS-53, HS-59, HS-86, HS-90, HS-96) and one (SP-5) in *opus testaceum* (Fig. 1.24). On most sites, there was more than one retaining wall, thus forming successive terraced fields (Fig. 1.25).[164] Based on the masonry and their context, the former must predate the Roman period, unlike the brick wall, which should date from Roman or Late Roman times.

164. For good examples from Attica, see Lohmann 1992, pp. 46–55.



Figure 1.26. The northern side of the cistern at Melistra below Kryoneri (HS-52)

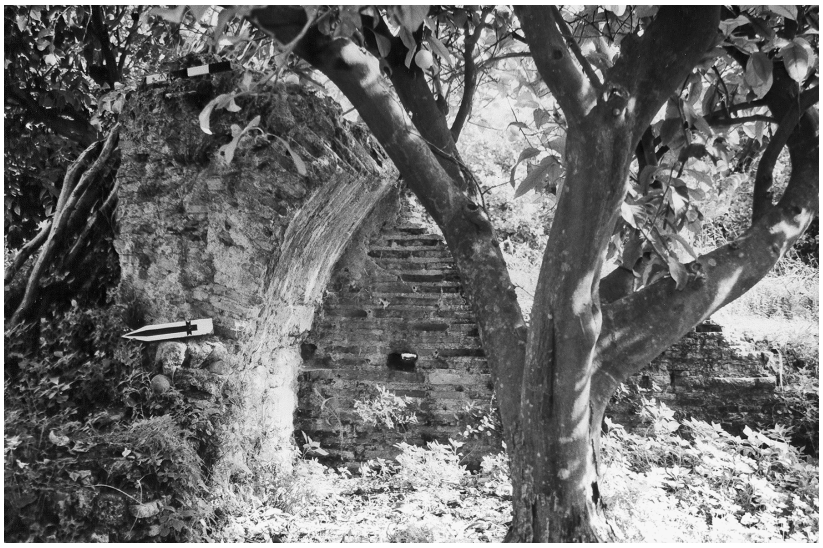


Figure 1.27. Loutro of Thalero (HS-121). Part of the barrel-vaulted room of the cistern.

Occasionally water tanks were built for the purpose of irrigating the fields in periods of drought. We recorded four cisterns (HS-52, HS-121, HS-128, SP-19), and Pharaklas drew one more installation, near the village of Lalioti (HS-106). All of them were built at or near water sources, typically in *opus testaceum*. The cistern of Melistra below the village of Kryoneri (HS-52) measures 7.25 × 12.01 m and its maximum visible height is 0.75 m (Fig. 1.26). The rectangular cistern at Koimisi of Thalero (SP-19), ca. 16 × 15 m, is coated with plaster on the interior and has buttresses along the exterior side of its north wall. At Loutro of Thalero (HS-121), the installation, lined with waterproof cement and most likely representing the remains of a cistern, was barrel-vaulted (Fig. 1.27). The peculiar building of cruciform shape at Loutro of Lalioti (HS-106) was measured and drawn by Pharaklas as 10 × 9 m (Fig. 1.28). Unfortunately, this building no longer exists, but its interpretation as a cistern, rather than a bath, is strengthened by its proximity to the Roman and Late Roman settlement and the arable lands that spread below it. The same applies to the cistern of Lakka near

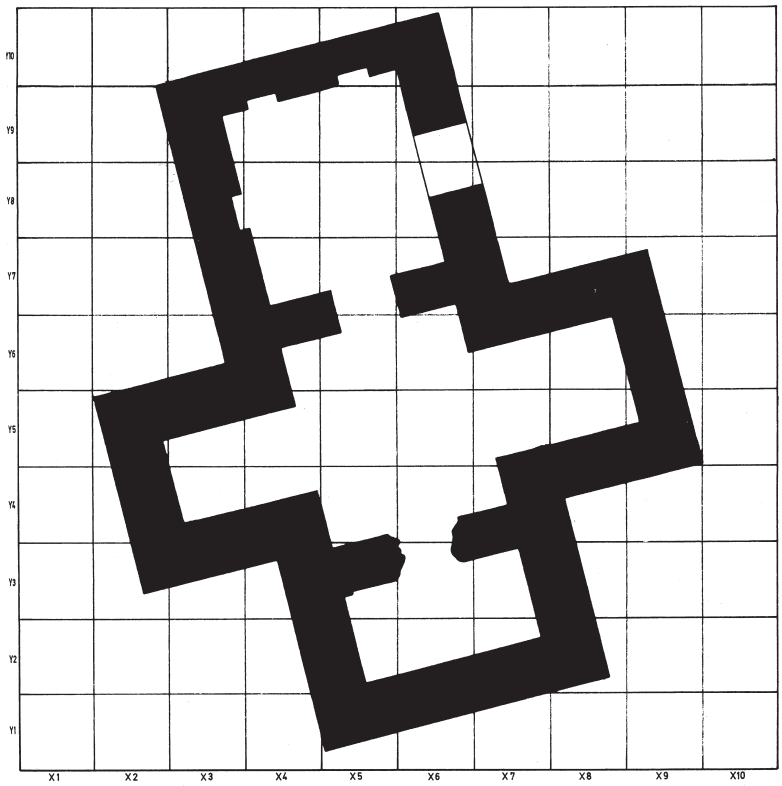


Figure 1.28. Plan of Loutro of Lalioti (HS-106). Pharaklas 1971, fig. 43

Mikri Valtsa (HS-128), which is associated with a Late Roman settlement at a lower elevation.

Post-Antique Period

Olives, grapes, and grains have been cultivated in the Sikyonian plain for several hundred years. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, an agent of the Florentine company of Bardi during the 1330s, mentions the Corinthian raisins ("uve Coranto"), which Nicolas de Martoni had the opportunity to taste while in Corinth in April of 1395.[165] In 1675 Wheler found the plain between Corinth and Sikyon "well watered by two rivulets, well tilled, well planted with olive-yards, and vine-yards."[166] Currants in the Corinthian plain were planted right after the Venetians regained possession of the Peloponnese in 1687. This information is provided by Randolph, who first praises the "most pleasant plains of Corinth and Basilico, which abound with Olive-trees, Vine-yards, and many small Villages," and then goes on to say, "in the Plains of Corinth were the first Currant vines planted."[167] In the Corinthian sections of the Nani Archive (early 18th century), olives and vineyards are regularly mentioned as growing around both coastal and mountainous villages, including Vrachati, Bolati, Nerantza, Vasiliko, Stimanga, Gonoussa, Stylia, Panariti, and Manna, among others.[168] After 1715, the main agricultural products of the Morea were olive oil and wheat, which together represented more than 80% of its exports. Corinth was not a major port for exports, but it did have considerable traffic.[169]

Prior to the Greek War of Independence, Dodwell saw in the coastal plain "extensive olive-groves, which are thickly planted," and Clarke, riding from Sikyon to Corinth, commented on "the finest corn land in Greece"

165. Zakythinos 1953, p. 250.
166. Wheler 1682, p. 443.
167. Randolph 1689, p. 2.
168. Ms. 3924, ff. 294v, 299r, 309v, 311v, 312v, etc.; Ms. 3927, ff. 549v, 551r, 555v, 575r, 582v, 593v, 596r, etc.
169. Kremmydhas 1972, pp. 27, 198–201.

and "olive plantations producing the sweetest oil in the world."[170] Some travelers must have indulged in romantic embellishment, for Pouqueville writes that in the Vocha plain "the principal produces are wheat, barley, flax and cotton, because the lack of running water limits the cultivation of corn and other pulses on the banks of the Asopos. Its [Sikyon's] olives, once famous, are of mediocre quality; and we draw, for consumption purposes, wines from Phliasia."[171] Leake gives a somewhat similar account after riding on the same route: "many other small villages are seen in the plain, which, as formerly, is planted in many parts with olives, and still preserves its ancient agricultural riches, in proportion to the general desolation. In natural fertility, however, it is not to be compared to Elis or Messenia; the best part is that immediately around Sicyon. The soil . . . is more adapted, I believe, to olives and vines, particularly the currant, than to grain."[172]

Cultivation in the early 19th century seems to have been limited in the eastern part of the coastal plain, precisely between Sikyon and Corinth. The western side, between the Helisson and Sythas rivers, was only partly exploited. Dodwell writes, with regard to the "expanded vale" between Melissi and Sykia, that it is in "an uncultivated state, and covered with bushes, while part is enriched with vineyards and corn land . . . with scattered olive-trees."[173] Some years later, Leake saw the same plain "almost wholly uncultivated."[174] Likewise, parts of the mountainous hinterland, now cultivated with vineyards, were then not cultivated at all. Thus, Clark in the mid-19th century reports that on the ridge between Souli and the valley of Kaisari, "the thin and arid soil produces nothing but a few scattered stunted oaks and a scanty undergrowth of familiar shrubs."[175]

After the formation of the modern Greek state, agricultural production increased and the surplus of olive oil and raisins was exported, as indicated by the storehouses ("magasins") marked on the *Carte de la Grèce* at Neapolis of Kiato (see below, Fig. 3.1), and by Pouqueville's description. The traveler saw the warehouses of Xylokastro where the "coasters come to load the olive oils and the Corinthian raisins."[176] Furthermore, Rangavis mentions a customs house (φυλακεῖον τελωνειακόν) near Kyparissi (AS-10), the hamlet that is thought to have existed between the villages of Velo and Krinai.[177] He also provides some basic information on the main produce of each village in 1851; the coastal villages cultivated cereals, raisins, olives, wine, and some cotton, while the semimountainous districts produced mainly cereals and maize.[178] Vischer identifies the Corinthian raisin as the principal crop in 1852.[179] In the 1880s, the production of Corinthian raisins had reached the enormous amount of 3,638,000 liters, representing one of the principal exports of Greece. In addition, 782,080 kg of wine, 203,392 kg of olive oil, 37,025 kg of cereal, and 35,200 kg of legumes were produced to satisfy the needs of the populace of the deme of Sikyonia, which then counted 5,438 inhabitants.[180] The descriptions and figures offered above are, I believe, more representative of the fertility and natural inclination of the soil than are the figures available from the first half of the 20th century, when the irrigation of the plain was supplemented with water brought from Lake Stymphalos.[181]

The earliest census of the main agricultural produce of the Corinthia per village that is currently available at the National Statistical Service of Greece (ΕΣΥΕ) is that of 1911 (Table 1.7). Cereal cultivation covered

170. Dodwell 1819, p. 292; Clarke 1818, p. 546.

171. Pouqueville 1826, p. 440 (my translation).

172. Leake 1830, p. 227.

173. Dodwell 1819, p. 298.

174. Leake 1830, p. 384.

175. Clark 1858, p. 337.

176. Pouqueville 1826, p. 431 (my translation).

177. Rangavis 1853, p. 379.

178. Rangavis 1853, pp. 379–389.

179. Vischer 1857, p. 268.

180. Figures given by Miliarakis (1886, p. 114).

181. On the irrigation of Vocha from Lake Stymphalos, see Lolos 1997, p. 289.

TABLE 1.7. PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE OF SIKYONIA ACCORDING TO THE 1911 CENSUS*

Village	*Wheat*	*Barley*	*Corn*	*Oats*	*Vineyards*	*Raisins*	*Olives*	*Uncult. Lands and Private Forests*
Bolati	296	40	–	–	144	524	69	25
Bozika	1,620	299	12	–	199	361	–	–
Diminio (Ano)	771	248	1	–	267	697	8	1
Diminio (Kato)	–	334	13	–	139	254	–	–
Evangelistria	483	101	1	–	146	347	42	–
Geliniatika	351	3	–	–	90	323	21	–
Gonoussa	1,757	13	89	–	144	415	2	43
Kaisari	2,915	192	1,063	–	557	544	–	313
Kiato	356	–	8	–	606	1,737	213	1,182
Klimenti	1,268	151	311	–	307	281	29	158
Kokkoni	153	63	3	–	245	1,614	2	123
Krinai	1,495	270	210	–	227	1,010	70	4
Kryoneri	3,056	208	192	–	396	841	142	7
Lalioti	790	277	65	–	171	426	8	211
Manna	1,975	–	260	–	490	1,004	4	353
Megali Valtsa	1,686	278	212	–	342	635	93	1,686
Melissi	487	112	–	–	251	463	28	21
Mikri Valtsa	1,098	13	149	–	222	583	3	383
Moulki	368	76	14	–	224	881	69	23
Nerantza	107	4	9	–	97	653	36	45
Panariti	1,563	82	99	–	534	1,943	51	87
Paradeisi	356	12	62	–	65	166	13	–
Poulitsa	1,360	416	–	–	160	402	137	20
Souli	1,767	59	120	–	219	491	70	35
Stimanga	2,226	352	27	2	338	521	91	2,252
Stylia	688	18	33	–	172	460	138	578
Sykia	9	–	1	–	36	94	8	–
Tarsina	388	110	–	–	47	148	28	–
Thalero	328	1	–	–	92	324	31	–
Throphari	636	8	60	–	129	315	–	1,089
Titane	1,080	187	–	–	103	166	–	–
Vasiliko	895	545	12	–	371	1,636	208	98
Velina	1,288	128	269	–	232	529	53	1,191
Velo	517	110	9	4	374	1,813	124	22
Vochaiko	678	117	–	–	260	493	119	–
Vrachati	241	105	26	–	372	1,167	85	72
Xylokastro	219	26	3	1	130	345	235	5
Zemeno	1,046	73	7	–	369	1,079	–	1,119
Total	36,317	5,031	3,340	7	9,267	25,685	2,230	11,146

* Units = stremmata (1,000 m^2).



Figure 1.29. Early modern water mill in the village of Throphari. In the foreground is what is left of the penstock, which brought water to the mill.

almost 4,500 ha (44,695 stremmata), olives 223 ha (2,230 stremmata), vineyards almost 930 ha (9,267 stremmata), and raisins (both Corinthian and Soultanina varieties) close to 2,600 ha (25,685 stremmata). Cereals were grown predominantly in the semimountainous and mountainous districts, while vineyards dominated the coastal plain. In the last 30 years, the type and volume of agricultural production have been decisively influenced by the application of modern technology, marketplace competition, and the directives of the European Community.[182] Citrus fruits, apricots, and raisins constitute the bulk of the agricultural production in the plain today, while forests and maquis that once covered semimountainous and mountainous areas have been cleared to allow the cultivation of raisins.[183] Two characteristic examples of the kinds of changes that have taken place can be found on the western slopes of Trikaranon and the eastern slopes of Vesiza (almost to the Asopos valley), where prickly oaks and pine trees used to grow; today, these areas have been almost entirely cultivated with vineyards.[184]

The grinding of corn in the preindustrial era was facilitated by water mills, placed on the banks of rivers and streams or along the outlet of a perennial spring. In Sikyonia, most water mills date from the early modern period, but some may go back to the Ottoman era since early travelers occasionally took notice of them. The Nani Archive records a mill in the village of Titane that was previously owned by a Turk.[185] This specific mill is no longer preserved, but it may have been similar to the mills that we recorded within the villages of Throphari and Zemeno, both of the late 19th century (Fig. 1.29). Leake saw "some mills on the right, worked by a derivation from the stream," probably referring to mills on the Helisson River.[186] I observed traces of horizontal water mills on the banks of the Nemea, Asopos, Helisson, and Sythas rivers.[187] In addition, I recorded three mills below the springs of Se near Megali Valtsa, and one more below Kryoneri, all in a state of ruin (Fig. 1.30). Their most

182. By modern technology, I mean the use of chemical fertilizers and heavy, motorized farm machinery, as well as drilling for water, both in the plain and the mountainous region to the south.

183. In fact, citrus fruits were introduced by the Ottomans in the 16th or 17th century: Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 277.

184. In the 1911 census, no fewer than 225 hectares of uncultivated and forested areas were recorded for Stimanga. On the environmental destruction that accompanies such "development," see below, pp. 417–418.

185. Ms. 3924, f.297v: "un Molino nella Villa Voivodeus de Turco Isuf Sabani."

186. Leake 1830, p. 226.

187. On the horizontal water mill and its history, see Forbes 1965, pp. 88–105.



Figure 1.30. Part of a ruined water mill below Kryoneri

characteristic feature is the penstock that rose above the mill house and received the running water.[188] It should be noted that not all water mills produced flour. In 1675, Wheler was told of some powder mills on the Asopos River, "which are the first I ever saw in Turkey."[189] Today the ruins of a late-19th-century water mill stand a few meters to the south of the Turkish bridge.

Animal Husbandry and Pastoralism

The only domesticated equid mentioned in the ancient sources for Sikyonia is the horse. Sikyonian horses were famous in antiquity, particularly in the Archaic period. In the *Iliad,* the Sikyonian Echepolos, son of Anchises, gave to Agamemnon his mare Aithe so that he might stay home and not follow him to Troy (*Il.* 23.293–299). A scholiast to the *Odyssey* (11.271) says that Sikyonian horse-keepers (ἱπποφορβοὶ) undertook the upbringing of Oedipus until the exposed child came of age. The tyrants Myron and Kleisthenes were both winners in chariot races at Olympia, and the latter won a chariot race at the Pythia at Delphi as well.[190] In addition, the "hippo-" component in the names of some Sikyonian kings suggests their connection with horses, as Charles Skalet has pointed out.[191] In the 4th century B.C., Sikyonian horses were associated with ostentatious display, judging from a passage in Demosthenes (21.158) where he rebukes Meidias for driving a pair of white horses from Sikyon. It is likely that the Sikyonians raised a special breed of horses called *samphoras,* because they were branded with the letter σάν, which was the initial of Sikyon.[192] We can imagine that the coastal plain provided an excellent training ground for the horses of the Sikyonian upper class.

The names of two of the three tribes created by Kleisthenes—ὀνεᾶται and χοιρεᾶται—may allude to the abundance of donkeys and pigs in that period.[193] Donkeys were the prime transportation animals from antiquity

188. For early modern examples from the Berbati-Limnes area, see Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 437.

189. Wheler 1682, p. 446.

190. Paus. 6.19.2, 10.7.6; Hdt. 6.126.2.

191. E.g., Zeuxippos, Leukippos, and Hippolytos: Skalet 1928, p. 32.

192. The connection is convincingly argued by Jeffery (1990, p. 142, n. 2); see also Griffin 1982, p. 30.

193. See below, p. 63.

TABLE 1.8. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY OF SIKYONIA ACCORDING TO THE 1911 CENSUS

Village	*Horses*	*Mules*	*Donkeys*	*Oxen*	*Pigs*	*Sheep*	*Goats*	*Beehives*
Bolati	18	–	6	–	–	137	39	10
Bozika	23	41	41	109	71	1,286	781	10
Diminio (Ano)	80	10	29	3	50	279	74	14
Diminio (Kato)	20	5	7	1	2	167	36	1
Evangelistria	24	–	–	–	–	222	38	4
Geliniatika	2	8	2	2	–	36	7	1
Gonoussa	6	49	17	59	40	312	375	18
Kaisari	97	95	56	86	210	2,088	810	20
Kiato	38	13	18	15	44	205	267	24
Klimenti	14	78	65	128	89	745	238	6
Kokkoni	33	4	17	–	2	219	66	45
Krinai	70	14	3	–	10	678	93	–
Kryoneri	7	118	52	172	94	1,611	1,115	64
Lalioti	18	26	35	60	27	497	166	127
Manna	7	94	92	142	86	892	719	48
Megali Valtsa	7	79	63	86	60	586	274	28
Melissi	41	11	37	2	21	213	75	16
Mikri Valtsa	9	40	16	65	20	415	214	55
Moulki	53	10	11	–	24	396	78	13
Nerantza	11	3	11	–	1	72	68	–
Panariti	3	113	45	93	63	406	270	68
Paradeisi	6	14	9	28	1	154	155	–
Poulitsa	45	3	3	–	–	554	49	53
Souli	14	63	30	90	–	366	739	–
Stimanga	30	61	27	49	52	1,182	967	255
Stylia	1	28	20	96	12	225	363	9
Sykia	2	2	–	–	–	22	20	–
Tarsina	16	6	2	–	1	268	52	19
Thalero	16	8	32	7	7	285	38	65
Throphari	1	25	14	35	31	292	305	62
Titane	5	22	6	54	27	317	109	–
Vasiliko	70	75	47	16	44	291	157	110
Velina	29	41	45	80	62	1,723	575	78
Velo	53	21	11	1	3	111	110	123
Vochaiko	62	6	1	–	–	352	42	5
Vrachati	38	1	8	–	–	185	72	–
Xylokastro	13	6	13	3	10	56	50	–
Zemeno	–	75	41	36	41	265	253	114
Total	982	1,268	932	1,518	1,205	18,110	9,859	1,465

to the early modern period, while pigs were raised solely for food. Oxen are not mentioned in the sources, but were certainly bred, since they were the primary work animals, mainly used in plowing and hauling, and provided meat for sacrifices. The principal sources of meat, dairy products, wool, and hair were sheep and goats, which are also absent from our sources. Considering the extensive mountainous land of Sikyonia, pastoralism must have been one of the main sources of subsistence in antiquity, as it has been in recent centuries (see Table 1.8). Ancient historians and students of the Greek countryside have argued for the symbiosis of animal husbandry and agriculture in antiquity, and the close collaboration between herders and farmers.[194] This also applies to later periods down to the modern era, as we can see by comparing the 1911 data of Tables 1.7 and 1.8. Even villages that did not extend beyond the coastal plain and had substantial agricultural production, such as Vrachati, Kokkoni, Nerantza, Kato Diminio, and Melissi, had a considerable number of sheep and goats. Inversely, mountainous villages with numerous herds and limited arable lands, such as Stimanga, Bozika, Velina, Panariti, or Manna, did manage to produce sufficient quantities of cereals, olives, and even grapes.

Overall, for the year 1911, 18,110 sheep and 9,859 goats are recorded from the villages of Sikyonia, together with 1,518 oxen, 1,205 pigs, 1,268 mules, 932 donkeys, and 982 horses. Goats are more numerous in areas with maquis vegetation, such as Stimanga or Kryoneri. Also, coastal villages have more horses than mules or donkeys, and only a handful of oxen. On the contrary, mules and donkeys outnumber horses in the semimountainous and mountainous villages, since these pack animals could handle sloping terrain better than horses. Mules were also used for plowing in the same capacity as horses on the coast, and for working olive crushers, presses, and mills. For the purposes of plowing and hauling, they replaced the oxen that must have been more numerous in previous centuries.[195] Pairs of oxen *(paio di Bò)* appear regularly in the Nani Archive, always in connection with land *(terreni),* both in coastal villages (Bolati, Varella, Vasiliko) and mountainous/semimountainous ones (Lalioti, Stimanga, Panariti, Manna).[196]

The number of sheep and goats has dramatically decreased in the last four decades, mainly due to the expansion of agriculture. At the same time, the appearance of the automobile and the construction of asphalt roads have reduced reliance on horses, donkeys, and mules.

Fishing

Far from being merely supplementary to agriculture and pastoralism as a means of subsistence, fishing must have been a considerable resource for the Sikyonians living on or near the coastal zone since prehistoric times. One of our Late Helladic settlement sites located above the coastal plain yielded a conical lead weight most likely used for fishing (HS-98; Fig. 5.19:s). Later, fish became a Sikyonian specialty (ἰδίωμα), if we trust Antiphanes (*apud* Ath. 1.27d), who selects Sikyonian fish (ἰχθὺς Σικυῶνος) for his perfect *symposion:* "From Elis comes the cook; from Argos the cauldron, from Phlius wine, from Corinth bedspreads; fish from Sikyon, flute-girls from Aegion, cheese from Sicily . . . perfumes from Athens,

194. See esp. Forbes 1994, 1995.

195. The southern Argolid surveyors estimate that in the early 19th century about half of Greek farming families possessed a yoke of oxen: see Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 285–286.

196. See, e.g., Ms. 3927, ff. 555r+v, 556v, 560v, 565v, 571r, 575r, 582v.

eels from Boiotia." The only creature among marine fauna mentioned in the sources in connection with Sikyon is the conger eel (γόγγρος), a large, strictly marine, scaleless eel. Athenaios, who devotes a paragraph to the species (7.288c–d), describes them as follows: "These, as Hikesios says, are tougher than lake eels, have a more spongy flesh, are less nourishing and much inferior in flavor, but are wholesome [εὐστομάχους]." He also quotes Eudoxus, who "in the sixth book of his *Description of the Earth,* says that many are caught in Sikyon as large as a man can carry; in some instances one of them even fills a cart" (γόγγρους δὲ φησιν πολλοὺς ἀνδραχθεῖς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἁλίσκεσθαι. ὧν ἐνίαιους εἶναι καὶ ἁμαξιαίους). He continues by saying that "Philemon, the poet of New Comedy, also mentions the different conger eels of Sikyon" (τῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι διαφόρων γόγγρων). In Philemon's play, the cook, boasting of his art, says pompously: "If I had, then, got something rare, an Attic sea lizard—O Savior Zeus—or Argive boar, or conger eel from Sikyon, which Poseidon carries to heaven as an offering to the gods, then all who ate would have become gods."

Conger eel, the colloquial Greek δρόγγος or μουγκρί, is still fished in the Corinthian Gulf, although demand for it is very low. The earliest statistical data on commercial fishing per port authority in Greece date from 1936.[197] According to the data of the port authority of Patras, on which Kiato depended, the following species produced over 1,000 kg: codfish, anchovies, smelts, boces, striped gray mullets, chub mackerels, whitebaits, saddled breams, conger eels, red mullets, sardines, horse mackerels, scorpion fishes, two-banded breams, and doradoes. That particular year, 1,160 kg of conger eels were caught.

Quarrying

The presence of ancient stone quarries between Sikyon and Corinth has been known for many years,[198] but no quarries have thus far been reported from the area of Sikyon itself. I have located eight areas with clear signs of ancient quarrying: five in the city itself, two to the east of the Sikyonian plateau (RS-6 and HS-47), and one to the northwest of it (SP-9). The plateau carries the most extensive traces of quarrying activity: along the eastern edge of Pano Kokkinia, both to the west and south of the ancient agora (Quarries 1–3); near the eastern edge of the plateau due north of the gully of Mikri Vrysi (Quarry 4); and along the northwest edge of the plateau following the line of the fortification wall (Map 6). In addition, large portions of the theater and the stadium have been carved out of the bedrock.[199] Quarries are both pitlike and trenchlike, of conglomerate, oolitic limestone, and sandstone (Fig. 1.31). The latter was extracted from Quarry 4, which has recently been excavated by the local Ephoreia. The trenchlike quarrying along the northwest edge of the plateau was probably made in order to provide footing (and material) for the city wall (Fig. 1.32).[200]

The trenchlike quarry of Saitaiika (Σαιταίικα), south of the village of Velo, is located at the edge of one of the first low, steplike terraces rising to the southwest of the plain. The conglomerate rock is cut vertically to a depth of at least 1 m and a length of ca. 45 m. In two places a square block has been quarried but left in place (Figs. 1.33, 1.34). A road cut (RS-6) at

197. *Statistique sur la pêche en Grèce 1936,* p. 13.

198. For the quarries between ancient Corinth and the Nemea River, see Wiseman 1978, pp. 68, 104, and Hayward 2003.

199. Many more distinct areas of quarrying have been recognized in the course of the intensive surface survey and of the geoarchaeological survey conducted in the urban area of Sikyon from 2004 to 2009; see Lolos et al., forthcoming, and the annual reports of the project at <http://extras.ha.uth.gr/sikyon>.

200. See below, pp. 210–211.



Figure 1.31. Pitlike quarry at Sikyon (Quarry 2 on Map 6)

Figure 1.32 ***(below, left)*****. Trenchlike quarry at Sikyon along the northwest edge of the plateau, looking north**

Figure 1.33 ***(below, right)*****. Trenchlike quarry at Saitaiika of Velo, along the conglomerate face of a marine terrace, looking south. Notice the partially cut block beneath the measuring stick.**





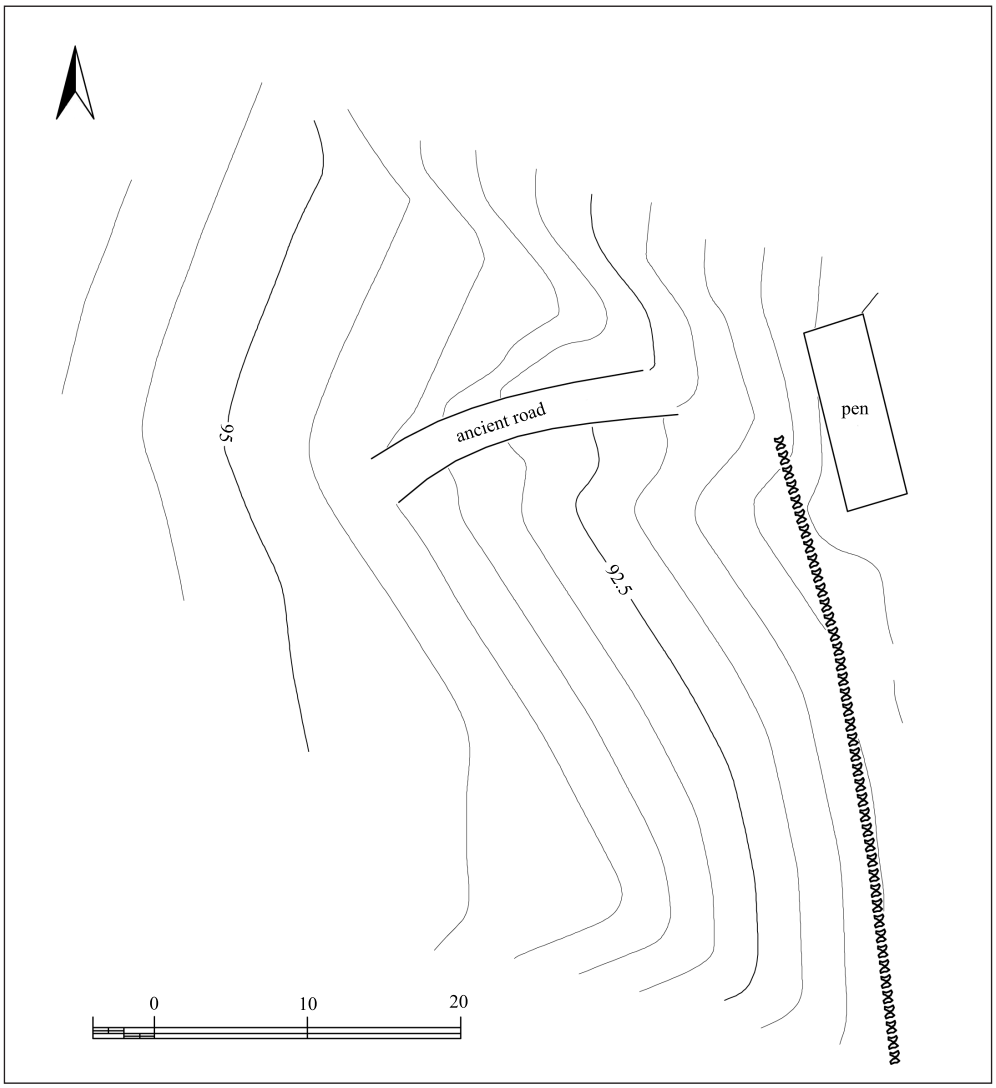


Figure 1.34. Plan of the quarry and road (RS-6) at Saitaiika of Velo

the northern end of the visible part of the quarry was presumably associated with the transportation of the stones. It is possible that the quarry continues on the other side (north) of the road, and I spotted possible signs of trench-like quarrying further to the southeast, near the village of Evangelistria (HS-3). Again, the friability of the conglomerate obstructs the recognition of quarried surfaces, and further research is needed for their identification and accurate mapping. To the west of Saitaiika, at Prophetes Elias of Velo (HS-47), I recorded traces of pitlike quarrying with a face over 40 m in length (Fig. 1.35). Nearby I observed a rock-cut well and basin, as well as an ashlar stone, which was apparently extracted from the quarry. In the western part of Sikyonia, I found only one quarry, near the village of Ano Melissi (SP-9). Vegetation and fencing on adjacent land plots prohibited me from exploring the limits of this pitlike, conglomerate quarry.

I do not claim to have located all of the quarries in ancient Sikyonia, but such a project would be a worthwhile undertaking because there are indications that Sikyonian stone was used in construction projects at the



Figure 1.35. Pitlike quarry at Prophetes Elias of Velo (HS-47)

sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia, and Epidauros. The French excavators of Delphi observed that the first two Sikyonian "treasuries" at the sanctuary, namely the Tholos and the Monopteros, were made of "oölithic tufa with pebble inclusions" commonly found in the area between Corinth and Sikyon.[201] In addition, a Sikyonian carved his ethnic on a poros stone block found in a pile at the southwest corner of the temple terrace.[202] The excavators argue for a Sikyonian provenance for the stone and believe it was used in the construction of the Archaic sanctuary in the late 7th/early 6th century B.C.

The Sikyonian treasury at Olympia is described as being built of calcareous sandstone ("Kalksandstein"), which is not used in any other building of the sanctuary. The stones bear marks in the Sikyonian alphabet, which led Wilhelm Dörpfeld to suggest that they were quarried at Sikyon.[203] Sandstone is found on the Sikyonian plateau and possibly in other parts of Sikyonia as well.

Finally, a fragmentary inscription built into a Late Roman wall to the south of the Tholos of the Epidaurian Asklepieion refers to transportation of "poros" stones from Sikyon and Corinth to Epidauros by sea.[204] No further details of this inscription are known, and it remains unpublished. Closer examination of the building material used in the treasuries and temples of all three sanctuaries and their comparison with samples of quarries from the Corinthia and Sikyonia is needed in order to identify the source of the stone.

Woodcutting and Other Activities

The texts of ancient historians contain a number of references to the considerable strength of the Sikyonian navy, for the building of which ample resources of timber were needed.[205] In addition, from two Delphic

201. Bommelaer 1991, pp. 118–123. By "oölithic tufa" the excavators probably mean oolitic limestone, which is found on the Sikyonian plateau. The recent excavations for the new railway from Athens to Kiato exposed in 2005 parts of an extensive quarry of conglomerate stone, the first time that quarrying activity has been detected in the Sikyonian plain. The location of this quarry, very close to the site of the ancient harbor, meant that its stone could have been transported to Delphi relatively easily.

202. Daux 1937, pp. 57–60. The dimensions of the ashlar block: H. 0.92, L. 0.9, Th. 0.32 m.

203. Dörpfeld 1883, 1892; also Mallwitz 1972, pp. 167–169.

204. Kritzas 1987, p. 14.

205. Hdt. 8.1, 8.43; schol. ad Pind. *Nem.* 9.5; Thuc. 2.9.3, 8.3.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.18.

inscriptions of the 4th century B.C. we learn that the *naopoioi* of Apollo bought cypress from Sikyon, which was then transported by sea to Kirra.[206] The forested mountainous areas of Sikyonia—particularly its black pine, fir, and cypress—would have been prime sources of timber in antiquity. In Appendix IV, I argue that the "public" land defined by a rock-cut inscription that I found near the southwest fringes of the territory was exploited for its timber resources, namely, fir and black pine.

Pine trees were tapped for their resin, which was used for a variety of purposes including sealing jars and the planks of the boats. Conifers are also associated with apiculture, although our sources do not mention such activity, and we found no ancient ceramic hives during the survey. This does not mean that beekeeping was not practiced in Sikyonia, but rather that straw or wooden hives were used instead.[207] In the 1911 census, 1,465 beehives were counted in Sikyonian territory.

206. Bousquet 1977, pp. 91–95; 1988, pp. 85–90, 226–233; *CID* II 60 and 62 IIIB, lines 72–75; also Meiggs 1982, pp. 430–432.

207. Likewise the southern Argolid intensive surveyors found fragments of a ceramic hive at only one site: Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 290.

CHAPTER 2

Sikyonia from Prehistoric Times to the Ottoman Era

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the history of Sikyonia within its larger geographical context—mainly the Peloponnesian peninsula, but to some extent central Greece as well. In antiquity, the structure of Sikyonian territory, especially its road arteries and defense systems, but also its sacred identity and settlement pattern, were heavily influenced by the state's relations and interactions with other city-states. Given that I intend to give an overview, and not an exhaustive account, of four thousand years of the area's history, I present the critical phases of the Sikyonian trajectory through time in a concise manner. For more detailed accounts of Sikyon in antiquity, I refer the reader to the monographs of Charles Skalet (1928) and especially Audrey Griffin (1982).

There are periods of Sikyonian history not covered by the sources, and passages that deal with Sikyonian affairs are usually synoptic, for, as Xenophon points out (referring to Phlious), "all the historians make mention of the large states if they have performed any noble achievement." Xenophon differed from other historians in his belief that "if a state that is small has accomplished many noble deeds, it is even more fitting to set them forth" (*Hell.* 7.2.1). It does not come as a surprise, then, that Xenophon provides more references to Sikyonian history than any other author. In the absence of such references I have considered it appropriate to provide the broader historical background against which the Sikyonian state operated.[1] This chapter is divided into two parts: the first covers the period from the second millennium B.C. to the Roman Imperial era, and is divided into five subsections, which correspond to the main political periods of Sikyonian history. The second part covers the Late Roman through Ottoman eras.

MYCENAEAN TIMES TO THE ROMAN ERA

Mycenaean to Geometric Periods (2nd Millennium to 7th Century B.C.)

At the outset of his Sikyonian *periegesis,* Pausanias gives a fairly detailed account of the legendary history of this area by tracing the royal genealogy,

1. This broader context is sadly missing in both Skalet's (1928) and Griffin's (1982) chapters.

based directly or indirectly on the *Sikyonika* written by the 4th-century Sikyonian historian Menaichmos (2.5.6–2.7.1).[2] According to Castor of Rhodes, the Sikyonian king-list covered 959 years, which made Eusebios pronounce that "the Sikyonians are recorded as most ancient of all Greeks."[3] Additional support for the longevity of the site comes from Hesiod (*Theog.* 535–536), who places the quarrel between mortals and immortals at Mekone—a former name of Sikyon according to Strabo (8.6.25). There are some patterns and themes that are worth exploring here. First is the notion of *autochthonia,* with Aigialeus being the first and aboriginal inhabitant, who ruled over the district of Aigialos and founded the city of Aigialeia on the plain. Second is the idea of Sikyonian supremacy in the Peloponnese in the remote past; the story goes that Apis, a direct descendant of Aigialeus, had reached such a height of power before Pelops came to Olympia that all the territory south of the Isthmus was named Apia after him. Third is the (usually violent) intrusion of nonnatives into the Sikyonian kingship, thus marking a break in the royal lineage. Epopeus, coming from Thessaly, set the example, then Sikyon from Athens, Adrastos from Argos, Ianiskos from Attica, and finally the Herakleidai, with Phalkes marking once and for all Sikyon's Dorian identity. Whether or not the story is true, all of the areas where the invaders came from—Thessaly, Athens, and Argos—played a major role in the later history of the state, and they may have been in contact with Sikyon from Mycenaean times onward.

The historicity of a Sikyonian genealogy starting with the creation of the city and ending with the Dorian invasion is not to be easily dismissed. The name Aigialia appears in Linear B texts from Pylos and Thebes.[4] At Pylos, "men from Aigialia," together with men from Corinth and the Isthmus, are listed as bronzeworkers and bridle-makers. Given the local tradition, preserved by Strabo (8.6.25) and Pausanias (2.5.6), that Aigialeis or Aigialeia was the original name of Sikyon, it is conceivable that the Aigialia of the Pylos tablets refers to Sikyon and not to the homonymous part of Achaia or to any other area with the same name. Emily Vermeule endorses Bernard Sergent's suggestion that "these were the opening years for the long traditional skills in the artisan world for which Corinth and Sikyon were so renowned later."[5] Although these readings and interpretations are not certain, the fact that three Linear B words relate to Corinthian toponyms minimizes the possibility of coincidence and suggests that Pylos had established connections with this area during the LH IIIB period.[6] Furthermore, it may not be purely accidental that some of the heroic figures of Sikyonian legend also occur as proper names in the Pylos texts.[7] According to Vermeule, these similarities indicate that Sikyonian local tradition is rooted in the Bronze Age and was transmitted to the Classical period thanks to poetry and the tragic choruses that the Argive hero Adrastos allegedly established in Sikyon.[8] More recently, Sergent has traced the "numerous, recurrent and systematic" connections between Thebes and Sikyon in the legendary history and topography of Sikyonia, but he admits that there is no firm evidence for the origins of this Boiotian influence.[9]

On the other hand, Pausanias makes a specific reference to the invasion of Sikyon by Agamemnon when Hippolytos was king; Hippolytos was so terrified at the sight of the Mycenaean ruler that he agreed to become

2. See Jacoby's commentary on Castor: *FGrH* 250 F2.

3. πάντων μὲν Ἑλλήνων παλαιότατοι τοῖς χρόνοις ἀναγράφονται Σικυώνιοι: Euseb. *Chron.,* vol. 1, p. 171 Schoene. The Pausanias-Menaichmos tradition differs from the one offered by the chronographers in the order of succession of the last six kings and the date of the Dorian invasion; see Roux 1958, p. 133; also Frazer 1913, vol. 2, pp. 41–42.

4. See Vermeule 1987, pp. 131–138.

5. Vermeule 1987, p. 137; Sergent 1981, esp. pp. 52–59.

6. For criticism of Sergent and Vermeule's thesis, see *Isthmia* VIII, p. 351.

7. E.g., Adrastos and members of his family; see Vermeule 1987, pp. 135–136.

8. Vermeule 1987, p. 137.

9. Sergent 1999. The author desperately tries to see Boiotian involvement in many episodes of Sikyonian history, but his arguments are not always convincing.

subject to Agamemnon and his kingdom (Paus. 2.6.7). A generation later, following Phalkes' invasion,[10] the land became part of Argive territory (μοῖρα τῆς Ἀργείας), and soon after the Sikyonians collaborated with the Argives for the subjugation of Phlious (Paus. 2.7.1, 2.13.1). The Homeric Catalogue of Ships, where Sikyon is listed, reinforces the tradition of its association with Agamemnon's realm, but the historicity of the passage has been much debated by modern scholars.[11] The legend of Sikyon's belonging to Argos relates to the broader issue of the relationship between the Corinthia and the Argolid. Archaeological evidence from Corinthian sites, mainly pottery style, betrays a degree of affinity between Corinth and the Argolid in the LH II and III periods, but this affinity is gradually lost during the LH IIIC period, which may indicate that interaction between the two regions toward the end of the Mycenaean period was severely reduced.[12]

Be that as it may, Sikyonians and Argives would collaborate again much later, during the Messenian wars against the Spartans between the late 8th and early 7th centuries (Paus. 4.11.1, 14.1, 15.7). Apart from Sikyon and Argos, Arkadia and Elis had lent support to the Messenians. They clearly all understood the threat that the rising power of Sparta posed to the entire peninsula. The emancipation of Sikyon from Argos came with the rise of tyranny and the coming of Kleisthenes to power. From this period on, Sikyon would function as an independent city-state.

Orthagorid Tyranny (Mid-7th to Mid-6th Century B.C.)

The Orthagorid family ruled Sikyon for approximately one hundred years, from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century.[13] The reconstruction of the full stemma of the tyrannic family runs into serious difficulties, and is a subject long debated among modern historians. The problem is that Herodotos (5.67–68, 6.126) omits Orthagoras, the patriarch of the tyrannic family, from his list, unlike Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrH* 90 F61) and others. Various explanations have been put forward, none entirely satisfactory.[14] Rudolph (1971) attempts to explain Herodotos's omission by arguing that in reality Sikyon had two tyrannic families represented by Orthagoras and Kleisthenes. This, however, goes against Aristotle (*Pol.* 1315b14), who refers to the Sikyonian tyranny as "that of Orthagoras." I favor the following line of succession: Andreas, Myron I (brother of Orthagoras), Aristonymos, Kleisthenes (brother of Myron II and Isodemos), Aischines.[15]

Very little is known about the history of Sikyon before the time of Kleisthenes. Our only information on the relations between Sikyon and its neighboring cities is a fragment of papyrus mentioning Orthagoras's contribution in the war against Pellene.[16] The author of the papyrus writes that when Orthagoras passed the age of childhood he joined the *peripoloi* guarding the territory, and when a war broke out against the Pelleneans, the future tyrant excelled in the battle. In return for his services, the Sikyonians named him *peripolarchon,* and after he had attained a complete victory over the enemies he was elected *polemarchos.* Myron, who succeeded Orthagoras, gained an even wider reputation by winning a chariot race in the

10. Robertson (1999, pp. 73–75) argues that the conflict between Sikyon and Argos was invented by Menaichmos in order to explain the foundation of the sanctuary of Athena on the Sikyonian acropolis. There is no ancient evidence, however, connecting the sanctuary of Athena with a conflict between the two cities. Robertson's reconstruction is entirely hypothetical and also unlikely.

11. For the text of the Homeric passage, see below, p. 301. On the scholarly debate, see *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 349–350.

12. For a recent discussion, see *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 351–353, 366.

13. On the chronology, see Griffin 1982, pp. 43–47; de Libero 1996, pp. 180–181. Parker (1992) has argued for lower dates, from ca. 620/610 to 520/510, but I am not convinced by his arguments.

14. The issue is summarized in Griffin 1982, pp. 40–43. Note that the author does not refer to Rudolph's (1971) article on the Sikyonian tyranny.

15. Cf. Parker 1992, p. 166; de Libero 1996, pp. 180–181.

16. *P Oxy.* XI 1365; cf. *FGrH* IIA 105 F2.

33rd Olympiad (648 B.C.), according to Pausanias (6.19.1–4). The traveler says that the tyrant, in order to commemorate his victory, dedicated a treasury at Olympia, where he also made two bronze chambers, one in Doric style and the other in Ionic. Pausanias claims to have seen these *thalamoi,* some eight centuries after their dedication. The German excavators of Olympia have found the treasury of the Sikyonians, and dated it mainly by masonry style to the first half of the 5th century B.C., that is, almost two centuries after its supposed foundation date.[17] Most likely the present structure had an Early Archaic predecessor, to which a few architectural blocks dated to the 7th century have been assigned.[18] As for the *thalamoi,* these could have been some kind of bronze safe for storing precious objects, later placed in the new treasury. The historical importance of this story is that Myron, the offspring of the Sikyonian tyrannic *genos,* now proved his *kalokagathia* to his noble competitors and the Greek world.

The tyranny of Kleisthenes at Sikyon, which started before 590 B.C., must be viewed within the larger political scheme in the northern Peloponnese at that period: Corinth was ruled by the Kypselides and Argos by Pheidon. Kleisthenes was related by lineage to the Kypselids.[19] The existence of ties among the tyrants can be deduced from the story of the wedding of the tyrant's daughter Agariste. It was in Olympia, during the festival, that Kleisthenes issued the invitation for prospective suitors. Thirteen candidates entered the competition in Sikyon, all offspring of powerful tyrannic families, coming from Argos, Arkadia, Elis, Athens, Eretria, Thessaly, Aitolia, Epidamnos, and as far away as the Italian towns of Sybaris and Siris.[20] The list of suitors may reflect Sikyonian affiliations and estrangements during this period, as has been pointed out by Malcolm McGregor.[21] Most notable is the absence of a Corinthian candidate, which implies hostile relations between the two states. It is possible that Sikyonian interests in western trade had developed, against Corinthian interests.[22] A clash between Sikyon and Corinth in the Kleisthenic period is probably implied in the seizure of the Sikyonian harbor by Thrasyboulos of Miletos, friend of the Corinthian tyrant Periander, but we do not know the specifics.[23]

On the other hand, the fact that an Argive is present at the Sikyonian court was interpreted by McGregor as a sign that the two cities were still on good terms.[24] The break in their relations came later in Kleisthenes' reign. According to Herodotos, the tyrant promoted his own pre-Dorian

17. See Dörpfeld 1892; Mallwitz 1972, pp. 167–169.

18. See Herrmann 1992, pp. 27–28; also de Libero 1996, pp. 184–186.

19. Hdt. 6.128. Kinships among tyrannic families may have been common; for example, Prokles, the tyrant of Epidauros, was the father-in-law of Periander (see *CAH* 3, p. 554).

20. The story is told by Herodotos (6.126–130); for the historical significance of the episode, see Osborne 1996, pp. 281–282.

21. McGregor 1941, pp. 270–271.

22. As suggested by McGregor (1941, pp. 283–284).

23. Frontin. *Str.* 3.9.7. For additional indications in the historical record of the hostility of Kleisthenes toward the Kypselids, see Parker 1994, pp. 416–417.

24. McGregor 1941, pp. 274–275; endorsed by Parker (1994, pp. 417–418).

tribe called Aigialeis, and launched an anti-Argive policy, in clear contrast with the policy of his predecessors, who were closely connected to Argos.[25] Before the rise of Kleisthenes, Argos and Sikyon had the same Dorian tribes, namely, the Pamphyloi, the Hylleis, and the Dymanes (which are also to be found in Doric Sparta and Epidauros).[26] Kleisthenes' hostility toward Argos was expressed by a series of internal measures, including halting public performances of the Homeric poems, which exalted Argos and the Argives, changing the names of the existing tribes, and eliminating the cult of Adrastos, the legendary Argive hero (Hdt. 5.67–68). Herodotos writes that the tyrant named the tribes after barnyard animals in his effort to ridicule the Dorian population.[27] Victor Parker has recently questioned this interpretation, because the meaning that Herodotos assigns to the words does not agree with their endings, and also because of the upheaval that they would have caused if the people of Sikyon at the time had understood them in the way that Herodotos did.[28] Parker, among others, suggests instead that the newly created *phyles* took their names from otherwise unknown toponyms. Herodotos says that these measures were enforced after Kleisthenes went to war with the Argives, but we do not know the specifics or how long the feud with Argos lasted.[29] Thomas Kelly raises the possibility that the two states were fighting over the territory situated between them, namely, Kleonai and Nemea, but there is no direct evidence to support this hypothesis.[30] An unsuccessful Sikyonian campaign against the Argive town of Orneai may date to this period.[31] According to Herodotos (5.68), the Sikyonian tribes regained their old names 60 years after Kleisthenes' death, during the last decades of the 6th century. In addition, a fine imposed by Argos upon the Sikyonians in 494 B.C. because the latter helped the Lakedaimonians defeat the Argives in the battle of Sepeia indicates that Argos and Sikyon had formed some sort of coalition prior to the event.[32]

25. The belief that the tyrant was the leader of the anti-Dorian factions, shared by a number of scholars, is based on Herodotos. Hammond, however, argues that Herodotos's version of the rise of Kleisthenes is a folktale, and believes that the tyrannic regime grew out of the oligarchy (*CAH*² 3, p. 345). We know so little about the Early Archaic period in Greece that we cannot build an argument strong enough to refute the Herodotean tradition.

26. *IG* IV 598 (Argos); *IG* IV².1 71 (Epidauros).

27. Ὑᾶται, Ὀνεᾶται, Χοιρεᾶται from ὗς (pig), ὄνος (donkey), and χοῖρος (piglet). Bicknell (1982) believes, mainly on linguistic grounds, that ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται is a later interpolation to the text of Herodotos, and that Kleisthenes changed the three typical Dorian tribes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi, and Dymanatai, into Hyatai, Oneatai, and Archelaoi. This would mean that Kleisthenes himself was a Dorian, and previously belonged to the Dymanatai tribe. According to Bicknell, the Orthagorids, far from being anti-Dorian, were in fact "champions of Dorian supremacy" (p. 197). Bicknell's challenge of the Herodotean tradition lacks sufficient supporting evidence.

28. Indeed, the ending -της does not denote "quality," but "place," "membership," or "possession," the latter with names of animals. Thus, Ὑάτης cannot mean "piglike" (which would have been Ὕειος) but one who is from a place called Ὕα, or belongs to Ὕα, or one who has a pig (like ἱππότης): Parker 1994, pp. 405–410.

29. See de Libero 1996, pp. 195–197.

30. Kelly 1976, p. 124. According to Kelly, the nature of the dispute could have been more territorial than commercial, since Argos had little interest in commerce at the time. For the story in Plutarch's *Moralia* (553A–B) that Sikyonians were claiming from the Kleonaians the nationality of a victor at the Pythia, see above, p. 23.

31. A Sikyonian defeat at Orneai is mentioned but not dated by Pausanias (10.18.5); cf. Plut. *Mor.* 401D.

32. Hdt. 6.92; the Sikyonians acknowledged that they had acted wrongfully.

Aristotle explained the longevity of the Sikyonian tyranny in part through the renowned military activity of Kleisthenes.[33] The tyrant took an active part in the First Sacred War, which broke out around 590.[34] Pythion of Halikarnassos tells us that the Sikyonian tyrant prepared a fleet at his own expense and blocked the shipments of corn to the Krisaians under siege. In return for this service, Kleisthenes was given a third of the booty after the surrender of Krisa (schol. ad Pind. *Nem.* 9.15–21; Paus. 10.37.6). He displayed this booty in a portico which he built at Sikyon and which took his name ("Kleisthenios"; Paus. 2.9.6).

What was Kleisthenes' motivation in joining forces against Krisa? The question is legitimate, since Sikyon was not then obliged to participate, not being a member of the Amphictyony.[35] It has been argued that in this period the oracle of Delphi had adopted an anti-Dorian policy. Kleisthenes, as a true representative of the anti-Dorian movement, may well have supported the Delphic sanctuary by contributing to the destruction of Krisa and the dedication of its fertile plain to Apollo.[36] In this way, the Sikyonian tyrant enhanced Sikyonian prestige at Delphi; some years later he probably provided for the construction of a tholos on the sacred terrace, in a very prominent position; this must have been one of the first treasuries that the ancient visitor would have seen upon ascending the processional way.[37]

Two more possibilities may be considered here as underlying factors in Kleisthenes' participation in the First Sacred War: (1) a desire to associate himself with the members of the Amphictyony, which included the Athenians, and (2) an interest in curtailing the power of Krisa. The latter controlled the road to Delphi from the Corinthian Gulf, and probably had a fair share in the sea traffic across the gulf as well, if the gulf's former appellation, "Krisaian," can be understood as an allusion to the past grandeur of the Phokian city.[38] Kleisthenes may have been the first to build a Sikyonian fleet, but Sikyonian seafaring for commercial purposes was active throughout the Archaic period and could have developed against Krisaian interests.[39] McGregor has convincingly argued for the western aspirations of Kleisthenes, as these are reflected in the list of suitors for

33. Arist. *Pol.* 1315b17–18: καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος; cf. Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrH* IIA F61), para. 4: πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον Κλεισθένει προσεῖχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἅτε φοβερῷ ὄντι καὶ δραστηρίῳ.

34. The historicity of the First Sacred War and Sikyon's involvement have been recently questioned, but with no compelling arguments: see Pritchett 1996, pp. 31–32; de Libero 1996, pp. 198–199, 203; Sánchez 2001, pp. 59–60. Most recently, Howe (2003) has stressed the economic importance of the Krisaian plain for the Delphic sanctuary. The need to maintain control over it may well have set off the First Sacred War.

35. For a discussion of Kleisthenes' motives, see Skalet 1928, pp. 54–56; Griffin 1982, pp. 52–54.

36. As suggested by Forrest (1956, pp. 45–49).

37. For the tholos, pieces of which were incorporated into the foundations of the later treasury of Sikyon, see Laroche and Nenna 1990, pp. 263–265; Bommelaer 1991, pp. 120–121. Kelly (1976, pp. 123, 126) argues that Kleisthenes' initiatives at Delphi were answered by Pheidon's usurpation of the Olympic games, the two tyrants being rivals. It should be emphasized, however, that the assignment of the tholos to Sikyon, and to Kleisthenes in particular, is likely but not certain; see n. 41 below.

38. For the name "Krisaian Gulf," see Strabo 8.6.21; the term is used by Byzantine writers as well (see, e.g., Procop. *Aed.* 4.2.1). Cf. Sordi (1979), who goes so far as to suggest that the First Sacred War was essentially a commercial fight between Sikyon and Krisa, in which Thessaly played only a modest role.

39. On the fleet built by Kleisthenes during the First Sacred War, see schol. ad Pind. *Nem.* 9.5. Dunbabin (1948, p. 259) raises the possibility that Sikyon challenged even Corinth and its trade for a short time.

the hand of his daughter.[40] By helping the Amphictyonians to subdue and eventually destroy Krisa, Kleisthenes gained the recognition and gratitude of the members of the League, while at the same time securing safe sailing along the gulf. In addition, if we assign the Monopteros, blocks of which were also found reused in the foundations of the later treasury, to the reign of Kleisthenes, then we may learn more about the tyrant's policy by examining the sculpture program of the building.[41] As argued by Parker, the naval themes of the sculpted metopes—the Dioskouroi, considered to be the patron saints of seafarers, and the voyage of the Argo—may attest to the interest of Kleisthenes in naval power.[42]

Thanks to another Oxyrhynchus papyrus, we know that the war against Pellene, which was already going on in the time of Orthagoras, continued more viciously under Kleisthenes. This time the tyrant utterly destroyed Pellene, selling the male population into slavery, and the women and daughters into prostitution.[43] The Sikyonian atrocities at Pellene made a deep impression on Aelian some seven hundred years later (*VH* 6.1). It is tempting to assign two more military campaigns, mentioned by Pausanias but not precisely dated, to Kleisthenes in accordance with his expansionist policy, this time toward Achaia. One was directed against Aigeira and ended in failure (Paus. 7.26.2); the other against the town of Donoussa, which was destroyed and annexed by Sikyon (Paus. 7.26.13). Our survey of Taratses above the village of Kamari (HS-97), a candidate site for Donoussa, has revealed scanty Geometric/Archaic evidence as opposed to the abundant Classical material.[44]

Peloponnesian League (Mid-6th to Mid-4th Century B.C.)

Spartan interest in Sikyon is already documented from the last years of the tyranny (550s). A papyrus fragment records that Aischines, the last tyrant of Sikyon and perhaps the successor of Kleisthenes, was overthrown by the Spartans.[45] The reasons for the intervention are not stated in the sources, but we can safely assume that the action was meant to secure Sikyon's allegiance to the Spartans. Thucydides, in a general statement at the beginning of his *History,* says that the Lakedaimonians took care that their allies should have an oligarchical form of government suitable to the Spartans alone (Thuc. 1.19). Sikyon's alliance was vital to the Lakedaimonian army and its operations north of the Isthmus, given that Argos was a constant enemy and that the passes through its territory were anything but safe for the Spartans. It is possible that by 510 B.C. Sparta had

40. McGregor 1941, pp. 270–271, 276–277.

41. The Monopteros has been traditionally dated to ca. 560 B.C.; see, e.g., Bommelaer 1991, pp. 121–123. Partida (2000, pp. 75–82) assigns the structure to the second quarter of the 6th century based on stylistic and technical grounds, and argues persuasively for its function as a treasury. Although there has been no actual proof that either the Tholos or the Monopteros were built by Sikyon, the incorporation of their architectural members into the later treasury as well as the type of stone used—most likely from the same Corinthian or Sikyonian poros quarries that provided the stone for the later treasury—allow us to assign them to Sikyon as well: see de la Coste-Messelière 1936, pp. 63–64; Laroche and Nenna 1990, esp. pp. 269–270.

42. Parker 1994, p. 414.

43. *P Oxy.* X 1241, iii, lines 2–13.

44. See below, pp. 324–325.

45. *FGrH* IIA 105 F1.

gained alliances with Elis and Sikyon among other cities, and that these bilateral agreements were later replaced by a multilateral agreement.[46] We do not know the precise date for the establishment of the Peloponnesian *symmachia,* but Herodotos reports a convocation of the allies in Sparta that took place after Kleomenes' expedition to Athens in 507 or 506 B.C.[47] It is likely that Sikyon, together with other Peloponnesian states, participated in that expedition, although Herodotos (5.74) does not give the list of the contributing states. We do know, though, that the Sikyonians contributed to the fleet gathered by the Spartan Kleomenes I in 494 B.C. prior to the successful battle of Sepeia against the Argives (Hdt. 6.92).

During the Persian Wars, Sikyon participated with 12 ships in the battle of Artemision (Hdt. 8.1), and with 15 ships in the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.43). In the aftermath of Thermopylai, Sikyonians rushed with other Peloponnesian forces to build a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth (Hdt. 8.71). Herodotos testifies that the Sikyonians were present at Plataiai with 3,000 hoplites (9.28). If we trust the figures in Herodotos, the military strength of Sikyon, which is indicated by the number of hoplites that the state contributed, is inferior only to Sparta, Athens, and Corinth, and superior by a factor of three to the neighboring state of Phlious. This power relation between the states of the northern Peloponnese also reflects upon the extent of their respective territories, which I mentioned in the previous chapter.[48] Herodotos (9.102 and 9.105) adds that Sikyonians excelled in the battle of Mykale, together with the Corinthians and the Troizenians.

When the Hellenic League was gradually dismantled in the late 470s, and some discontented member states of the Peloponnesian League rebelled against Sparta, the Sikyonians remained firmly attached to the Spartan alliance and the Peloponnesian League. Griffin considers a bronze Athenian greave captured by the Sikyonians at Halieis and dedicated in the Olympic sanctuary as evidence for Sikyon's involvement in the repulsion of the Athenian landing at Halieis in 459/8 B.C.[49] They had to pay the price on two occasions in the course of the Athenian military initiatives of the mid-5th century: in 456/5 B.C., an Athenian fleet under Tolmides, which sailed round the Peloponnese harassing Lakedaimonian posts, landed at Sikyon as well and defeated the Sikyonians in battle (Thuc. 1.108.5; Paus. 1.27.5; schol. ad Aischin. 2.78 for the date). The Sikyonians were again defeated by the Athenians two years later, when Perikles sailed from Pagai to Sikyon (Thuc. 1.111.2; Plut. *Per.* 19).[50] Diodoros adds that Perikles was not able to break into the Sikyonian city and that the Sikyonians received help from Sparta at this time (Diod. Sic. 11.88.2). Toward spring or summer of 446 B.C., Sikyon actively showed its anti-Athenian alignment when it supported the Megarian rebellion against Athens (Thuc. 1.114.1). The Sikyonian intervention was probably dictated by the Spartans, who shortly after led a Peloponnesian force to Eleusis and ravaged the Thriasian plain (Thuc. 1.114.2).

During the Peloponnesian War, Sikyonian forces were enlisted among the forces of the Peloponnesian League (Thuc. 2.9.3). In 429 B.C., a Sikyonian contingent participated in the ill-fated sea battle off Naupaktos against the Athenian fleet under Phormio (Thuc. 2.80.3). Five years later, Sikyonian hoplites were enlisted in the campaign of the Spartan Brasidas

46. For this attractive suggestion, see Larsen 1932, pp. 140–143; 1933, pp. 260–261. The possibility that the Peloponnesian League succeeded a series of independent alliances of Sparta with other states in the peninsula is endorsed by de Ste. Croix (1972, pp. 339–340).

47. Hdt. 5.91; Larsen (1932) believes that this was the first regular meeting of the League.

48. See above, p. 27, with n. 92.

49. *SEG* XXXI 369; cf. Griffin 1982, p. 62. The evidence supplements the testimony of Thucydides (1.105.1), who names only the Corinthians and Epidaurians.

50. Plutarch (*Per.* 19) places the battle at Nemea, but the latter is far inland and not even in Sikyonian territory. Larsen (1953, p. 800) raises the possibility that the attacks of Tolmides and Perikles against the Sikyonians were aimed at removing pressure from the Achaians and particularly the Pelleneans. However, as Larsen himself recognizes, there is no direct information on the exact nature of the relations between the Athenians and the Achaians at this time.

to support Megara (Thuc. 4.70.1). Sparta, in order to reach the Corinthia in the course of her numerous expeditions to Attica, counted on unimpeded passage through Phliasian and Sikyonian territory. The Athenian general Demosthenes must have been aware of this when he ventured to invade the Sikyonian plain in 424 B.C., but he was successfully repelled by the watchful Sikyonians (Thuc. 4.101.3–4). In 419 B.C., contingents from Sikyon and Corinth prevented Alcibiades from fortifying Rhion in Achaia (Thuc. 5.52.2).

In the following year, Sikyonian contingents participated in the expedition against Argos led by Agis. The full force of the League gathered at Nemea, but was dismissed after Agis made a truce with the Argives.[51] Soon after, though, when rumors spread that the Tegeans might go over to the Argives, the Lakedaimonians, fearing that their major artery of communication with Sikyon and the Corinthia might be shut down, marched with their full force against Tegea and invaded Mantineia. After the battle in the plain, the Lakedaimonians, anxious to secure the Argive and Sikyonian passes toward the Corinthia, established oligarchic governments in both Sikyon and Argos (Thuc. 5.81.2). Argos's adherence to the Spartan cause was very brief, but Sparta had for the present secured its northern communications.

During the Sicilian expedition (415–413 B.C.) Sikyon reluctantly provided hoplites to the Peloponnesian force, which came to the support of Syracuse besieged by the Athenians (Thuc. 7.19.4, 7.58.3). It is rather surprising that no Sikyonian ships are mentioned as having taken part in the expedition, especially since the Sikyonian harbor was suitably located for this purpose. After the Athenian disaster in Sicily, the Lakedaimonians exacted ships from their allies, including the Sikyonians, in order to continue the war in the Aegean. Pellene and Sikyon provided 10 ships each (Thuc. 8.3.2). In Delphi, Pausanias (1.105.1) saw the statue of the Sikyonian Agesimenes among those who collaborated with the Spartans in the conclusive battle of Aigospotamoi in 404 B.C.

Discontent with Spartan supremacy soon rose among the Greek city-states. With the encouragement and financial support of Persia, a quadruple alliance was formed in 395 B.C. between Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos (Diod. Sic. 14.82). Its clear intention was to confine the Lakedaimonians and their allies to the Peloponnese. The resulting Corinthian War between the Peloponnesian League and the four major allies went on for the next three years. In 394 B.C., the force of the Peloponnesian League, including Sikyon, met the force of the quadruple alliance in the Corinthian plain. The "battle of the Nemea River," as it came to be called, was the largest battle to be fought between Greeks in terms of the size of the opposing forces. Xenophon gives a detailed account of the movements of the combatants and of the ensuing battle, which is very informative for topographical purposes.[52] The Spartans achieved what their adversaries feared most: having set forth from Sparta toward the north, they were able to increase their force by recruiting men from allied cities. Their plan was to come to Sikyon where they would presumably join forces with the Achaians, the Eleians, and forces from the other friendly states listed by Xenophon. The Peloponnesian army won the battle, but their opponents

51. Thuc. 5.57–59, 60.3; for a topographical commentary on these passages, see Pikoulas 1995, pp. 305–316.

52. *Hell.* 4.2; for the topographical implications of this passage, see below, pp. 125–126.

kept control of Corinth. With the return of the Spartan Agesilaos from Asia, the two adversaries met again near Koroneia (Boiotia), and once again the forces of the Peloponnesian League carried a great victory.

For the next two years, indecisive fighting went on between the two camps, with the Spartans using Sikyon as their base (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.1). From here, in 392 B.C., the Spartan polemarch Praxitas set out to capture the Long Walls, which stretched from Corinth to Lechaion. During the battle, which was fought between the Long Walls, the Sikyonian contingent suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Argives. The Spartans were victorious and placed some garrisons in the northern Corinthia and at the Sikyonian border fortress of Epieikia before returning to Lakedaimon, though they kept Sikyon as their base (*Hell.* 4.4.7–14). In 391 B.C. or the following year, the Spartan regiment suffered heavy losses in the Corinthia when attacked by the Athenian Iphikrates, who was stationed in Corinth (*Hell.* 4.5.12–19). Iphikrates was equally successful in regaining strongholds that had been captured by Praxitas in the previous year. Diodoros adds that Iphikrates also advanced against the territory of Phlious and then against Sikyon, where the people sought refuge behind the walls of the city (14.91.2–3; cf. Polyainos, *Strat.* 3.9.24). The union between Argos and Corinth was completed in 389 B.C., but was dissolved three years later in accordance with the clauses of the Peace of Antalkidas, and under Spartan threat. Corinth again became a member of the League (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.34–35). Overall, the first decade of the 4th century was a very critical period for the survival the Sikyonian state, as it lived under the constant threat of its formidable eastern neighbor and had to rely almost exclusively upon the Spartan presence for protection. This would explain the existence of a pro-Spartan oligarchic regime that probably ruled in Sikyon down to the early 360s, when Euphron seized power.

In 378 B.C., Sikyonians, Phliasians, and the inhabitants of Akte formed one military contingent in the expedition of the Spartan Agesilaos against Thebes (Diod. Sic. 15.31.2). Sikyonians do not seem to have participated in the battle of Leuktra (371 B.C.), but a contingent of theirs was counted among the forces of the League sent against Boiotia following the battle (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.18); by that time, the neighboring states, namely Corinthia, Phliasia, and Achaia, were full supporters of the Spartans and μάλα προθύμως followed Archidamos to Boiotia.

The subsequent Theban invasions of the Peloponnese were of direct concern to the Sikyonian state. During the first invasion (369 B.C.), Sikyonians rushed to the support of the Spartans against the Thebans in Prasiai (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.2). In 368 B.C., before the second invasion, the Spartans, the Pelleneans, and the Athenians guarded Oneion, a mountain fort in the Corinthia, in order to check Epaminondas's progress.[53] The Thebans, however, managed to descend safely from Mount Oneion, join their allies, the Arkadians, Argives, and Eleians, and attack Sikyon and Pellene (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.15–18; Diod. Sic. 15.69.1; Paus. 6.3.3). They then invaded and raided the territory of Epidauros, and after an unsuccessful attempt to break into the city of Corinth, laid waste to the plain in front of that city (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.18–19). The Syracusans, who came to the support of the Spartans, harassed the Thebans, and upon the latter's departure, they

53. For the revised dates of the Theban invasions, see Wiseman 1969. It should be stressed, however, that these dates are not generally accepted by scholars; Roy (1971, pp. 590–594), for example, dates the second invasion to the summer of 369. On the fort on Mount Oneion, see Stroud 1971.

invaded the territory of Sikyon, defeated the Sikyonians in battle, and captured the stronghold of Dera before sailing back to Syracuse (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.20–22).[54]

In 366 B.C., Epaminondas headed a third invasion into the Peloponnese, landing his fleet at Lechaion, and marching against Achaia, wishing to bring it to his side. If we follow Xenophon's narration, Epaminondas does not seem to have harassed the Sikyonians on his way to Pellene this time (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.41–42). The reason may lie in the fact that Sikyon had already been showing signs of discontent vis-à-vis the Lakedaimonians. Two years earlier, Euphron had risen to power in Sikyon as a leader of "democracy" with the support of the Argives and Arkadians, and he addressed his partisans with the following words: "This I do because, like yourselves, I have long found the arrogance of the Lakedaimonians hard to endure, and I would be glad to escape from servitude to them" (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.44).[55] "Then," writes Xenophon, "he immediately called the people together in the agora in the presence of the Argives and the Arkadians, announcing that the government was to be on terms of full equality" (*Hell.* 7.1.45: ὡς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις). Up to that moment Sikyon was ruled by "the richest men" (οἱ πλουσιώτατοι), who were favorable to the Lakedaimonians (*Hell.* 7.1.44). Euphron, however, did not stand by his egalitarian pronouncements, but rapidly turned into an absolute ruler (σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν), having "put to death some of his fellow officials and banished others" (*Hell.* 7.1.46; Diod. Sic. 15.70.3). It is because of these and other cruel and impious actions that Xenophon calls him a tyrant. Sian Lewis stresses the fact that the historian uses this term not in a constitutional, Aristotelian sense, but to describe the nature of his rule.[56] In retrospect, Euphron was rather an opportunist who seems to have taken advantage of the general disappointment over the repeated military failures of the Spartans since the battle of Leuktra.[57]

Euphron's assurances to his new allies were tested in the following year (367 B.C.), when the Sikyonians helped the Argive operations against Phlious by fortifying Thyamia on the Sikyonian borders with Phlious (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1). Perhaps a year later, when the Theban governor at Sikyon marched upon Phlious along with the Sikyonians and the Pelleneans, Euphron took part in the expedition with his mercenaries, but the entire force met with strong Phliasian resistance (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.11–15). During a second expedition, the Sikyonians (if these are indeed the "enemies" mentioned by Xenophon in *Hell.* 7.2.19) were confronted by the Phliasians, led by the Athenian general Chares returning from Pellene, and were "driven out of the road" (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.18–19). The fortification of Thyamia was still going on when the Phliasians, with the help of Chares, caught the Sikyonians who were inside off guard, and took possession of the fort (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.20–23).

At some time in the same year (366 B.C.), the Arkadian general Aineias from Stymphalos, deciding that the situation in Sikyon was not to be tolerated, went forth with his army and reached the acropolis, where he tried to summon the Sikyonian aristocrats—both present and banished—in order to restore them to power.[58] It is possible that Aineias was invited by the Theban garrison, to whom Euphron may have been a threat, because no

54. It is difficult to account for the Syracusan actions against Sikyon. Skalet (1928, p. 73) thinks that they were instigated by the Spartans who wanted to win Sikyon back, since the Sikyonians had accepted a Theban garrison on their acropolis. The presence, though, of a Theban archon in Sikyon is attested only after the third Theban invasion, well after the Syracusan attack (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.11, 7.3.2).

55. On the date of establishment of Euphron in power, see Roy 1971, p. 591. Here, it should be pointed out that the dates of major events of Euphron's regime are far from being precisely known.

56. Lewis 2004.

57. As suggested by Mossé (1989, pp. 125–126).

58. In the accounts of Xenophon and Diodoros, Euphron emerges as a promoter of the state's independence as well as a cruel tyrant (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.46, 8.3.8; Diod. Sic. 15.70.3). Both aspects of his rule would have been intolerable to the Arkadians. According to Roy (1971, pp. 580–581), a possible justification for the Arkadian interference is the fact that Euphron's unconstitutional rule presented a breach of the Peloponnesian League.

resistance on behalf of the Thebans is recorded in relation to this event.[59] Euphron fled in panic to the harbor and handed it over to the Lakedaimonians, pretending that he had always been on their side (*Hell.* 7.3.1–3). Later, though, either in the same or the following year (365 B.C.), and while there was strife in Sikyon between the commoners and the aristocrats, Euphron obtained Athenian support and recaptured the city, but not the acropolis, which was still occupied by the Theban *harmost.* He proceeded to Thebes, hoping to secure support in order to expel the κράτιστοι from Sikyon and regain power, but he was assassinated there by some Sikyonian exiles (*Hell.* 7.3.3–5). The Thebans acquitted the murderers, but the Sikyonians "esteeming him [Euphron] ἀγαθόν, brought him home, buried him in their agora, and pay him pious honors as the founder of their city" (*Hell.* 7.3.12: καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται). Xenophon closes this digression with a moral statement: "so true it is, as it seems, that most people define their benefactors as good men" (οἱ πλεῖστοι ὁρίζονται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι). The implication is clear, and rather contemptuous of the Sikyonian populace and its selfish attitude; Xenophon did not think of Euphron as an ἀγαθός, but the πλεῖστοι (as opposed to the βέλτιστοι) thought so because they personally benefited from the tyrant. Soon after his death, the Sikyonians, with Arkadian help, recaptured their harbor (*Hell.* 7.4.1).

Hostilities between the Phliasians and the Sikyonians presumaby came to an end late that year (365 B.C.). Xenophon says that at that date the Phliasians and the Corinthians concluded peace with Thebes and abandoned the fort of Thyamia (*Hell.* 7.4.11). It is not known if the Sikyonians took part in the peace treaty. The signing of these peace treaties essentially marks the dissolution of the Peloponnesian League, since Epidauros also came to an agreement with Thebes (Isoc. *Archidamos* 91). According to Diodoros (15.85.2), the Sikyonians sided with the Thebans against the Spartan coalition in Mantineia (362 B.C.), although Xenophon does not list them at all. Ten years later Sparta attacked Megalopolis, and Diodoros includes Sikyon among the states who rushed to the defense of the Arkadian city.[60]

Macedonian Domination and the Achaian League (Late 4th to Mid-2nd Century B.C.)

Sikyon was absent from all operations during the Third Sacred War (356–346 B.C.). Most notably, she does not seem to have participated in the defensive coalition against the Macedonian king Philip led by Athens in 343/2 B.C. and was equally absent from the battle of Chaironeia in 338, unlike her neighboring states Achaia and Corinth (Dem. 18.237).

59. Griffin (1982, p. 73) assumes that the Theban garrison was removed prior to Aineias's arrival and later put back for unknown reasons.

60. Diod. Sic. 16.39.2. Skalet (1928, p. 76) thinks that Diodoros is wrong in including Sikyon among the collaborators of the Arkadians. Pausanias (2.7.4), however, saw the tomb of the Sikyonians that fell in battles, including the one at Megalopolis.

The event that ended the hostilities between the Greek city-states for some time occurred in winter 338/7 B.C., when Philip summoned a meeting of deputies of the Greek states to Corinth. This meeting set up a permanent organization comprising the states south of Macedonia, conventionally called "The League of Corinth." The member nations took an oath to respect the common peace, and the agreement provided for common action against the wrongdoer.[61] Unfortunately, the inscription recording the members of the League is only partially preserved, but it is believed that the peace treaty named all of the Peloponnesian states except Sparta. After Philip's death in 336 the League was renewed by his son Alexander, and its members appointed him general in the war against Persia (Arr. *Anab.* 7.9.5). Sparta, however, refused to recognize Philip and Alexander, and in 333 sided with Persia against Macedonia (Din. 1.34). After Alexander's victory at Gaugamela in 331, the Spartan army under the command of Agis marched against the Macedonian commander of the Greek League. Its first operations were successful and Agis was able to win over Elis and Achaia, except Pellene, and later Arkadia, except Megalopolis (Aischin. 3.165; Din. 1.34). Nevertheless, his successes did not last, and Agis ended by being defeated by the army of Antipater at the battle of Megalopolis in 331 (Diod. Sic. 17.63.1; Curt. 6.1). It is worth noting that the Spartans were not able to secure Sikyonian support on this occasion.

From an Athenian decree honoring the Sikyonian Euphron, son of Adeas, and dating to 318/7 B.C., it is clear that a Macedonian garrison was installed in the city prior to the Lamian War. Its presence may well explain Sikyon's absence from the anti-Macedonian actions in the 330s (*Syll.*[3] 317; cf. Dem. 18.48 and 295). Demosthenes includes the Sikyonians Aristratos and Epichares in his long list of "traitors" who "have mutilated their own countries and made freedom a drinking present first to Philip, and now to Alexander" (18.295–296). The Macedonian king also overthrew the democracy in Pellene and set up a tyrant ([Dem.] 17.10).

Generally speaking, Alexander supported the League of Corinth despite a number of adversities, but his death (323 B.C.) and the Lamian War (322 B.C.) hastened its decomposition. Sikyon was one of the Peloponnesian states that joined Athens against the Macedonian general Antipater in 322 (Diod. Sic. 18.11.2; Paus. 1.25.4). The Athenian decree honoring Euphron provides undeniable evidence of the Sikyonian role in the event. Upon the outbreak of the war Euphron managed to expel the Macedonian garrison from the city and join the Athenian struggle.[62] After the defeat, a Macedonian garrison was once again placed in Sikyon (*Syll.*[3] 317, lines 19–20). From this period on, the cities that were formerly members of the League were directly subject to Macedonia. The Hellenistic monarchs, anxious to secure the support of the Greek cities against each other, proclaimed on different occasions the "freedom" of the Greek cities, though it was an empty word. Polyperchon, and later Antigonos, used this propaganda to sway Greeks against Cassander, just as Ptolemy did against Antigonos.

In 319 B.C., Macedonian regent Polyperchon issued an edict according to which all Macedonian garrisons in the Peloponnese were to be

61. Tod 1948, no. 177; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, no. 76.

62. *Syll.*[3] 317, lines 1–19; *Syll.*[3] 310 (323/2 B.C.); Just. *Epit.* 13.5.10. See also *SEG* XXXI 79.

withdrawn and replaced by democratic regimes (Diod. Sic. 18.56, 18.69.3–4). Sikyon may have been among the cities that benefited from Polyperchon's proclamation, although a few years later Polyperchon's son, Alexander, appeared to be in possession of the city before his assassination by democratic Sikyonians in 314 B.C. (Diod. Sic. 19.67.1). At his death, his wife, Kratesipolis, managed to retain the power and preserve the city from Antigonos's ambitions, warding off the army of his general Telesphoros in 313 B.C. (Diod. Sic. 19.67.1–2, 74.2). She was not able, however, to withstand Ptolemy's attack in 308 B.C., when the Egyptian ruler sent a force to the Peloponnese and managed to install garrisons in some places, including Corinth and Sikyon. Diodoros says that Ptolemy, "moving on to the Isthmus, took Sikyon and Corinth from Kratesipolis" and installed garrisons in both cities before returning to Egypt (20.37.1–2; Polyainos, *Strat.* 8.58). In the following year, Sikyon and Corinth remained the only Ptolemaic strongholds in the Peloponnese because of the offensive policy of Antipater's son Cassander in the peninsula.

Cassander's dominating position over the portion of Greece to the south of Thermopylai came to an end in 303 B.C. with the military emergence of Demetrios Poliorketes, who, after "freeing" Attica and Boiotia, advanced into the Peloponnese. In the previous years Demetrios had tried to take possession of Sikyon and Corinth by bribing the Ptolemaic commander, but without success (Plut. *Demetr.* 15). Now he marched against Sikyon and attacked the walls; Diodoros says that after Demetrios took possession of the city, the Ptolemaic garrison, which in the meantime had fled up to the acropolis, surrendered the acropolis to him and sailed back to Egypt.[63] Demetrios destroyed the lower city and helped refound it on the acropolis, giving it the new name Demetrias (Diod. Sic. 20.102.2–4; Plut. *Demetr.* 25.2; Paus. 2.7.1; Polyainos, *Strat.* 4.7.3; Strabo 8.6.25).[64] Demetrios's motivation for relocating the city was his determination to secure his position in the northern Peloponnese by installing garrisons on the important strongholds, Acrocorinth, Sikyon, and Argos. Once established at Sikyon, Demetrios marched against Corinth, then held by a general of Cassander, and captured it together with its harbors and the acropolis with the help of siege machinery (Diod. Sic. 20.103.1–3; Plut. *Demetr.* 25.1). In the spring of 302, Demetrios established a confederation of Greek cities, a sort of revival of the Corinthian League, and was himself proclaimed *hegemon* of Greece at the Isthmus of Corinth (*IG* IV^2.1 68; Plut. *Demetr.* 25.3).

An inscription from the same year (303/2 B.C.), found in 13 fragments in the Athenian Agora, contains a treaty of alliance between Athens and Sikyon. The inscription remains so fragmentary that very little can be said about the nature of the alliance or its historical context.[65] It does show, however, that the new city founded by Demetrios reverted to its old name a few months after its foundation. On the other hand, another inscription, found at Stymphalos, names Demetrias and almost certainly refers to Sikyon, and not to the Thessalian city.[66] This lengthy, albeit fragmentary, stele contains a treaty (συμβολά) between the two neighboring states that provides for the settling (συλλύσεις) of judicial disputes among one another's citizens. The date of the inscription has long been debated among modern scholars.

63. Plutarch (*Demetr.* 15.1, 25.1) mistakenly states that Demetrios freed Argos, Sikyon, and Corinth by paying their garrisons 100 talents.

64. The account of Diodoros offers unique information on the topography of pre-Hellenistic Sikyon; for more detailed discussion of his account, see below, pp. 183–184 and p. 274.

65. I 2636: *Agora* XVI, pp. 182–186, no. 115; *SEG* XLI 50. The date, which was long debated (see *SEG* XXXI 86), is now firmly established thanks to a new fragment; see Camp 2003, pp. 273–275.

66. *IG* V.2 351–357. Hiller and the other editors and commentators of the inscription thought that the cities involved were Stymphalos and the Achaian Aigeira. When Taeuber (1981, pp. 179–182) reexamined the stone in the 1970s he was able to read clearly the name of Demetrias in two separate lines (175 and 179). For photographs and a discussion of this inscription in the context of Sikyonian-Stymphalian relationships, see Lolos 2004.

After a thorough examination of the stone, Hans Taeuber concluded that its lettering, language, and content point to the end of the 4th century, rather than the 3rd century as suggested by Hiller.[67] Gerhard Thür accepted Taeuber's dates and argued for an even narrower time span, between the falls of 302 and 301 B.C., based mainly on historical considerations.[68] The discovery of the new Athenian fragment and the secure dating of that inscription to 303/2 B.C. compels us to place the Stymphalos-Demetrias agreements earlier in the same year, that is, shortly after the foundation of the new city, since Sikyon appears as Demetrias and has not yet returned to its former name.[69] The bilateral agreements guarantee to the citizens of Sikyon access to a court of justice at Stymphalos, and vice versa.[70] The extant clauses of these agreements betray close relations between the two states, but we have no way of knowing whether they reflect standard arrangements between neighbors or an extraordinary diplomatic initiative in view of the new status quo.[71] We know of one more episode in Sikyonian history in which Stymphalos was involved: the military intervention of Aineias to overthrow the tyrant Euphron in 366 B.C. In the next chapter, I raise the possibility that the Stymphalian general felt that he had to act because his main access route to the gulf, through Sikyonian territory, was in peril. It is conceivable that similar considerations pushed the Stymphalians to seek out an agreement with their strong neighbors to the northeast. Whatever the cause, thanks to the two inscriptions from Athens and Stymphalos we know that 303/2 was a busy diplomatic year for the Sikyonians, who began to establish or reestablish connections with other states after the foundation of their new city.

The highest officials named in the *symbola* are the archons (ἀρχά or ἄρχοντες, lines 11 and 22), perhaps corresponding to the *damiourgoi* of Stymphalos (line 181) and the generals (στραταγοί) of Demetrias (line 180).[72] A senate (γερουσία, lines 40 and 79) is also involved in the process, whereas a council (βουλή) and assembly (ἐκκλησία) appear at the end of the text (lines 193–194), probably as the administrative bodies ratifying the agreements.[73] The presence of these bodies and *archai* in Sikyon is suggestive of the type of constitution that the city must have had at that time: a form of controlled democracy. Was this the traditional form of government, or a new form installed or encouraged by Demetrios Poliorketes? We know so little about the constitutional history of Sikyon that we cannot answer the question with any certainty. We have seen that during the Peloponnesian War, in 418 B.C., the Spartans established an oligarchic regime in Sikyon. Passages in Diodoros and Xenophon suggest that Sikyon lived with an oligarchic government for the next 50 years. According to Diodoros (15.40.1–2), the Sikyonians were among the Peloponnesians who in 375/4 turned "against those who during the Spartan hegemony had been leaders of their native cities. Indeed in those times the oligarchs had exercised authoritative control over their fellow citizens, and later as the democratic mob recovered its freedom it harbored a grudge."[74] The Sikyonian revolutionaries (τινὲς νεωτερίζειν ἐπιβαλόμενοι) failed to overturn the government and were put to death. This explains Xenophon's remark in the context of Euphron's rising to power just seven years later, that "up to that time the government was in conformity with the ancient laws" (*Hell.* 7.1.44: κατὰ

67. I.e., the period 303–300 B.C.; see Taeuber 1981, pp. 183–191.

68. Thür 1995, pp. 267, 270–271.

69. Unless we suppose that Sikyon used both names when signing treaties with other states, which I find unlikely.

70. Accordingly, an ἐχθόσδικος court was established in each city in order to judge cases involving foreigners. For a discussion of the legal aspects of this text, see Gauthier 1972, pp. 295–306 (where Sikyon should be read instead of Aigeira), and Thür 1995.

71. Thür (1995, pp. 268–269, 271) favors the first possibility, and argues that such clauses could have also regulated the Sikyonian-Corinthian relationships.

72. Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.45–46) refers to the generals (στρατηγοί) of Sikyon elected together with Euphron in 368 B.C. as co-archons (συνάρχοντες).

73. See Taeuber 1981, p. 192.

74. In an earlier chapter (15.38.1–3) Diodoros explains that freedom was recovered thanks to a Common Peace that the Persian king Artaxerxes II had proposed to all the Greek cities. The Greeks agreed to make peace on the conditions that all the cities should be independent and free of garrisons. On the Peace of 375/4 and the internal strife in the Peloponnese in the mid-370s, see Stylianou 1998, pp. 320–337.

τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν). The "richest" (πλουσιώτατοι: *Hell.* 7.1.44) or "most powerful" (κράτιστοι: *Hell.* 7.3.1) or "best" (βέλτιστοι: *Hell.* 7.3.4) citizens were in power, and it was against them that Euphron carried out his supposedly democratic coup. What happened next is also interesting because Euphron summoned the people (τὸν δῆμον) and bade them to elect as generals whomever they thought appropriate; the *demos* elected five στρατηγοί, including Euphron (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.45). It is possible that this was the number of generals mentioned in the inscription of 303/2, who acted on behalf of the *demos.* On the other hand, the *gerousia,* which was presumably composed of the "most powerful" citizens, must have had a supervisory role, inherited from the "ancestral," Spartan-influenced laws of the state.

After Antigonos's defeat at the battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.), the League of Corinth was basically disjointed but Demetrios seems to have kept possession of both Corinth and Sikyon and handed them over to his son, Antigonos II Gonatas. It is not clear from the sources whether Gonatas kept Sikyon, but we know that he held Corinth together with Chalkis and Demetrias (and possibly Piraeus) throughout the first decades of the 3rd century.[75] The participation of Sikyon in the Amphictyonic Council of 272 B.C., however, suggests that by that time the city had escaped Macedonian domination.[76] During the Chremonidean War (267–261? B.C.), Sikyon (like Corinth) is not listed among the states that joined forces against Macedonian rule, and this could indicate that it was still within the Macedonian sphere of influence (*Syll.*[3] 434/5). During this long period of Macedonian rule tetradrachms were struck in the city of Sikyon with the name and image/portrait types of Alexander the Great.[77]

Sikyon's claim to fame during the Hellenistic period is indisputably the rise of Aratos, and, thanks to Plutarch, the events of his time are relatively well known. Pausanias lists Aratos among the great men of Greek history (8.52.5). Plutarch (*Arat.* 2–4) and Pausanias (2.8.1–3) give a grim summary of the Sikyonian history before Aratos seized power in 251 B.C., namely, the years from 300 to 250 B.C., when Plutarch writes that the city had fallen from its "pure and Doric aristocracy like a harmony dissolved" in the factions and ambitions of the demagogues, and "was without cease distempered and agitated, and kept changing one tyrant for another" (*Arat.* 2).[78] Upon assuming the archonship, Aratos "restored equality of political rights to the Sikyonians, striking a bargain for those in exile; he restored to them their houses and all their other possessions that had been sold, compensating the buyers out of his own purse" (Paus. 2.8.3). In reality, Aratos solicited the generosity of Ptolemy II, and was able to obtain from the king a large sum of money for his fellow citizens (Plut. *Arat.* 12, 14).

Having settled internal affairs, Aratos moved on to what is considered the most important initiative of his long career: the inclusion of Sikyon in the Achaian League. This *koinon,* which until then had been relatively unimportant, was now reaching for the first time outside the borders of Achaia (*Arat.* 9.4–6; Paus. 7.7.2). Aratos's motive in joining it was his desire to challenge Macedonian supremacy (Paus. 2.8.4). Accordingly, he shifted his policy toward progressively extending the Achaian sphere of influence at the expense of Macedon. At this early stage, he took advantage

75. On the transitional period from Demetrios to Gonatas, see Tarn 1913, pp. 110–114.

76. As argued by Walbank (in Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 264, no. 7, and p. 273) and Sánchez (2001, p. 294).

77. See Newell and Noe 1950.

78. Abantidas, one of the cruel tyrants, slew Kleinias, who had been elected by the people and was of the highest repute among them. Aratos, Kleinias's son, fled to Argos, but returned years later to free the city from Nikokles, the last of the tyrants. Plutarch's narrative of the liberation of Sikyon by Aratos (*Arat.* 5–9) has great topographical value, primarily regarding the walls of the city; I examine this passage in detail in Chapter 4.

of the revolt of Alexander, the Macedonian commander of Acrocorinth, against Gonatas, by striking an alliance with Alexander.[79] Having in this way secured and strengthened his position, Aratos engaged the League in a number of campaigns: he attacked the territories of Lokris and Calydon and came to the support of the Boiotians against the Aitolians in Chaironeia (Paus. 2.8.4; Plut. *Arat.* 16). Having been reelected general in 243 B.C., and wanting to strengthen the position of the League, he attacked and liberated Corinth from Macedonian control, and συνέπεισε τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι (Plut. *Arat.* 18–24; Polyb. 2.43.4–6; Polyainos, *Strat.* 6.5).[80] After the capture of Acrocorinth, the cities of Megara, Troizen, and Epidauros joined the Achaians. In addition, the Achaian general repeatedly tried to draw Argos into the League, but with no immediate success (*Arat.* 25–29). Two years after the annexation of Corinth (summer of 241 B.C.), the Aitolian League invaded the Peloponnese for a second time through Boiotia and the Megarid.[81] Faced with such a threat, Aratos solicited the help of the Lakedaimonians, who were allies (συμμάχων ὄντων; Plut. *Agis* 13.4). Thus, the Spartans under King Agis joined forces with the Achaians near Corinth, with the intention of guarding the Isthmus. The presence of Agis's detachment, however, worried the Achaian general, who in the end changed his mind and sent the Spartans home. Subsequently, Aratos let the Aitolians cross the Isthmus, but when they suddenly attacked and captured Pellene, he at once led his available forces against them, utterly defeating them inside the town of Pellene and forcing them not only to make peace but also to form an alliance with the Achaian League (Plut. *Arat.* 31–33).[82] Frank Walbank points out that, given the strong connections of Aitolia with Boiotia, Elis, and Messene, this alliance in fact represented a strong coalition potentially hostile to Demetrios II, the new king of Macedon.[83]

Aratos was not as successful with respect to the Argives, despite his laborious efforts to bring them to the League.[84] He managed, however, to gain control of Kleonai, an Argive city (Plut. *Arat.* 28–29). Megalopolis joined the League at about the same time, and was soon followed by Orchomenos and Mantineia (Plut. *Arat.* 30). By 229 B.C., then, the Achaian League had grown stronger, having incorporated Aigina, a large part of Arkadia, and the last Macedonian strongholds in the Peloponnese, namely, Argos, Phlious, and Hermione, to the dismay of both the Spartans, who looked back to their ancient hegemony, and the Aitolians, who in the meantime had made peace with Antigonos III Doson (Plut. *Arat.* 34.5–35.5; Polyb. 2.44.3–45.6; Paus. 2.8.6).[85]

The Spartans under Kleomenes moved into action and within two years, between 227/6 and 225/4 B.C., were able to win over a number of cities, including Mantineia, Elis, Kaphyai, Pellene, Pheneos, Penteleion, Argos, Kleonai, Phlious, Troizen, Epidauros, Hermione, and Corinth, and ended by invading and ravaging Sikyonia. In 224 B.C., Kleomenes besieged Sikyon for three months, but eventually withdrew his forces after he realized that Aratos had turned to the Macedonians for help. The Achaian general offered them Acrocorinth for their base of operations (Polyb. 2.46–52.5; Plut. *Cleom.* 14–21; *Arat.* 39–42). Doson siezed the opportunity to lead his forces to the Peloponnese, but having crossed Geraneia and preparing to enter the Corinthia, he found himself blocked by Kleomenes at the

79. See Will 1979, pp. 319–321.

80. Aratos was reelected general every other year for 34 years since the office could not be held by the same man in consecutive years (Plut. *Arat.* 24.4).

81. The first time was in 244 B.C., when Aitolian troops operated in Arkadia and the western Peloponnese (Plut. *Arat.* 31).

82. On the events leading to the capture of Pellene and their significance, see Golan 1981–1982.

83. Walbank 1933, p. 57.

84. Golan (1973, p. 68) believes that Aratos's failure at Argos forced him to "abandon his quest for Greek unity under his leadership." I do not agree, since Argos eventually entered the Achaian League. In my view, Golan's article makes no contribution to the study of Aratos's policy or the history of the Achaian League.

85. Beloch (1886, p. 639) estimates the area of the League at this time as 12,500 km^2.

Isthmus. Nevertheless, when Kleomenes had to rush to Argos to check a revolt against him, Doson was able to cross into the Corinthia, take possession of Acrocorinth, and, by the end of 224, drive the Spartan army out of the Argolid and Achaia (Polyb. 2.52.5–54.2; Plut. *Arat.* 44). In September 224, or early in 223 B.C., at Aigion, Doson was proclaimed *hegemon* of all the allies, establishing in this way a new league of the Greek states under Macedonian hegemony.[86] Around that period the Sikyonians established the festival of Antigoneia in his honor.[87] The battle of Sellasia in summer 222 B.C., where Doson and the Achaians defeated Kleomenes, marked the end of the Kleomenic War. Sparta was now forced into alliance with Macedonia (Paus. 2.7.4, 2.9.2).

The Spartan defeat at Sellasia was not able to bring peace to the peninsula. The Aitolians, apprehensive over the increased power of the Achaians, invaded their territory in 220 B.C., clashed with Aratos's forces at Kaphyai, and raided the Sikyonian *chora* before crossing the Isthmus on their way home (Polyb. 4.10–13). The resulting war, named *symmachikos,* divided Greece into two camps—the Spartans and Eleians adhering to the Aitolian side against the Achaian League, Philip V of Macedon, and their numerous allies—and laid the groundwork for the appearance of Rome on the Greek mainland. This is not the place to describe Philip's sweeping marches in the Peloponnese in 219 and 218 B.C., especially since this long war did not have a decisive outcome, but two events need to be mentioned here: Philip's presence in Sikyon in 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5.27.3) and his initiative of transferring the meeting of the Achaian assembly from Aigion to Sikyon (Polyb. 5.1.7–9).[88] The preeminent position held by Sikyon in the Achaian *synedrion* is further indicated by two decrees from Megarian Pagai and Magnesia on the Maeander, dating to the second half of the 3rd century B.C. In both cases, the Sikyonians are treated as the representatives of the rest of the Achaians.[89] The fact that Sikyonian bronze coinage was struck after the city had joined the League and circulated widely outside the territory of Sikyon also indicates its special status in that federation.[90]

The Macedonian Wars and Roman Domination (Late 3rd Century B.C. to 2nd Century A.D.)

In the course of the First Macedonian War, the Sikyonians were punished for their friendly relations with Macedon. In 209 B.C. the army of Sulpicius Puplius and his Aitolian allies put ashore at Sikyon and set themselves to ravaging the fertile plain, until Philip arrived and chased them to their fleet (Livy 27.31.1–4, 27.33.3).

86. Polyb. 2.54.4, 4.9.4, 4.15.1, 11.5.4. The later date (223 B.C.) is suggested by Larsen (1968, p. 321).

87. According to Polybios (30.23.2–5), Plutarch (*Cleom.* 16.5), and a 3rd-century inscription (*SEG* XI 338); see Kotsidu 2000, pp. 137–139.

88. For Philip's three marches into the Peloponnese and the peace of Naupaktos, see Polyb. 4.67–5.104; cf. Walbank 1933, pp. 24–67. For the topography of his campaigns, see *SAGT* VI, pp. 1–78. Philip's presence in Sikyon: Kotsidu 2000, p. 439 (a statue base found in Sikyon and inscribed to Philip V).

89. *IG* VII 189 (Pagai); Kern 1900, no. 41 (Magnesia). The decrees confer honors on the Sikyonians and the Achaians for their long friendship and support. In addition, the decree from Pagai provides for a number of privileges, economic and other, to the Achaians, and to the Sikyonians in particular.

90. Larsen 1968, pp. 328–329; Warren 1983. The uniformity of coinage, weights, and measures in the Achaian League is attested in Polyb. 2.37.10.

In the Second Macedonian War (200–197 B.C.), the Achaians, under the promise that Corinth would be incorporated in the League, changed allegiances and helped the Romans against the Macedonians, who were holding Acrocorinth. Attalos I played a decisive role in persuading the Achaians to come over to the Roman side, by coming to Sikyon in person and recovering for a large sum of money the sacred land of Apollo. On account of his generosity, the Sikyonians erected a colossal statue of the king near the temple of Apollo in the agora (Polyb. 18.16.1–4; Livy 32.40.8). Livy is the chief authority for the siege of Acrocorinth in 198 B.C. (32.23.3–13); the Achaians camped in the vicinity of the Sikyonian gate and joined the battle, and Appian (*Mac.* 7) adds that they even brought siege machines against Corinth. The defenders, however, were able to withstand the siege. A year later, Androsthenes, the Macedonian commander in Corinth, challenged Nikostratos and his Achaian forces in a pitched battle along the Nemea River (Livy 33.14–15). The battle was a complete victory for the Achaians, and as a result "Achaia omnis magno liberata metu" (33.15.16).[91]

The heart of rebellions and military upheavals in the Peloponnese at this time was Sparta, which posed a constant menace to the integrity of the Achaian League. After Philip's defeat in the battle of Kynoskephalai (197 B.C.), the Romans, with the help of the Achaians, moved against the Spartan ruler Nabis, expelled the Spartans from Argos, and proceeded to Sparta, forcing Nabis to surrender (Livy 34.26–40). After Nabis's assassination, Philopoimen, general of the Achaians, succeeded in bringing Sparta into the League (Livy 35.37.1–3). A few years later, during the Roman war against Antiochos III (192–188 B.C.), the Achaians put themselves under Roman leadership against the Aitolians and the Syrian king. The aftermath of the Roman victory saw the aggrandizement of Achaian territory by the incorporation of Messene (Livy 36.31) and Elis (Livy 36.35.7).

The hostility between Spartans and Achaians never completely ceased, and eventually led to Roman interference and the Achaian War. The precise role of Sikyon during the Achaian War is not clear. The fact that Sikyon was given most of the Corinthian territory after the Achaian forces were crushed in 146 B.C. could suggest either that the Sikyonians were absent from the battle or that this concession was merely directed against the Corinthians, or both. As Herbert Hill correctly stressed, Sikyon had *possessio,* not ownership, of most of the land, and was accordingly subject to paying rent.[92] At the same time, Sikyon gained control over the Isthmian Games, which it kept until the early 1st century A.D.[93] In fact, excavations at Isthmia suggest that the games actually moved to Sikyon during this time.[94] In the course of the next few decades, Sikyon established contacts with Athens to such a degree that a bilateral agreement *(symbolon)* was signed between the two states sometime before 109/8 B.C.[95]

Scholarly treatment of the history of Achaia as a whole in the aftermath of the Second Macedonian War has long focused on the idea of an established *provincia* and its annexation. Robert Kallet-Marx, in his recent study on the development of the Roman *imperium* in the East between 148 and 62 B.C., has clearly demonstrated that the traditional opinion stands on shaky ground; in his view, "it seems clear that provincial structures eventually emerged out of a long process of adaptation and experience and were not imposed at one blow by victorious Roman commanders."[96] The influential

91. This was the true battle of the Nemea River, as opposed to the "battle of Nemea," which in reality was fought on the banks of Longopotamos, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

92. See Hill 1946, p. 38. Cicero says in his *Agrarian Law* that the fertile Corinthian plain added to the revenues of the Roman people after the destruction of Corinth (*Leg. agr.* 1.5).

93. Paus. 2.2.2; Strabo 8.6.23; Eust. ad *Il.* 2.570 (1.448.42–43 van der Valk); *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 70–72, no. 153 (lines 6–8); Zonar. 9.31.6.

94. So argues Elizabeth Gebhard (1993, p. 79), based on the fact that very little pottery dating from the mid-2nd century B.C. to the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. was found at the Isthmian sanctuary, particularly in the areas of the theater and the sanctuary.

95. The *symbolon* is mentioned in an Athenian honorary decree dating to 109/8 B.C.; see the republication of the inscription by Gauthier (1999, pp. 165–174).

96. Kallet-Marx 1995, p. 20.

view of Silvio Accame that Achaia was formally annexed in 146/5 B.C. to the Macedonian province at the conclusion of the Achaian War is not credible.[97] Achaia was not assigned regularly as a *provincia* until 27 B.C.[98] This, however, does not imply the lack of Roman presence and supremacy in earlier years. The practice of Greek cities in referring to the Roman Senate their disputes (mostly concerning issues of territory), before as well as after the Achaian War, is a de facto sign of the lack of independence of Greek cities, particularly regarding their foreign policy.[99] In other instances, though, the Romans referred judgment of interstate disputes to the Achaian League. Indeed, the Romans favored and encouraged the League, which eventually expanded to include states outside the Peloponnese under the name Koinon of Panhellenes or Panachaians.[100] During this period, major hostilities between Greek city-states came to an end.

During the Mithridatic Wars of the first half of the 1st century B.C., Mithridates' general Archelaos sought and received support from the Achaians (App. *Mith.* 12.29), but we do not know if and how Sulla penalized them at the end of the war. In Sikyon itself a statue base was found bearing a dedication by Sulla to Mars, the god of war, thus indicating that Sulla came to the city.[101] Overall, Greek documents after the settlement of Sulla increasingly refer to Roman *hegemonia,* which is, as Kallet-Marx notes, "an important step toward the full acknowledgment of the Roman imperium."[102] For the first time, *vectigalia* (indirect taxes) were imposed on the mass of the Greek cities. As it emerges from the pages of Cicero, Roman rule was largely the product of the First Mithridatic War.[103] During the Roman civil war between Antony and Octavian, Achaia was forced to contribute to Antony prior to the battle of Actium (31 B.C.). Our sources claim that Antony literally drained the resources of the province (Dio Cass. 48.39.1, 48.46.1; Zonar. 10.23).

Cicero's letters and speeches are our chief sources for Sikyonian matters in the 1st century B.C., but as they mostly refer to personal cases they offer little information regarding the status of Sikyon vis-à-vis Rome, and almost none on its relation with other Greek cities. From Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, we learn that between 61 and 59 B.C. Sikyon was in debt to the latter, and unable to pay him back (*Att.* 1.13.1, 1.19.9, 2.1.10, 2.13.2). A year later, in order to pay off its debt, the city was forced to sell off its art gallery (Plin. *HN* 35.127).[104] In the Verrine orations, Cicero calls a chief Sikyonian magistrate "populi Romani socium atque amicum" (*Verr.* 2.1.45).

97. Accame 1946. For a list of authorities endorsing Accame's view, see Kallet-Marx 1995, p. 42, n. 2. The absence of the Roman proconsul of Macedonia during the Attic slave revolts of ca. 130 and 100 B.C., as well as at other times, is inconsistent with the idea of Macedonian police functioning in Greece (Kallet-Marx 1995, p. 55). The proconsul's occasional involvement in Hellenic affairs was in response to Greek appeals, a phenomenon well established before 146 B.C. For an opposing view, see Larsen 1968, pp. 306–311.

98. Kallet-Marx 1995, p. 50. The author convincingly argues that the belief (held by both Pausanias and Strabo) that governors were sent out to Greece after 146 B.C. is a gross anachronism.

99. For the senatorial arbitration of Greek disputes, see Kallet-Marx 1995, pp. 162–177.

100. This organization was probably the progenitor of the Attic Panhellenion established by Hadrian and attested as late as A.D. 267.

101. Orlandos 1939, p. 121; cf. Griffin 1982, p. 89.

102. Kallet-Marx 1995, p. 285.

103. Kallet-Marx 1995, p. 290.

104. In fact, it is not clear whether the "aes alienum" mentioned by Pliny was the debt owned to Atticus; see Migeotte 1984, pp. 79–80.

Accame does not believe that this statement of Cicero, explicitly part of his polemic against Verres, necessarily indicates that Sikyon was a *civitas foederata;* he argues, instead, that it could well have been a *civitas libera et amica.*[105] It was probably thanks to its status as a free city that Sikyon was able to delay paying its debt to Atticus, having taken advantage of a *senatus consultum* that protected free communities against their creditors.[106]

The numismatic evidence can help us to assess the reaction of Sikyon and the other cities of Achaia to the increasing power of Rome in the later 2nd and through the 1st century B.C. The second half of the 2nd century saw an "almost complete cessation of coin production" in the Peloponnese, which suggests that the peninsula as a whole "may have reverted to a largely agrarian subsistence economy"; this phenomenon was reversed in the following century, when substantial issues of civic triobols were struck in Sparta, Messene, Korone, Argos, Sikyon, and Megalopolis.[107] In the case of Sikyon, a considerable number of bronze coins date precisely to the first half of the 1st century B.C.[108] This is the paradox: it was in this very period that Sikyon experienced the major financial difficulties that eventually forced the sale of its art gallery. In other words, coin production does not necessarily mean economic prosperity, and vice versa. Thus, we would expect that Sikyon did relatively well in the second half of the 2nd century, since it was given most of the fertile coastal plain, and yet we have almost no Sikyonian coins dating from this period. One explanation for the coin minting during the first half of the 1st century would be the presence of Italian *negotiatores* (businessmen) in the Peloponnese, including at Sikyon.[109] Yet, there is so little evidence of their presence in the province, that it can hardly account for the numerous coin issues.[110] More credible is Jack Kroll's suggestion that "the minting of bronze coinage was another way of raising money to meet pressing obligations."[111] Thus, it is possible that Roman exactions drove the reviving of Sikyonian mints in the 1st century B.C.

The status of the province of Achaia changed in the course of the 1st century A.D. from senatorial to imperial, and back to senatorial again, but we do not know how these changes affected the condition of the Achaian cities.[112] What is certain is that under the empire, Sikyon was completely overshadowed by Corinth, the true center of Achaia.[113] The province as a whole greatly benefited during the rule of Hadrian in the first half of the 2nd century A.D., but we do not hear of any Hadrianic benefactions specifically in Sikyon. Pausanias, who visited the city in the middle of the same century, reports that a great earthquake that hit the Aegean, including regions as far away as Karia and Lycia, "nearly emptied the town," which was already weak.[114] Despite its economic constraints and the exceptional natural

105. Accame 1946, p. 157, based on an inconclusive reference in Cic. *Att.* 1.19.9.

106. So Hatzfeld (1919, p. 74), based on Cic. *Att.* 1.19.9.

107. Warren 1999, pp. 381–382.

108. Warren 1999, p. 380.

109. Warren 1999, p. 382.

110. On *negotiatores* in the province of Achaia, see Alcock 1989, p. 8.

111. Kroll 1997, p. 126; cf. Warren 1999, p. 382.

112. Larsen 1968, pp. 438–440.

113. It is not surprising, then, that Sikyonian coin production was severely limited after the foundation of the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* in 44 B.C.; see Warren 1999, p. 380.

114. Paus. 2.7.1: διακειμένοις οὖν ἀδυνάτως ἐπιγενόμενος σεισμὸς ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, πολλὰ δὲ σφᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἀφείλετο.

disasters, Sikyon, along with the rest of the Peloponnese, experienced a long period of peace during the first two centuries A.D., undisturbed by internal strife or invasion. The international prestige of the city in Pausanias's time is shown by the fact that Sikyon sent one deputy to the Amphictyonic Council, as did Argos, Corinth, Megara, and Athens (Paus. 10.8.5).[115]

In retrospect, one can definitely discern two periods in history when Sikyon claimed a preeminent position in Greece. In the Archaic period, Kleisthenes was one of the most distinguished figures of his time, actively pursuing a domestic agenda as well as seeking to extend the influence of Sikyon beyond its borders. Sikyon had to wait over 300 years for the appearance of a comparable personality, when Aratos rose to power. Aratos attached his home state to the Achaian League, which under his *strategia* expanded and came to be regarded as one of the major political entities in the Greek world. In almost all other periods, Sikyon was attached to or depended upon a major power, namely, Argos (during the Geometric, Archaic, and possibly Mycenaean eras), Sparta (during most of the Classical period), the Antigonids (during the first half of the 3rd century B.C.), and Corinth and the Achaian League (under the Roman empire). The state's constitution, as far as we know, was conditioned to a great extent by its political ties and dependencies. Thus, the original kingship and aristocratic regime under Argive influence was followed by a long tyranny, which ceded to a democracy interrupted by long phase(s) of oligarchic regimes installed or encouraged by the Spartans. It was against the pro-Spartan oligarchy that Euphron directed his "democratic," in reality dictatorial, coup. The Macedonians in the late 4th century seem to have encouraged a form of controlled democracy, which was then replaced by tyranny until the restoration of democracy by Aratos in the middle of the 3rd century. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the state's constitution under the empire, but at least the *pax Romana* put an end to the military upheavals from which Sikyon had suffered in earlier centuries. During the Corinthian War and the Theban invasions of the Peloponnese in the first half of the 4th century B.C., Sikyonian territory became the stage for intensive military activity. More than a century later, the Spartans, under Kleomenes, as well as the Aitolians, threatened the integrity of the Sikyonian state. The final period of military activity in Sikyon was the 2nd century B.C., the time of the Macedonian and Achaian wars.

LATE ROMAN PERIOD TO THE OTTOMAN ERA

The evidence for the history of Sikyon in the Late Antique and Medieval periods is extremely scant, with only a few sporadic events mentioned in the more general context of major events that concerned the northeastern part of the Peloponnese, or Morea, as the peninsula was commonly called from the early second millennium. Sikyon, which in the Middle Ages took the name of Vasilika, was merely a small town, but one located on an easily defensible stronghold and in close proximity to Corinth. As a result, the fates of the two cities were intertwined, and information on the

115. In fact, Argos, Corinth, and Megara were the only other Dorian cities of the Peloponnese represented in the Council, which after the reforms of Hadrian had 30 members; see Sánchez 2001, pp. 432–433.

condition of Sikyon can be inferred from the general situation prevailing in the Corinthia. It is therefore appropriate to outline the major historical events concerning this part of the Morea, particularly since the history of the area of Sikyon from late antiquity to the Ottoman period has not been addressed either by Skalet (1928) or Griffin (1982).[116]

Little is known about the Early Christian history of the area, which succeeded the period of Roman domination. Sometime in the late 4th century, Achaia became one of seven provinces in the diocese of Macedonia, but the only oriental province to be headed by a proconsul. In the 4th century the diocese of Macedonia was part of the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum, which was attached to Rome, but in the following century Illyricum was assigned to the eastern empire.[117] A bishop of Sikyon is mentioned already in the mid-4th century.[118] The most significant military event of the 4th and 5th centuries was the Gothic invasion of 396 under Alaric. Corinth fell first to the Visigoths, and its fate was soon shared by a number of nearby towns and communities, although Zosimos does not specify which. From Corinth the Visigoths descended south, and invaded the Argolid, Lakonia, and Arkadia, until they were finally expelled by a western army under Stilicho (Zos. 5.6–7).[119] In the period following the expulsion of the Goths, a wall must have been built around Corinth, encompassing less than a third of the Classical city.[120] The early 5th century, and most likely the decade from 410 to 420, also saw the construction of the wall known as the Hexamilion across the Isthmus of Corinth.[121] Procopius, on the other hand, includes Corinth among the cities that had their city walls renovated at the time of Justinian (*Aed.* 4.2.1, 4.2.24). Procopius credits Justinian with building the trans-Isthmian wall, but in the light of the archaeological evidence, this hardly seems credible.[122] He adds (*Aed.* 4.2.28) that in this way Justinian "made all the Peloponnesian places inaccessible to enemies" (ἄβατα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἅπαντα πεποίηκεν εἶναι τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία), a statement that reveals his strong bias toward the emperor. Nonetheless, Antoine Bon recognized some sections of the wall on Acrocorinth as being Justinianic, while 6th-century rebuilding

116. For a general history of the Peloponnese between the Late Roman and the Ottoman periods I relied mainly on the monographs of Bon (1951 and 1969), Zakythinos (1953), Scranton (*Corinth* XVI), Panagiotopoulos (1985), and Avramea (1997), as well as on articles, historical sources, and archival information. In addition, the monograph of Kordosis (1981) on the history of the Corinthia in the Middle Ages offers a detailed discussion of the sources pertinent to the history of the province at the time, as well as a list of its villages.

117. Bon 1951, pp. 2–4; Avramea 1997, pp. 32–33.

118. Avramea 1997, p. 110.

119. On the Visigoths in the Peloponnese, see Chrysos 1981–1982; Avramea 1997, pp. 55–58.

120. On the Late Roman wall, see Gregory 1979. Ongoing archaeological work in Corinth has proven that the fortified area was much smaller than Gregory thought; see Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 245, fig. 1.

121. This date is secure on archaeological grounds and contradicts the testimony of Zosimos (1.29); see Clement 1975 and 1977, and *Isthmia* V, p. 142.

122. Procop. *Aed.* 4.2.27–28. Archaeological work at both the Hexamilion and the fortress at Isthmia has shown that the entire fortification system was built in the early 5th century, i.e., before the reign of Justinian; see Gregory 2000, pp. 111–112. One needs to remember that the main theme of Procopius's *Buildings* was to emphasize the grandeur of imperial achievement, as Cameron correctly points out. To use Cameron's words (1985, p. 110), "the *Buildings* is not a factual record, despite its appearance of documentary authenticity, and it needs extremely sophisticated and cautious interpretation, even in the more 'factual' parts."

is attested for the Hexamilion wall.[123] In the mid-6th century, two strong earthquakes hit the broader area of the Corinthian Gulf and parts of central Greece, probably in 522 and 551, but Corinth is not listed among the affected cities.[124] In fact, recent archaeological discoveries suggest that their impact on Corinth, if any, was minimal.[125] Likewise, a shrinking of the population and the desolation of important towns has been postulated for the entire peninsula in this period, but in the light of the new material evidence both from Corinth and the Sikyonian countryside, the intensity of these phenomena should now be reconsidered.[126]

The description of the provinces of the Byzantine empire offered by Hierokles in his *Synekdemos* (ca. A.D. 530) contains the most detailed extant inventory of Corinthian towns in the 5th and 6th centuries. Corinth remained the capital of the province of Achaia and seat of the archbishopric.[127] August Burckhardt's edition has under Corinth Νέα Σικυών, but Ernest Honigmann in his edition suggests Νεμέα followed by Σικυών because the name Νέα Σικυών is otherwise unattested.[128] Another argument in favor of Honigmann's reading is that if we read Νέα Σικυών, then we assume that Nemea is not listed at all, and yet we know that it was a thriving settlement during the Late Roman period. In addition, a second list, probably contemporaneous and known as Paris reg. 1555A, has simply Σικύου for Sikyon. According to its first commentator, the 31 names of Peloponnesian towns that appear in the manuscript represent an equal number of bishoprics. This view is shared by Tasos Gritsopoulos, but Bon and others believe that the document refers merely to towns.[129]

From the 6th century up to the 12th the Peloponnese was invaded and raided by a succession of barbarian hordes: the Slavs (from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 9th century), the Arabs and Bulgarians (9th–10th centuries), and the Normans (12th century). The *Chronikon of Monemvasia* gives specific dates for the Slavic occupation of the Peloponnese, a topic hotly debated among modern scholars.[130] According to the *Chronikon,* Corinth was sacked in 584 or 585, and Argos a year later.[131] The account goes on to say that during the invasions the population sought refuge in areas that were hard to approach, or left the Peloponnese entirely. Yet, the 17 coin hoards found to date in the Corinthia suggest that at least its eastern portion and the city proper were not abandoned.[132] Likewise, the

123. *Corinth* III.2, pp. 129–130, 272–73; *Isthmia* V, pp. 80–83.

124. The earthquakes are mentioned by the following writers: Kedrenos, *Synopsis historiarum* 638 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 121, col. 696); Malalas, *Chronographia* 17.417 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 97, col. 617); Procop. *Goth.* 4.25; Evagrius 4.23.

125. See *Corinth* XVI, pp. 7–8; Sanders 1999, pp. 474–475; Sanders 2003, p. 35.

126. See, e.g., Bon 1951, p. 17, for a dramatic picture of the situation in the 6th-century Peloponnese. On Sikyonia in the Late Roman period, see below, pp. 336–342.

127. *Corinth* XVI, pp. 6–7; Avramea 1997, p. 35.

128. Burckhardt 1893, 646.8; Honigmann 1939, pp. 4–5, 18. Cf. Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 34, in Migne, *PG,* vol. 113, col. 143. Bon (1951, p. 23), among others, endorses Honigmann's version.

129. The manuscript was first published by C. de Boor and dated to the 8th century ("Nachträge zu den Notitiae episcopatuum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 12 [1891], pp. 301–322, 519–534). I was not able to consult this publication. For the argument concerning the nature of the list, see Gritsopoulos 1972, pp. 117–122; Bon 1951, pp. 22–24.

130. A summary of the scholarly debate and the issues involved can be found in Giannopoulos 1980, pp. 346–351; see also Kordosis 1981, p. 71, n. 65.

131. Dujčev 1976, pp. 12–13.

132. Avramea 1997, pp. 72–76. The earlier view, expressed by Bon (*Corinth* III.2, p. 131), that most coins from the 7th century were found on the acropolis, thus indicating that the population sought refuge in this stronghold, can no longer be sustained.

revised dates of various buildings within ancient Corinth prove that the city continued to function throughout this turbulent period.[133] Unfortunately, no coin hoards of this period have been found between Corinth and Achaia, perhaps because very few excavations have taken place here. The one 6th-century coin hoard that we have from the eastern Corinthia consists of 10 coins from the reign of Justin II (573/4), found well inland at the village of Bozika (SP-26).[134] It does not constitute enough evidence to suggest the retreat of the population to the mountainous hinterland.

Historical evidence concerning the period of the Slavic invasion suggests that Slavs did settle in the Peloponnese during the 7th and 8th centuries.[135] Anna Avramea argues that the newcomers tended to settle in the interior mountainous regions of the peninsula, at elevations between 500 and 700 masl.[136] This may be so, but in the area of Sikyonia two of the seven or eight villages with names of Slavic origin are situated on the coastal plain.[137] Occupation in at least some of these villages may go back to the 7th and 8th centuries. Michalis Kordosis tentatively links the transfer of the ἐπισκοπή from Sikyon to the town of Zemeno, located west of Sikyon and overlooking the river Sythas, with the Slavic invasions.[138] The settlement sites that we surveyed in the surrounding area (HS-127, HS-131) feature a strong Middle Byzantine phase, but our inability to recognize earlier (Early Byzantine) pottery types did not allow us to push occupation at these sites any further back in time. Zemeno is certainly recorded as the seat of a bishopric in the 9th century, dependent upon the metropolis of Corinth.[139] The actual church stood at the upper reaches of the modern village but it is no longer preserved. The hill of Tsouka to the southwest of the village (see above, Fig. 1.3) does not seem to have been fortified at this time, nor is it included in the Venetian lists of the castles of Morea.

Unlike their Slavic predecessors, the Arab invaders during the 9th century do not seem to have settled in the peninsula for very long.[140] The Byzantine emperor, in order to deal with these critical situations, instituted toward the end of the 7th century the *theme* of *Helladikoi,* which most likely included the Peloponnese, and provided for the posting of a general in the region who was to be responsible for its administration and safety.[141] Around the beginning of the 9th century, Peloponnesos was established as a separate *theme* following a reorganization in the administration of the Byzantine empire, and Corinth became its capital.[142] Constantine Porphyrogenitus

133. On the "age of barbarism" at Corinth, see *Corinth* XVI, pp. 27–28. Sanders (2003, p. 35) now suggests that "the Slavic invasion left Corinth relatively unscathed and perhaps untouched."

134. Avramea 1997, p. 77.

135. Bon 1951, p. 37. Zakythinos (1953, pp. 20–29) is more skeptical about the impact of the Slavic invasions on the population of the Peloponnese, and on the Corinthia in particular, but he does believe that the Slavs penetrated the Peloponnese via the Isthmus. Kordosis (1981, p. 83 and n. 120), on the other hand, argues that the rarity of Slavic names in the eastern Peloponnese indicates that the Slavs did not pass by the Isthmus of Corinth but instead crossed the gulf from the area between Naupaktos and Itea.

136. Avramea 1997, p. 80.

137. See below, p. 348.

138. Kordosis 1981, p. 84. The Byzantine city of Zemeno is also known from the life of Saint Luke of Stiris.

139. Zakythinos 1953, p. 276; Gritsopoulos 1973, p. 129; Kordosis 1981, p. 212.

140. Bon 1951, pp. 76–78.

141. Bon 1951, pp. 37–43; *Corinth* XVI, p. 34; Avramea 1997, pp. 36–37 (based mainly on archaeological evidence); contra Kordosis (1981, p. 82), who does not accept that the Peloponnese was part of the same *theme.*

142. Bon 1951, p. 45; Avramea 1997, p. 37. Kordosis (1981, pp. 85–86) believes that the *theme* of Peloponnesos was established earlier than that, at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century.

ranks the Peloponnese sixth among the *themes* of Europe; Corinth was its metropolis and comprised 40 important towns, of which only four are mentioned, namely, Sikyon, Argos, Lakedaimon, and Patras.[143] By the reign of Leon VI (886–912), the Peloponnese was again under the authority of Byzantium. The 10th century was marked by successive Bulgarian invasions, which crossed into the Peloponnese at least once (924 to 927) but were finally repelled by the Byzantine *strategos* at the Isthmus of Corinth (in 996).[144] Judging by the archaeological evidence from Corinth, the 9th and 10th centuries saw a notable advancement in the fields of economy, industry, and building activity.[145]

Malalas certifies that in the late 6th century the Sikyonians were called *Helladikoi,* and some four centuries later the *Suda* defines Sikyon as contemporary Hellas.[146] On the basis of these testimonia, Skalet assumed that Hellas was the name of Sikyon in Byzantine times.[147] In fact, the term "Hellas" appears in a number of documents dating from the 6th to the 8th century, and even later. Peter Charanis, after studying over 70 occurrences of the term in 14 authors of this period, concluded that, with very few exceptions, Hellas referred to the region south of Thermopylai, including the Peloponnese—in other words, the area of the post-Hadrianic Roman province of Achaia.[148] Although some variations in the meaning of the term do occur even later, and it is conceivable that Sikyon at one time adopted the name of Hellas, the term was definitely broader in geographical range.[149]

Compared to the turbulent last centuries of the first millennium, the 11th century was, relatively speaking, a period of calm and prosperity for the entire peninsula. This is perhaps the reason that the *themes* of Morea and Hellas were united, and the new capital was established at Thebes. There was no longer a need for a *strategos* posted at Corinth.[150] Toward the end of this century, Corinth opened to Venetian trade, and by the following century it had sustained remarkable growth.[151] Sikyon must have benefited from the growing contact with the West and participated in the overall prosperity, as the number of settlements in the countryside dating to this period suggests.[152] In 1147, however, Norman pirates led by Roger of Sicily penetrated into the Peloponnese, pillaging the city of Corinth and capturing the acropolis, where the inhabitants had sought refuge. We do not know whether the invaders made it to Sikyon or not, but their presence

143. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Περὶ Θεμάτων* 6, pp. 24–25 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 113, col. 123).

144. Bon 1951, pp. 79–81.

145. *Corinth* XVI, p. 35. A word of caution is in order here: the excavation of the Medieval phases of Corinth during the 1980s and 1990s produced data that oblige us to reconsider many of the conclusions reached by Scranton and reported in that volume, particularly with regard to chronologies and the interpretation of the material remains.

146. Malalas, *Chronographia* 4.68: τῶν δὲ Σικυωνίων τῶν νυνὶ λεγομένων Ἑλλαδικῶν (Migne, *PG,* vol. 97, col. 148); *Suda:* Σικυών: ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη.

147. Skalet 1928, p. 93.

148. See Charanis 1955.

149. According to the *Chronikon of Monemvasia,* for example, the Peloponnese was not part of Hellas (Charanis 1955, p. 173). In the 13th century, Hellas constituted a despotate in central Greece (Chronicle of Morea, vs. 1031).

150. *Corinth* XVI, p. 35.

151. *Corinth* XVI, p. 50. Thanks to the systematic archaeological exploration of the Frankish quarters during the 1990s, we now know that the majority of the Veneto wares found in Corinth date to the 13th century (Williams and Zervos 1992, pp. 177–178).

152. See below, pp. 343–353. The evidence speaks against the theory of impoverishment of the peninsula and the devastation of its countryside found in standard treatises like Bon's (1951, pp. 166–175).

in the area would have terrified its inhabitants. The Normans left Greece in 1159 according to a treaty signed between their king and the Byzantine emperor.[153] Corinth was able to recover relatively quickly and continued to prosper throughout the rest of the century.[154] Toward the end of this century, however, powerful landowners appeared in the peninsula, such as Leon Sgouros from Nauplion, who in 1202 became *archon* of both Argos and Corinth.[155]

In April 12, 1204, the army of the Fourth Crusade and the Venetians captured Constantinople and began the establishment of the Latin empire across the Aegean. Some areas of the Peloponnese fell to the Venetians and others to the Franks under Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat. The former included the provinces of Lakedaimon, Kalavryta, Patras, and Methone, while the latter comprised the northeastern Peloponnese, including the Corinthia.[156] Boniface marched to the south, took possession of Corinth and Argos, and laid siege to their acropoleis, along with that of Nauplion. In spring 1205, while Boniface was dealing with these fortresses, an army of 100 knights under Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffroy de Villehardouin went west in order to conquer the rest of the Morea. They captured the entire northern and western coasts, along with their fertile plains, advancing as far as the plain of Messene. Greek forces gathered against them at the plain of Kountoura, but the resulting battle in the summer 1205 was a complete victory for the Franks. Guillaume de Champlitte was now the master of the northern and western coastal plains of the Peloponnese and the plain of Messene to the south, while Boniface was in control of the northeastern regions of the peninsula as far as Troizen. In official documents of this period, Guillaume de Champlitte is called "princeps totius Achaie provincie," but he was replaced after a few years by his companion Geoffroy de Villehardouin.[157] In 1209 Geoffroy signed a permanent alliance with the Venetians and, in this way, had his power sanctioned by the two highest authorities of occidental Europe. By 1212 Acrocorinth and the fortresses of the Argolid had all fallen to the Franks, who, in addition, had already conquered the inner parts of the Peloponnese. The conquest of the rest of the peninsula (with the exception of Venetian Korone and Methone) was accomplished by the mid-13th century.[158]

During this half-century the principality of Morea, under three successive princes of the house of Villehardouin (Geoffroy I, Geoffroy II, Guillaume II), experienced a period of calm and prosperity. The prince kept under his direct authority the western plains, the Corinthia, the valley of the Eurotas River, and Messenia, while the rest of the Peloponnese was divided into several baronies. The importance of the Corinthia lay in its strategic position and its two main strongholds, namely, Acrocorinth and Vasilika, the ancient Sikyon. The Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea,* the *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea* (or *Book of the Conquests*), a manuscript relating the Latin deeds in the Morea between 1197 and 1377, assigns the repair of the castle of Corinth and the construction of the castle of Vasilika to Guillaume II around the middle of the 13th century.[159] In 1261, two years after the defeat of Guillaume II by the Greek forces at Pelagonia, the Frankish prince of the Morea signed a treaty with Michael VIII Paleologos surrendering to the Byzantine emperor

153. Bon 1951, pp. 81–82.

154. *Corinth* XVI, pp. 50–52.

155. Bon 1951, pp. 173–175.

156. The list of the Peloponnesian provinces that entered Venetian rule is contained in a document published by Tafel and Thomas (1856–1857, pp. 468–470). That Boniface was the ruler of the rest of the Peloponnese is mainly an extrapolation; see Bon 1969, pp. 53–54 and n. 4.

157. Bon 1969, p. 63, n. 4.

158. On this period of conquest in the Peloponnese, see Miller 1908, pp. 36–40, 60–62; Bon 1969, pp. 51–73.

159. *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea,* par. 216. I used the French translation by Morel-Fatio (1885, p. 49): "et ensuite il fit très bien réparer le château de Corinthe et y fit faire le château de la Basilicate."

three fortresses in the southern Peloponnese, including Monemvasia and Mystras, but keeping the fortresses in the Argolid and Corinthia. During the following two decades, Guillaume II was engaged in a number of wars against the Greeks in the Morea; by the time of his death in 1278 the Frankish domination was severely curtailed, having lost Lakedaimon and the territory of the baronies of Geraki and Kalavryta, with additional baronies threatened. The barony of Patras disappeared in 1278, and the territory that remained under Frankish rule had to be reorganized.[160]

According to the treaty of Viterbo, signed by Guillaume II de Villehardouin and Charles I d'Anjou in 1267, at Guillaume's death power was transferred to Philip, Charles's son and the husband of Guillaume's daughter.[161] Philip, however, died in 1277, and the principality of Morea fell to his father, Charles. Thus began a long period of Angevin domination that lasted more than a century, until 1383, first under Charles I d'Anjou, then under his son Charles II, and lastly under Robert. For the first time, the sovereign of the peninsula was residing outside his principality and exercising his control through a series of bailiffs, appointed by him as princes of Achaia.[162] The Morea became a field of rivalries among ambitious *nobiles* who were intent on pursuing their personal interests.[163]

Between 1316 and 1321 the Byzantine governor of Mystras, Andronikos Asen, followed an offensive policy toward the Franks, and captured a number of fortresses in the Peloponnese, including Polyphengo above the valley of Phlious. In 1325, the Franks under Jean de Gravina tried to regain the fortresses, but without success. In their efforts to collect the necessary funds for the enterprise, they borrowed money from bankers and as part of their payback, they conceded land in the principate to them. One of the creditors was the company of Acciaiuoli from Florence.[164] At the death of Charles II d'Anjou his wife Catherine de Vallois took over the direction of the Morea enterprises. In 1338 she came personally to the Peloponnese in an effort to restore peace and order, accompanied by Nicolas Acciaiuoli. The latter progressively enlarged his holdings in the Morea through territorial concessions that were made to him, including the "casalis Basilica," literally, the estate of Vasilika.[165] By 1341 he was counted among the most powerful feudal lords, with lands in Messenia, Elis, and the Corinthia. In 1358, Nicolas, who had just received the *castellania* of Corinth as a barony, was sent by Robert d'Anjou to the Corinthia in order to bring order and prosperity to the province.[166] Among the contents of the *civitas* and *castellania* of Corinth are listed *castra* and *fortelicia*, apparently distinct entities.[167] *Castra* probably refers to major city fortifications, and *fortelicia* to independent forts. Nicolas, among his other activities, engaged in repairs and rebuilding of the fortifications of Acrocorinth.[168] The *castellania* of Corinth comprised Acrocorinth and eight more castles, including Vasilika.[169] Vasilika was, in fact, the seat of an important fief of the *castellania,* as is shown by a financial document of 1365.[170] The prodigious fortune of Nicolas Acciaiuoli is certainly the most striking phenomenon in the history of the principality of Morea under Robert d'Anjou.

In the meantime, the Byzantine presence in the Morea was increasingly felt, particularly in its central and southern areas. By the 1370s, the Greek despotate of Morea comprised Lakonia, Kalavryta, and parts of Arkadia,

160. For this period of struggle in the Morea, see Bon 1969, pp. 137–150.

161. On the treaty of Viterbo, see Miller 1908, pp. 126–128; Bon 1969, pp. 136–138.

162. The governors are called "baillies" in the French version of the Chronicle of the Morea, transliterated as μπάιλος in the Greek version.

163. See Miller 1908, pp. 201–206; Bon 1969, pp. 158–197.

164. The archives of this glorious Florentine family, containing a wealth of information on the northeastern Peloponnese during the 14th century, were published by Buchon (1843b).

165. Buchon 1843b, vol. 2, dipl. 3, pp. 44–51 (no. 1335); dipl. 5, pp. 65–67, dipl. 7, pp. 69–71 (no. 1336); dipl. 8, pp. 71–98 (no. 1337). It is the last diploma which mentions the village of "Basilika" (pp. 91 and 97).

166. Buchon 1843b, vol. 2, dipl. 25, pp. 143–153.

167. For *castra* and *fortelica,* see Buchon 1843b, vol. 2, dipl. 25, p. 147. Both terms appear elsewhere in this work as well, e.g., in dipl. 26 (p. 153).

168. Bon 1969, p. 217, n. 6.

169. Vasilika is listed in the inventory of the castles of Morea compiled in 1364 and found by Hopf in the archives of Malta: *lo castello de Basilicata* [*sic*] (Hopf 1873, p. 229).

170. Document IX in Longnon and Topping 1969, pp. 157–192.

including Stymphalos and Pheneos. Messene, Elis, the Argolid, and the Corinthia were still under Frankish domination, but because they were very dispersed in the peninsula they were hardly defensible. During the reign of Robert, the two ruling families of the Peloponnese, the d'Anjou and the Kantakouzenos, seem to have coexisted more or less peacefully, and they even collaborated, to some extent, during the fight against the Catalans and the Turks. The Catalans, who were established in northern and central Greece, were less threatening than the Turkish incursions. The Ottomans raided the coasts and the plains of the Peloponnese, but were temporarily driven away after a three-year war (1362–1365).[171] In January 1361, the areas of Corinth and Vasilika are described as deserted because of the fear of the Turks.[172]

In 1371, the *castellania* of Corinth, now conceded to the son of Nicolas, Angelo Acciaiuoli, was converted by the emperor Philip from barony to palatinate, a privileged and honored status.[173] Angelo's will, dating to 1391, mentions "omnia castra Basilicate," whatever the plural may indicate.[174] The castle of Vasilika also appears in the will of the adopted son of Nicolas, Nerio Acciaiuoli, dating from 1394.[175] The last decades of the Morean principality saw the establishment of the Navarrese Company in the west and southwest of the peninsula. The northern part of the Peloponnese, though, escaped the authority of the prince of Navarre and was shared by the archbishop of Patras, Nerio Acciaiuoli, and the Venetian masters of Argos and Nauplion. The Greek despotate, on the other hand, was still in the hands of the family of the Paleologoi. At the death of Nerio in 1394, Theodoros Paleologos took possession of all the fortresses of the *castellania* of Corinth and laid siege to Acrocorinth, which was occupied by Francesca, the daughter of Nerio. In this critical moment Francesca's husband, Carlo Tocco, negotiated with the Turks, who accordingly invaded the Isthmus of Corinth and chased Theodoros all the way to Vasilika.[176] In the end, Francesca agreed to surrender Acrocorinth to Paleologos and keep for herself Vasilika and Megara.[177] In the meantime, fortifications had begun across the Isthmus, but in 1399, while the wall was still under construction, 50,000 Turks crossed the Isthmus again and raided the Argolid.[178]

On top of these military upheavals, plague hit the peninsula sometime in the late 14th century.[179] These events spurred the despot of Mystras,

171. Bon 1969, pp. 219–232.

172. Longnon and Topping 1969, p. 151, document VIII, line 20.

173. Buchon 1843b, vol. 2, dipl. 35, pp. 208–210.

174. Buchon 1843b, vol. 2, dipl. 37, p. 213.

175. Buchon 1843b, vol. 2, dipl. 48, p. 260; cf. vol. 1, p. 127.

176. *Annali Veneti* in Hopf 1873, p. 185. The *Annali Veneti* is a 16th-century chronicle written by Stephanus Magnus and published by Carl Hopf (1873) together with other documents. We can follow the Turkish invasions in the Morea during the 15th century thanks to the chronicographers of the fall of Byzantium, Sphrantzes and Chalkokondyles. Their accounts are supplemented by an anonymous chronicle of the Turkish sultans published by Zoras (1958). The chronicle is Greek codex 111 Barberini, dating from the 16th century; the preserved portion concerns the period between the reigns of sultan Murat I (1289) and Selim (1519).

177. Bon 1969, p. 270; Buchon 1843b, vol. 1, p. 152 (Francesca in possession of Vasilika). The name Vasilika appears a number of times in depositions of witnesses from Corinth cited by Giovanni Cremolisi of Coron against Carlo Tocco and Francesca Acciaiuoli and dated to 1400; see Chrysostomides 1995, pp. 431, 443, nos. 221, 225.

178. Sphrantzes 1.62 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 156, col. 687); Chalkokondyles 4.98–99 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 159, cols. 185–188).

179. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 61–68.

Theodoros Paleologos, to grant passage to ca. 10,000 Albanians who were descending from Thessaly.[180] This probably took place in 1404/5 and was followed by a second wave of Albanian immigration sometime after 1418, this time from western continental Greece. Some of the newcomers settled in the Corinthia, so that by the middle of the century Greeks and Albanians fought together against the Ottoman invaders.[181]

During the first three decades of the 15th century, the Greek despotate of Morea was able to spread in most parts of the peninsula at the expense of the Frankish possessions. By 1430, the principality had been dismantled, with Venice keeping possession of Argos, Nauplion, Methone, Korone, and a few other places, while the rest of the Peloponnese, including Vasilika, was under the Greek despotate.[182] Thus, we hear in the private will of a Latin resident of Patras that in April 1430 Michalis Paleologos was the head *(cefali)* of Vasilika.[183] He was presumably a member of the larger imperial family, and the fact that he was named commander of Vasilika shows the importance of this place for the Byzantines.[184] Their concerns were completely justified, as Turkish invasions multiplied during that period. Manuel Paleologos provided for the fortification of the Isthmus in 1415.[185] Under Murat II, the peninsula suffered a great deal from the Turkish invasions. The Hexamilion was torn down by the Turks and repaired by the Byzantines.[186] In 1446, Murat took his army (φουσσᾶτα) and marched to Vostitza and Patras through Vasilika.[187] Chalkokondyles (7.184) describes in detail the sultan's treatment of Sikyon; because of the value of his description for the topography of Sikyon, I give below an English translation:

> Having then arrived at Sikyon, the army of the king [Murat] both made an assault upon the city and reduced it entirely to slavery, on the same day that the Isthmus was captured [by his hipparch Turahan]. And, then, as the male population was at the Isthmus and the city was not situated in a stronghold, they enslaved it right away, and marched far and wide in the Peloponnese, persecuting the rulers and the other Greeks, who were running for their lives. And he captured the empty city, and laid siege to the acropolis. And there were in it the Greek Mulgerius and some other Greeks with him, not many, with their children and wives. And as he was undermining the acropolis and rushing to it, the guard there came to terms and surrendered himself and the acropolis to him.[188] And these men and wives and children he [Murat] sent to Aigion, a happy city, but he burnt down even the houses of the city [Sikyon]. And moving on he arrived at Patras, prosperous city of Achaia.

I examine the ramifications of this passage for the topography of Medieval Sikyon in Chapter 5. Here, I will concentrate on the practice of population transfer by the Turkish conquerors. We do not know whether the people from Sikyon settled in Aigion or were moved further away. In other cases of the transfer of Peloponnesian populations, in the context of Ottoman conquests, the captured masses were sent to Asia Minor.[189] The phenomenon is intensified after the fall of Constantinople (1453) under the reign of Mehmed II, surnamed the Conqueror. In the course of his two campaigns in the Peloponnese, in 1457/8 and 1459/60, as many as 2,000

180. On the Albanian immigration, see Poulos 1950, where it is argued that Albanians did not exist in the Corinthia before 1397; Zakythinos 1953, pp. 31–36; Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 68–85.

181. Poulos 1950, pp. 71–79. The majority, however, seem to have been directed toward Arkadia, and thence toward Messenia, Elis, Achaia, and the Argolid (Zakythinos 1953, p. 32).

182. For this period, see Miller 1908, pp. 377–394; Bon 1969, pp. 267–295.

183. "Chir Michali Paleologo, cefali Vasilicate": Zakythinos 1953, p. 111.

184. Kordosis 1981, pp. 201–202.

185. Zoras 1958, p. 51; Sphrantzes 1.96, 1.108 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 156, cols. 715, 725); Chalkokondyles 4.98, 4.115 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 159, cols. 185, 217). For the history of the Hexamilion wall in the period of Turkish invasions, see *Isthmia* V, pp. 146–151.

186. Zoras 1958, pp. 61, 70, 74–75; Chalkokondyles 6.149, 6.169 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 159, cols. 281, 316).

187. Zoras 1958, p. 75; Chalkokondyles 7.184 (Migne, *PG,* vol. 159, col. 344).

188. The syntax and meaning of the subordinate clause here is unclear: ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπορύξας ἔθει τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἐνταῦθα ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἀφικόμενος ὁ τῆς ἀκρόπολης φύλαξ παρέδωκέ τε αὑτὸν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν.

189. E.g., after the capture of Argos by a Turkish force in 1397, 14,000 people were sent as slaves to the area of Prusa (Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 102–104).

families were sent from the Peloponnese to estates of the sultan outside Constantinople.[190] It is not impossible that the φουσσᾶτα of Mehmed, which appeared at Vasilika twice, removed part of the enslaved population, even though fighting is recorded on neither occasion.[191]

In the course of these turbulent decades, the Peloponnese lost more of its population to Crete and the Venetian possessions in the West, although the number of refugees at this stage cannot have been very large.[192] The widespread consequences of the Turkish invasions were the withdrawal of the population toward the mountainous areas and the erection of new castles, especially in the western Corinthia.[193] In 1463, during the first Turco-Venetian War (1463–1479), the castle of Vasilika is recorded as being under the control of the Venetians, but four years later the *Annals* of Stephanus Magnus lists Vasilika and Xylokastro among the castles occupied by Turks; unlike Xylokastro, Vasilika is listed as not ruined at this time.[194] A Venetian document of 1469 gives us more or less the same picture: the castle of Vasilika was still standing and Turks held it, while Xylokastro, also in Turkish hands, is recorded as ruined.[195] As the Venetians withdrew from the Peloponnese, they headed a very strong migration movement of the inhabitants of the peninsula toward the possessions of the Serenissima around the Mediterranean. We know that in the second half of the 15th and first half of the 16th century, Crete, some Ionian islands, and Venice itself received masses of immigrants from the Morea.[196] Unfortunately, we do not know if and to what degree the Corinthia and Sikyon were affected by this movement.[197]

The Ottomans inherited the administrative division of the Byzantines, which they adapted to their needs. Thus, the equivalent of the *theme* of Hellas and Peloponnesos in 1525 was the *eyalet* of Rumeli, replaced later in the century by the *eyalet* of Cezayir, which included the Aegean and the Peloponnese, and finally by the *eyalet* of Mora, the Turkish word for Morea. Thus, by 1609 the former *sancak* of Morea had become an *eyalet*.[198] Since the majority of the Ottoman archives related to the Morea remain unpublished, we have no way of knowing what consequences these administrative changes had on the subject areas, particularly the western Corinthia. What is certain is that Vasiliko continued to live in the shadow of Corinth. Evliya Çelebi, who wandered around the Peloponnese ca. 1667–1670, described Corinth as a *voivodaliki* (that is, seat of the *voivode*) and a sacred *kaza* with 306 villages.[199]

The second Turco-Venetian War (1685–1698), in which the Venetians were victorious, marked an interlude in the Ottoman rule. The Venetians, who kept possession of the Peloponnese between 1687 and 1715, were eager from the start to organize the land and to draw inventories of the peninsula. Our survey area administratively belonged to the territory of Corinth *(territorio di Corinto),* which was part of the province of Romania. The province, like all four provinces of the Peloponnese, had its governor *(provveditore)* and high authorities. The Venetians tried to increase the population by boosting the economy and improving living conditions on the peninsula.[200] Their inventories, among them the so-called Nani Archive, are valuable sources of information on the villages of our area in this period; I discuss these sources further in Chapter 5.

190. This information is provided by the historian Doukas, a contemporary of the events; see Panagiotopoulos 1985, p. 105.

191. Zoras 1958, pp. 98–99, 106. On the sweeping campaigns of Mehmed II in the Corinthia, see Kordosis 1981, pp. 123–128. According to Muslim law, one-fifth of the infidel, conquered population belonged to the sultan (Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 106–107).

192. Panagiotopoulos 1985, p. 108.

193. Kordosis 1981, pp. 121–122.

194. Hopf 1873, pp. 202 (*Vasilica sivè Valica* [under the Venetians]), 205 (*Vasilica* and *Silo Castro* among castles occupied by Turks). In addition, the castles of Vasilika and Xylokastro are included in a Venetian list of the castles in the Morea from around 1450 (Fenster 1979, p. 323).

195. See Carile 1970, p. 389: *Vasilicha* and *Silocastro.*

196. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 109–111.

197. It is possible that some of the still-unpublished Venetian archives contain information on the subject.

198. On these divisions, see Pitcher 1972, pp. 124–125.

199. Kostakis 1981, p. 245. The number of villages is certainly exaggerated. Generally speaking, the numbers Çelebi gives are not to be trusted; see MacKay 1968, p. 387.

200. For a summary of this last period of Venetian rule, see *IEE,* vol. 11, pp. 206–209.

When the Ottomans reestablished themselves in the Peloponnese, they presumably reinstated their previous administrative divisions. Prior to the War of Independence, Pouqueville wrote that the *sancak* of the Morea was divided into cantons and "capitaineries." Corinth had 111 towns and villages, and included the following areas: the Isthmus, the Corinthia, Epidauria, Sikyonia, Pellene, Stymphalia, and Pheneos.[201] The *kaza* of Corinth was the seat of the Ottoman authority, namely Kyamil Bey, *voivode* and grand landowner of the Corinthia. According to Pouqueville, "in the shadow of the government of Kyamil Bey, whose family ruled Corinthia over a century, this canton enjoyed more prosperity than other parts of Greece. The Christians delivered themselves in peace to the works of the land, and many of their families kept their properties and privileges venerated by time."[202] During the War of Independence, Kyamil Bey was imprisoned and killed in Acrocorinth, and his legendary treasures have been tantalizing modern Sikyonians ever since.[203]

The upper reaches of the plain of Kiato was the arena for at least two confrontations between the Greeks and Turks, on August 7th and 12th of 1822 (Fig. 2.1).[204] After Kolokotronis's victory at Dervenakia (between July 26 and 28), the general decided to block all possible escape routes for Dramalis's remaining forces. One possible escape for his surviving army was through the western Corinthia to Vostitza and Patras. Knowing this, Kolokotronis and his chieftains decided to move their headquarters from Agios Georgios (Αηγιώργης, the modern town of Nemea) to the village of Souli, accompanied by 3,500 men. Gennaios gives a detailed account of the forces, the actual engagements, and the topography of the battle. According to him, the 3,500 men coming from Agios Georgios were reinforced by the 700 of Petimezas's father and son, who occupied the area of Mikri and Megali Valtsa (τὰς Βάλτζας), and the Corinthian force of 1,300 men under Papanikas and his son Gennaios. Kolokotronis posted his son and his brother at Tsakriza (Κιάκριζα in the texts), the hill above the plain of Kiato, as a vanguard. "In the evening," relates Theodoros, "as darkness was coming on, I warned the soldiers to light ten or fifteen fires, for where we were was directly opposite Corinth, so that all the hills were lighted up, and the Turks in consequence thought that we had many thousands of soldiers." Gennaios adds that each man lit three fires, which made the terrified Turks believe that the army was three times its real size. On August 7th, 15,000 Turks came out of Corinth and moved toward Kiato, probably with the intention of moving on to Vostitza.[205] Kolokotronis saw the march from his lookout post (near Souli) and ordered his vanguard at Tsakriza and Petimezas at Valtsa to attack. The fighting took place in the vineyards of Kiato (εἰς τὰς σταφίδας τοῦ Κιάτου), presumably not far inland from the coast. The Turkish army was routed, a few were killed, and others were wounded and had to return to Corinth.

On August 12th the Turks came out "at full force for a systematic war," according to Gennaios (πανστρατιᾶ διὰ συστηματικόν πόλεμον), whereas Theodoros says that "2,000 sallied forth again with the object of fighting their way across," and Deligiannis reports 6,000, including 1,000 horsemen.[206] This time the Turks turned inland toward Tsakriza, perhaps with the intention of giving the bulk of Dramalis's army the opportunity to move further along the coastal route to Vostitza. The Greeks from Tsakriza and

201. Pouqueville 1826, p. 342.

202. Pouqueville 1826, pp. 451, 468.

203. Rangavis 1853, p. 313. According to one tradition, widely held in the western Corinthia, Kyamil Bey hid his treasures in the forest of Moungostos.

204. My reconstruction of events is based on the memoirs of Theodoros Kolokotronis (1969, pp. 188–189), his son Gennaios (1955, pp. 78–80), and Kanellos Deligiannis (1957, pp. 62–64), all eyewitnesses. I also consulted Apostolidis 1971, pp. 160–168.

205. Deligiannis says that ca. 3,000 Turks came forth with the intention of scouting the place and to find provisions.

206. Here it is difficult to decide who is right, because it is not impossible that Gennaios tried afterward to heroicize the whole event and to play down the defeat. Deligiannis's figure is probably closer to reality.

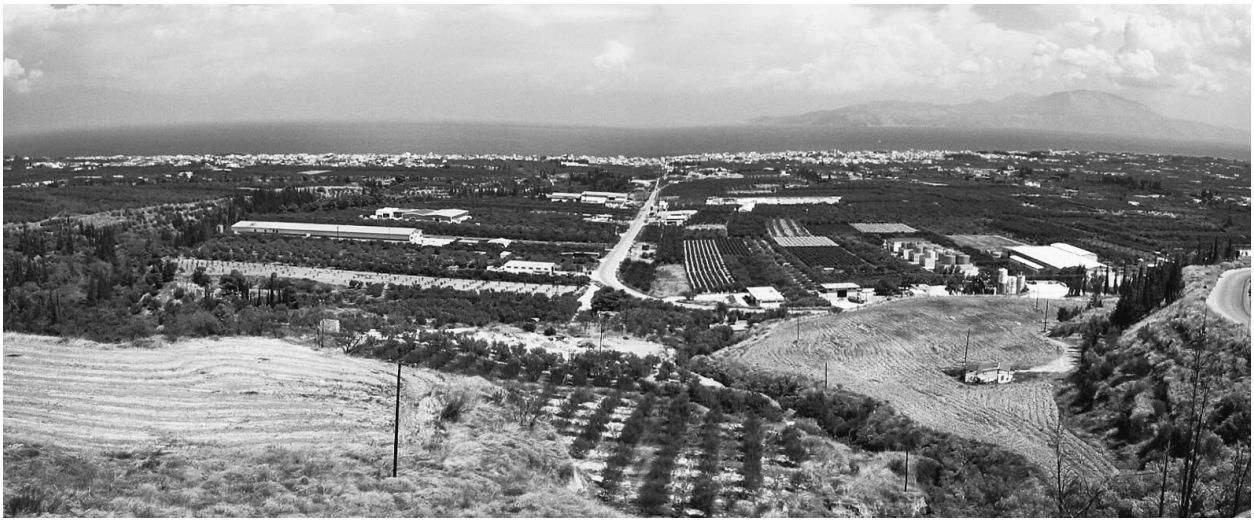


Figure 2.1. Arkouda and the coastal plain from Tsakriza, looking northeast; the town of Kiato is in the background.

Valtsa came upon them with ferocity, and made the Turks retreat into the vineyards. There they set an ambush, and when Petimezas with his men marched forward the hidden Turks came out and took them by surprise. Petimezas, his son, and ca. 100 Greeks fell in the battle.[207] The fighting took place in the upper reaches of the plain of Kiato, the so-called Arkouda, where a statue of Petimezas now stands. The Turks returned the same day to Corinth, "without having done much," according to Theodoros, who in the aftermath of the battle headed back to Agios Georgios.

Sikyon in the Late Antique, Medieval, and Ottoman periods was a natural stronghold with a settlement overshadowed by Corinth. Thus, the glimpses we get of the history of the city are connected with the history of its eastern neighbor, which was the metropolis of the province of Achaia and the *theme* of Hellas during the first millennium, then capital of the Frankish *castellania,* and finally *kaza* of the *sancak,* later *eyalet,* of Morea under the Ottomans. Yet, Sikyon appears among the towns, perhaps even seats of bishoprics, of the Corinthia in the 6th century, and Vasilika was an important castle and estate for the Franks during the 13th and 14th centuries. Major events such as the barbarian invasions of the first millennium, the arrival of Albanian immigrants from the early 14th century onward, and finally the Ottoman invasions in the course of the 15th century had a profound impact on Vasiliko and our study area. The formation of the modern landscape of Sikyonia, the location of villages, and its demographic evolution have their roots in these unsettled centuries, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

207. See Apostolidis (1971, pp. 166–167) for a local folk song that commemorates the heroic death of Petimezas. The number of Greek and Turkish casualties is disputed; Theodoros Kolokotronis reports that 30 were killed, Gennaios 55 (while more than 350 Turks were killed or wounded!), and Deligiannis writes that ca. 150 perished on each side. According to Deligiannis, Petimezas was killed because none of the other chieftains of the Kolokotronis family came to his aid. If so, this would explain the low figures provided by Theodoros and Gennaios. On the other hand, Deligiannis's polemical attitude toward Kolokotronis would explain his high figure. The truth must lie somewhere in the middle.

CHAPTER 3

Land Communications

In the history of European civilization, road building on a grand scale is primarily associated with the rise of the Roman empire, since only then did the achievement of political and territorial unity allow the design and unimpeded construction of a substantial road network. The lack of this unity in the Greek period has led scholars to assume that land communications in Greece were deficient, and secondary to well-established sea routes.[1] Recently though, more careful readings of the works of ancient historians and of early travelers to Greece, as well as field surveys conducted around the country, have altered this view: examples of roads for vehicular traffic have begun to emerge everywhere.[2] Since Greek roads in general have not received adequate treatment in recent publications, I will first outline some of their basic characteristics and the criteria for identifying them before presenting the evidence from Sikyonia.

A distinctive feature of cart roads is the presence of wheel-ruts, parallel grooves in which the wheels of the wagons rolled. In some cases, perhaps most, where the nature of the soil allowed it, these grooves were intentionally cut, as indicated by their shape and depth.[3] The existence of these ruts along any road segment constitutes the ultimate proof that the road antedates the Medieval and Ottoman eras, for, as I argue below, in these periods both the absence of wagons and the general poverty would hardly justify the creation of new cart roads or the repair of existing ones. Use and repair of already established roads must have been quite frequent during the Roman period in Greece, which also witnessed the appearance of a few new roads as well. Wagon roads, in Greek ἁμαξήλατοι or ἁμαξιτοί, were the "highways"—δημοσίαι, λεωφόροι, or εὐθεῖαι ὁδοί—connecting major cities and their territories. They stood apart from smaller roads and trodden paths, often called ἀτραποί or τρίβοι, which carried traffic on foot or on pack animals. These paths were primarily intended for local traffic; at least some of them branch off "highways."[4]

A major problem regarding road traces found in surface surveys is their dating, notably, their assignment to the period of the Greek polis rather than to the Mycenaean era. Several Mycenaean frescoes depict wagons, and references to chariots and wheels are not uncommon in the Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos. In addition, roads are attested from Mycenaean sites, most notably in the Argolid but elsewhere as well.[5] The characteristic

1. See, e.g., Casson 1974, p. 68: "A traveller in Greece of the fifth and fourth century B.C. thought twice before taking along any vehicle, light or heavy, since roads that could handle wheeled traffic were by no means to be found everywhere. A unified network of highways could hardly be expected in a land diced up into tiny, fiercely independent states."

2. Largely thanks to the efforts of Yannis Pikoulas.

3. This could perhaps explain the formulation τέμνειν ὁδούς found, for example, in Thucydides (2.100); see Pikoulas 1995, p. 22, n. 38.

4. See my discussion of the Greek terminology for roads in Lolos 2003.

5. *SAGT* III, p. 174. Jansen (2002, pp. 7–52) has recently gathered most examples, but not all. He omits, for example, Langdon's (1994) publication of a Cyclopean bridge found in the Thriasian plain. In addition, Marchand has recently discovered a Mycenaean retaining wall for a road at Kleonai (Marchand 2002b, pp. 98–99).

feature of a Mycenaean road is the Cyclopean masonry of its retaining walls and bridges. The roads are wide enough to accommodate vehicular traffic, but actual wheel-ruts are seldom found. Spyridon Iakovidis observed such traces on the north slope of the Mycenaean citadel, below the North Gate, at the level of the ancient road that leads eastward to Berbati.[6] The distance between the ruts was found to be 1.23 m and the width of each groove 0.08 m, corresponding to the gauge of the Mycenaean chariot and the width of its wheel, respectively. Merle Langdon discovered two pairs of wheel-ruts ca. 400 m west of the Cyclopean bridge in the Thriasian plain, and interpreted them as part of a road connecting the Thriasian and Skourta plains. He argues that the road must predate the construction of the Dema wall in the late 5th century B.C., and that it may have been part of a Mycenaean commercial route.[7] The different gauges obtained, 1.02 and 1.45 m, perhaps reflect variations in vehicular size during the Mycenaean period. These are the only examples of wheel-ruts dated with a fair degree of certainty to the Mycenaean period that I know of.

It is possible that some of the hundreds of rutted roads attributed to the period of the Greek polis go back to this period as well, but the majority must be later in date. Their attribution to the Archaic through Hellenistic eras is based primarily on historical considerations, particularly their military function. Army transport was, in fact, one of the motivating forces behind large-scale road construction in antiquity, across the Mediterranean and the Near East.[8] Chariots were no doubt used in Mycenaean warfare as transport vehicles, but certainly to a far lesser extent and in a narrower geographical range than their Classical and Hellenistic successors. According to Anton Jansen, "the evidence supporting the theory of the primarily military nature of the road system around Mycenae is lacking."[9] He emphasizes instead the economic importance of Mycenaean roads and their association with agriculture, and concludes that

> there is no archaeological evidence that elaborately constructed highways crossed large parts of the countryside between regions. . . . The main highway constructions that can, with some reasonable degree of certainty, be identified as Mycenaean in date seem not to have functioned for long-range interstate communications, but instead seem to have facilitated circulation of people and goods within a particular region.[10]

In Graeco-Roman antiquity, the relationship between road construction and the use of wagons for military purposes can be more securely

6. Iakovidis 1964, pp. 194–195.

7. Langdon 1994. The Mycenaean date of the Cyclopean bridge is based on its similarity to the Kazarma bridge in the Argolid.

8. For example, the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser I describes an incursion he made in 1115 B.C. into the terrain of Kurdistan in these words: "I took my chariots and my warriors, and over the steep mountains and through . . . wearisome paths I hewed a way with pickaxes of bronze, and I made passable a road for the passage of my chariot and my troops" (D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* Chicago 1926, vol. 1, no. 222; cited in Casson 1974, p. 50). Xenophon provides much information on the use of wagons in the expeditions of the Persian army; see below, pp. 177–178.

9. Jansen 2002, p. 111; contra Hope Simpson (2002), who argues that Mycenaean highways were designed primarily for the use of chariots, but without compelling arguments.

10. Jansen 2002, pp. 127–128.

established.[11] Thucydides writes with regard to the Macedonian king Archelaos, son of Perdiccas, that in order to resist northern invaders successfully, he not only improved the organization and equipment of his army, but also built fortresses in the country and cut roads.[12] An earlier reference to officials in connection with public roads is to be found in Herodotos (6.57): we are told that one of the jurisdictions of the Spartan kings was to judge cases involving public roads. Since the kings traditionally led the Spartan army in its numerous expeditions abroad, their jurisdiction over road issues clearly hints at a cause-and-effect relationship between these two activities. Xenophon provides further confirmation by stating that the Spartan army used both carts and animals to carry its implements.[13] It is perhaps not accidental that in two out of three references in Thucydides, wagons used by an army were employed by the Lakedaimonians: at the battle of Mantineia in 418 B.C., the Argives and their allies broke into the line of the Lakedaimonians and ἐξέωσαν ἐς τὰς ἁμάξας (Thuc. 5.72.3). In the winter of the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian War, the Lakedaimonians invaded the Argive territory, καὶ σῖτον ἀνεκομίσαντό τινα ζεύγη κομίσαντες (Thuc. 6.7.1). The *hamaxa* is listed as one of the constituent elements of an army in the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon (8.4).

With the development of siege techniques and the employment of siege machines in later centuries, the army and its equipment could only have moved along roads suited for wheeled traffic.[14] This suggests that from the 4th century B.C. onward, roads designed for wheeled traffic multiplied. In 195 B.C., the Romans, marching against Sparta and faced with a dangerous descent through a narrow and difficult pass leading from Sellasia to the Eurotas valley, preferred to reach the valley by building a wide and open road over the mountains.[15] Similarly, during the Third Macedonian War, the Roman consul marching against Perseus ordered the roads from Thessaly to be repaired for the transport of provisions.[16] In comparison to transportation by land, moving by sea was a much more challenging undertaking for a Greek army and it was employed only when the alternative was unsafe. When, in early May 224 B.C., Antigonos Doson came to the

11. Chevallier (1976, p. 85) argues that the majority of main Roman roads were constructed for military operations, citing as examples the strategic roads built by the military in Gaul under Agrippa, in Dalmatia and Pannonia under Tiberius, in the Rhineland and the Danube valley under Claudius, and in Asia Minor under the Flavians. The only scholar to directly address the issue of road construction in Greece during the Classical period is Josiah Ober, who argues for the role of hoplites as road crews (1991, pp. 174–179). The use of wagons by the Greek army in the Classical period has been discussed by two authorities on Greek history. Hammond (1983) concludes from the ancient evidence that armies preferred to move supplies by wagons, whereas pack animals were clearly secondary. This does not mean that a baggage-train accompanied every expedition, argues Pritchett, after reviewing the uses of the wagon in military campaigns mentioned in Herodotos, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Some itineraries would undoubtedly be unsuitable for carts (*SAGT* III, pp. 187–192).

12. Thuc. 2.100.1–2: ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλά [the preexisting τείχη ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ], ἀλλὰ ὕστερον . . . τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τἆλλα διεκόσμησε τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

13. Xen. *Lac.* 11.2: καὶ ὅσα δὲ ὀργάνων ἡ στρατιὰ κοινῇ δεηθοίη ἄν, ἁπάντων τὰ μὲν ἁμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγίῳ.

14. In fact, the Hellenistic siege engines themselves could be wheeled: see Coulton 1977, p. 141; Lazos 1993, p. 72, figs. 63, 64.

15. Livy 34.28.2: "inde cum audisset descensum difficilis et artae viae esse, brevi per montes circuitu praemissis qui munirent viam, lato satis et patenti limite ad Eurotam amnem, sub ipsis prope fluentem moenibus, pervenit."

16. Livy 44.9.11: "sed hiberna iam praeparans vias commeatibus subvehundis ex Thessalia muniri iubet."

support of the Achaians in their struggle against Sparta, he was blocked at the Isthmus of Corinth by the firm fortifications of Kleomenes. According to Plutarch (*Cleom.* 20.1–3), Doson was in bad spirits, "being shut up by necessity to difficult plans. For he was considering to march off to the promontory of the Heraeum, and from there to put his army across to Sikyon in transports—*an undertaking requiring much time and extraordinary preparations*" (emphasis mine).

Aside from military operations, there were various other factors that could, in theory at least, motivate the extensive construction and systematic use of roads: trade, local communication (between city and countryside for agrarian purposes), and tourism. This is not the place to discuss at length the impact of these various activities on road construction; indeed, in most cases our evidence is too fragmentary to be conclusive. The latter is particularly true concerning overland commerce. The silence of the ancient sources certainly favors the view that such trade routes were not common.[17] On the other hand, excavation in the Potters' Quarter in Corinth recovered many examples of terracotta models of carts and wheels, dating to the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[18] This was a period of great prosperity for the Corinthian state, and Georges Raepsaet rightly postulates an economic role for these carts despite the lack of textual references to them.[19] In short, we cannot be certain as to the relative importance of military versus trade purposes in the construction of wagon roads crossing from one state to another, but we can be sure that tradesmen made extensive use of them, to judge from the wide circulation of various currencies. In the case of Sikyon, for example, Classical and Hellenistic coins of this state have been found over a large area of the Peloponnese, including Corinth, Olympia, Messene, Stymphalos, and Aigeira.[20]

Local traveling or commuting was done primarily on foot, along paths and tracks.[21] Carts seem to have been used only for ceremonial rides.[22] We

17. *SAGT* III, p. 183: "We know very little about commerce carried by land, and the probable reason for it is that there was very little of it." Pritchett strengthens his argument by pointing out that levies on goods were collected mainly at ports, and he quotes Andreades, who contrasts the Greek system with the Persian system, where transportation by land was taxed as well. Evidence for transport taxes paid by Greek merchants has recently been discovered in Thrace: the 4th-century inscription, which has inscribed regulations regarding Pistiros, mentions τέλεα κατὰ τὰς ὁδούς (*SEG* XLIII 486, line 20). No such τέλεα are reported from the rest of the Greek peninsula.

18. *Corinth* XV.2, pp. 197–204, class XXXII.

19. Raepsaet 1988, pp. 87–88.

20. Warren (1998, pp. 359–360) also stresses the fact that Sikyon, together with Corinth, minted the majority of coins found at these sites. I am indebted to Dr. Warren for kindly sending me offprints of her articles.

21. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.13.5), Socrates expresses surprise at a compatriot's fear to undertake the journey to Olympia: "'Why,' he [Socrates] said, 'do you fear the itinerary? Don't you also walk at home almost all day long? . . . Don't you know that if you add up those walks, which you take in five or six days, you would easily come from Athens to Olympia?'" A typical representation of an Athenian youth coming from the *chora* showed him carrying a walking stick, which indicates his social status but also the standard means of transport; cf. a herm placed by Hipparchus between the city and the deme of Athens carrying the inscription στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν ([Pl.] *Hipparch.* 229a). Casson (1974, p. 67) stresses the fact that Greeks looked down on the litter or sedan-chair and condoned its use only in the case of invalids or women, referring particularly to a passage from Deinarchos's speech against Demosthenes (1.36), where Demosthenes is blamed for using a litter along the road to Piraeus. From an unusual epigram of an Olympic victor we can deduce that humble traders were compelled to cover long distances on foot; the speaker "used to carry fish from Argos to Tegea, with a yoke round the shoulder" (Page 1981, pp. 259–260). On the use of paths for local communications, see also Lolos 2003, pp. 171–172.

22. We possess a number of examples in vase painting of people riding in carts in the context of the great occasions of rustic life—weddings, feasts, and funerals; see Lorimer 1903.

do not know when tourism became a widespread social practice, but it is certainly attested in the Hellenistic period. The surviving portions of one of the earliest guidebooks we know of, which goes back to the late 3rd century B.C., implies traveling by foot, but also mentions sections suitable for carts.[23] But even when cart roads were available, their generally rough and bumpy nature would have made the ride along them anything but pleasant, and hardly appealing.[24] Tourism certainly developed after the creation of an extensive road network, but it was never so important as to justify the construction of new roads.

In addition to interstate roads, there were roads associated with specific sites, projects, services, and events: major festivals, healing centers, transport of heavy material, and later the imperial post and imperial *adventus* (ἐπιδημία). Road construction, or use, is attested in connection with all of these, involving specific areas and itineraries. These itineraries could be separate from interstate roads, but some may well have used part of them. In Sikyonia, the construction of a road along the Nemea River leading to the sanctuary of Zeus, meant to facilitate access to the panhellenic festival, and two roads to the Asklepieion of Titane must have been autonomous creations. On the other hand, quarries have been observed along major roads, and the *cursus publicus* seems to have followed the already existing route along the Asopos River, from Sikyon to Phlious. In the majority of cases, these preestablished arteries continued to be used until the Roman period for a variety of purposes. Their very existence certainly reflects political and military relations among the concerned states.

I have argued above that the ἁμαξήλατοι or ἁμαξιτοὶ ὁδοί, namely, the roads carrying wheeled traffic, are the ones that shaped the road network of a city-state, crossing its territory from one end to the other. Unlike smaller roads and trodden paths, which served local purposes, the carriage roads were primarily used to connect Sikyon with its neighboring states. Accordingly, I present the roads in four groups, corresponding to the four states bordering Sikyon: Corinth to the east, Phlious to the south, Stymphalos to the southwest, and Pellene to the west. In addition to these, I describe the road to the panhellenic sanctuary of Nemea, and another one leading to Phlious by way of the Asklepieion of Titane. Some of these roads were sections of larger arteries stretching from the Corinthian Gulf to Lakonia through Arkadia, and from Patras to Corinth through Achaia. Finally, as an addendum to the chapter, I present the evidence for a possible road that bypassed Sikyonia and connected Phlious to Pellene. The reconstructed routes of all of these roads are shown on Map 4.

The traces of ancient wagon roads include sections of wheel-ruts carved in the rock, supporting walls, rock cuttings, and bridges, and this evidence is examined in each of the sections below. The preservation of these traces, however, should not be the only reason to assume the existence of an ancient road, since in many places the soil composition did not favor long-lasting imprints of wagon wheels, and bridges and supporting walls have either washed away or collapsed, or were deliberately destroyed in recent times. This is particularly true of Sikyon, where, as we have already seen, the soil is dominated by soft marl, and torrential rivers empty into the gulf from the south.

23. The alleged author of this guidebook is Dikaiarchos, in reality an otherwise unknown Herakleides Kretikos, who refers to the stretch from Athens to Oropos as "just a day's journey for a good walker," but also mentions an ἁμαξήλατος δι' ἀγρῶν πορεία from Thebes to Anthedon (para. 23). For the text, see Pfister 1951, pp. 72–95; for the authorship and date, Ferguson 1911, pp. 261 and 464–466; Pfister 1951, pp. 17–20, 44–46; cf. *SAGT* III, pp. 192–193.

24. So *SAGT* III, pp. 192–193.

In the absence of physical traces, ancient and modern written sources can be helpful for approximating the location and course of the road in question. The ancient accounts include descriptions of military events by Xenophon, Diodoros, Polybios, and Plutarch, and the relevant sections of Pausanias's *Periegesis.* In the Introduction I referred to the topographical value of the descriptions of the three historians and the biographer, as well as their methods of collecting evidence. Their accounts can testify to the use of a road, and, in cases when the road is no longer extant, they can serve as proof of its existence. The topography and the archaeological remains, in their turn, can illustrate the historical account, and help us to better understand it. The description of Pausanias is valuable, since he walked from Corinth to Sikyon, from there to Titane, and back to Sikyon again. His itinerary was the model for the European travelers who visited Sikyonia in the early part of the 19th century and even earlier. I stressed the value of their accounts in the Introduction, pointing out the fact that these authors wandered around the Greek landscape before it was altered by large-scale road construction and other infrastructure works.

The various types of structures that stood, or still stand, by or above the course of a road are discussed together with the description of the road itself. These include graves, fountains, perhaps an inn, buildings whose identity cannot be determined, and military installations, although I have saved the description of this last type of structure for the next chapter.[25] At the end of the chapter, I address the question of the creation and use of these roads, both from a historical and technical perspective.

ROADS TO CORINTH AND THE EAST

The deep alluviations of the coastal plain over the centuries have buried the beds of the ancient roads. However, topographical considerations, the remains of a Roman bridge, and textual information allow us to reconstruct at least two roads from Sikyon to Corinth, one running at about the middle of the plain, and the other along its southern end. The former was certainly used in the Roman period, but it is not clear whether it predates this period or not. The existence of the latter, higher road can be understood from the text of Xenophon in relation to events of the Corinthian War.

The Roman road from Corinth to Sikyon was part of a major artery running along the entire northern coast of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Patras (R1). The section from Sikyon to Corinth was taken by the majority of early European travelers, and is marked on the *Carte de la Grèce,* the πίναξ of Miliarakis, and the map accompanying the Guides-Joanne (Fig. 3.1). Among the inhabitants of the plain, it is known as the Παλιά Δημοσιά, literally "old public highway," as opposed to a more recent public highway, which runs lower and closer to the coast. The straight line of the road is easily recognizable on the landscape, except near the village of Zevgolateio (Ζευγολατειό), where its course was diverted in order to make it pass through the center of that village. It has a northwestern–southeastern direction, and is slightly over 15 km long. Within the last two decades, the original narrow road was widened and paved with asphalt. Until 1997

25. The towerlike structure of Agios Konstantinos (DS-11) is discussed here in connection with the road passing by it, because its defensive purpose is not certain.

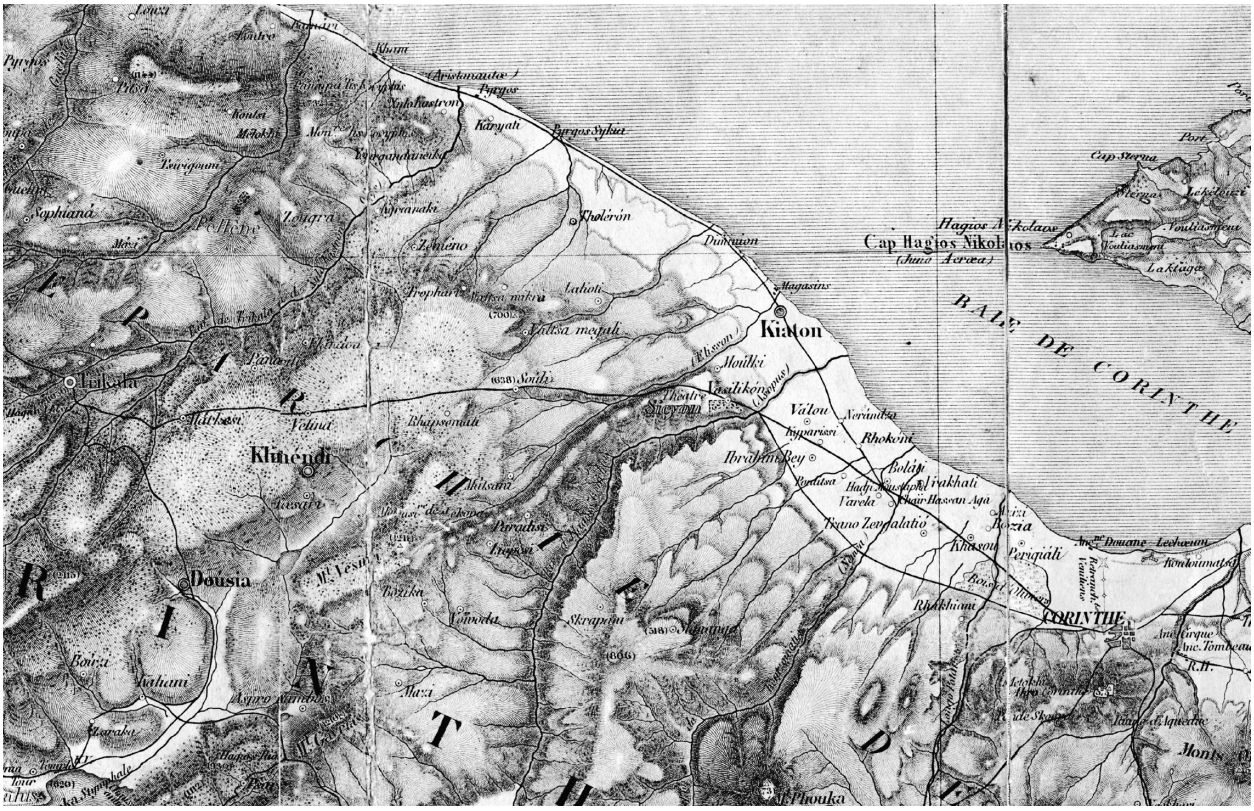


Figure 3.1. Detail of the *Carte de la Grèce,* the map drawn by the Expédition scientifique de Morée. Note the two roads that connect Corinth to Vasiliko. *Expédition scientifique de Morée,* vol. 2, sheet 2

only a small section of it, 500 m long, had remained intact, to the south of the village of Kokkoni.

Two of the old bridges belonging to this road, over the Asopos and Longopotamos (modern Rachiani), are strengthened with cement in the upper parts, and are still used today. The bridge over the Asopos is typical of the bridges of Ottoman Greece, and is known locally as "Tourkogephyra" (Τουρκογέφυρα) (RS-1): it is built of worked stones with mortar joints, and shows a large central arch, slightly pointed, and two smaller and lower arches arranged symmetrically on the sides (Fig. 3.2). The difference in height between the two lateral arches and the central arch is reflected in the deck of the bridge, which is not level but broken into two parts joined at an obtuse angle. Furthermore, older inhabitants of the area remember the stepped surface of the bridge, clearly built for animals and people rather than carts. It is only in the past 60 years that the upper surface of the bridge was smoothed by adding layers of cement, and was thus made suitable for wheeled traffic. The bridge over the Longopotamos, of similar masonry to the Asopos bridge, comprises two arches, and has undergone substantial repairs during the 20th century, including the rebuilding of its eastern and larger arch, in standardized square rubble, and more recently the paving of the entire deck in cement (Fig. 3.3).[26] The original phase of the bridge, perhaps reflected in the western arch, must go back at least to the early 19th century since it was noted in Gell's itinerary.[27]

I could not find traces of a similar bridge over the third major river between Sikyon and Corinth, namely the Nemea, and inhabitants of the

26. The western arch measures 2.8 (H.) × 4.05 m (W.); the eastern arch 2.8 (H.) × 7 m (W.).

27. Gell 1817, p. 205.



Figure 3.2. The northern side of the Tourkogephyra over the Asopos River (RS-1)



Figure 3.3. The northern side of the old bridge over the Longopotamos (Rachiani) River

plain today have no recollection of it. Instead, they remember going down into the bed of the river and up again.[28] Wheler, however, writes that in 1675 he crossed the Nemea by a bridge.[29] I do not believe that the traveler confused the Nemea with the Longopotamos, for Wheler explicitly states that he crossed the river Nemea about midway between Sikyon and Corinth, and indeed the Nemea cuts almost through the middle of the plain. It is more likely that the bridge has since washed away, or perhaps spurs of it are still hidden in the vegetation covering the bed and banks of the river.

David Romano, director of the Corinth Computer Project, which analyzed the centuriation of the Roman colony, recently explored the centuriation of the land between Corinth and Sikyon.[30] Using satellite images and topographical maps, Romano was able to identify the presence of five linked grids, each composed of 16 × 24 *actus* units (corresponding to

28. More recently, a cement bridge was built over the Nemea River to the west of Zevgolateio.

29. Wheler 1682, p. 445.

30. Romano and Tolba 1996; Romano 2003. I thank Dr. Romano for sending me a copy of the 1996 article.

1,920 × 2,880 Roman feet), between Corinth and Sikyon. The major element of this land division is precisely the Παλιά Δημοσιά.[31] Romano convincingly shows that the modern land organization, that is, the layout of the properties, is dependent upon the orientation of this road. In support of Romano's arguments, I would add that the agglomeration of nine villages along this road, most of them extant since at least the late 17th century, is further proof of the road's influence on the subsequent development and organization of the landscape.

Romano's reconstruction is strengthened by my rediscovery of a Roman bridge over the Asopos River (RS-2). The remains of the ancient bridge were mentioned by Gell, Pouqueville, Curtius, and Bursian, and were included in the Guides-Joanne. Gell says that there have been two bridges over the Asopos, one of which he describes as having "a fine arch of ancient work and large blocks standing."[32] The traveler probably refers to the Turkish bridge, for Pouqueville at about the same time saw only the piers of the abutment of the ancient bridge:

> Nous guéâmes ensuite le fleuve entre un pont ancien, dont il n'existe plus que les piles voisines de la culée, et un autre d'une construction plus moderne.[33]

A few decades later, Curtius, coming from Corinth, observed the same remains of the ancient bridge on the right-hand side (north) of the Turkish bridge.[34] Indeed, the remains of this ancient bridge stand just 6.1 m to the north of the Tourkogephyra, on the east bank of the Asopos (Figs. 3.4, 3.5). The remains on the opposite bank, seen by Pouqueville, are either destroyed or covered by a mass of rubble from a modern construction on this side. Only part of the eastern abutment of the bridge is preserved, with three courses above the spring level.[35] The existing remains feature the typical ashlar masonry on the exterior, with earth, rubble, and mortar fill behind. The blocks consist of gray conglomerate stone, which is commonly found above the Sikyonian plain.[36] The coursing is of the common (but not typical in bridges) stretcher-bond type, which secures the stability of the construction by interlocking the successive courses. The dimensions of the structure are 2.5 (H.) × 3.05 (W.) × 2.3 m (Th.), with only the width entirely preserved. The lower portion of the abutment, 1.32 m high, is built with four courses of stones, each made of three to five blocks of different lengths; the bottom course is presumably the foundation course adapted to the sloping riverbed; the remaining courses are (from bottom up) 0.35, 0.25, and 0.35 m high. The length of the individual stones varies between 0.5 and 0.9 m.

The vault is preserved to only three courses above the spring line and the spandrel is mostly gone. This is unfortunate, for the extant part indicates that the construction of the arch was not typical: either it consisted of a double concentric rib, or the single arch simply receded (as seen from the side) in relation to the wall of the spandrel. Both scenarios have chronological implications. Let us first consider the former possibility: the lower rib is thicker than the upper one by 0.06 m (0.61 versus 0.55 m). The two superimposed ribs are so tightly bonded that I could not see any mortar in the joints. Only the coursing of the outer rib is visible, because the inner rib

31. Cf. Doukellis (1994, pp. 371–374), who proposes 16 × 16 *actus* units between Corinth and Sikyon and dates them before the foundation of the colony by Julius Caesar (44 B.C.), but fails to mention the old public highway.

32. Gell 1817, p. 205.

33. Pouqueville 1826, pp. 442–443.

34. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 488.

35. It is almost certain that ashlar blocks from the Roman bridge were used in the construction of the neighboring Turkish bridge.

36. See above, pp. 30–31.



Figure 3.4. The eastern abutment of the Roman bridge on the Asopos (RS-2), looking south. In the background is the abutment of the Tourkogephyra.



Figure 3.5. The eastern abutment of the Roman bridge on the Asopos (RS-2), looking east. Notice the construction of the preserved segment of the arch.

is masked by the mortar masonry of the spandrel. Each course is composed of four rectangular voussoirs of different length, and with heights measuring (from bottom up) 0.45, 0.35, and 0.35 m. The voussoirs of the last surviving course of the vault, the third above the spring line, are 0.4 m thick, 0.15 m less than the voussoirs of the lower courses, and probably represent the thickness of the missing (higher) courses of the vault. The curve of this course is accentuated by the setting of wedge-shaped stones between this and the lower course. Overall, the outer rib is narrower than the inner rib and the abutment of the bridge, its courses having been set 0.09 m inward on both (northern and southern) sides, and its overall width comes to 2.87 m. Vittorio Galliazzo, in the most comprehensive survey of Roman bridges to date, found only three examples of double-rib arches in *opus quadratum,* two from Italy and one from Spain, and all three have no mortar between the voussoirs.[37] The majority of other bridges showing a double-

37. Galliazzo 1995, vol. 1, pp. 434–437; the author lists this type of vault as "arcati a due o più rotoli successivi, sovrapposti e concentrici" (p. 434); cf. O'Connor 1993, pp. 169–171, fig. 142:d.

rib vault use either smaller stones *(opus vittatum)* or brick. According to Galliazzo, the use of two superimposed ribs was dictated by concerns of stability and aesthetics, and by the need to ease the construction of the vault, since the voussoirs were lighter and more manageable, and the lower rib could have served as scaffolding for the construction of the upper one. Alternatively, if we assume that the stones backing the voussoirs of the arch did not radiate, but were part of the largely missing spandrel, then we have to look to Macedonia for comparanda. Three of the five examples of a bridge with "receding arch" cited by Galliazzo come from the area of Philippi.[38] Perhaps the closest parallel is a small bridge with two arches over the river Angitis, built in *opus quadratum.*[39] The bridge must have included at least two arches, judging by the width of the river and the curvature of the rib of the extant arch. One, or possibly two, piers must have been set in the riverbed. The surviving courses of the arch are not enough to establish its precise shape—surbased, semicircular, or raised.

The use of double-rib construction for an arch reflects Roman architectural experiments of the Imperial period, mainly under the reign of Trajan. It became popular in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, particularly in Asia Minor. Galliazzo gives the two most characteristic examples of this construction technique: the bridge of Justinian over the Sangarius River (northwest Anatolia), with a double series of stone voussoirs without mortar, and a bridge near Limyra, datable to the 6th century A.D., in *opus testaceum.*[40]

To return to the second scenario, namely, that the bridge was built with a single, receding arch, we should note that the Macedonian examples of such bridges are assigned by Galliazzo to the 2nd century A.D., preferably the reign of Trajan.[41] Accordingly, in both cases and on the basis of architecture alone, the bridge over the Asopos could be dated from the early 2nd century A.D. It is worth noting here that the 2nd century witnessed an extraordinary increase in bridge construction in Italy and the provinces, first under Trajan and then particularly under Hadrian.[42]

Regardless of its date of construction, the bridge aligns with the Roman road from Sikyon to Corinth, and was clearly part of it. This must be the road depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* perhaps based on a map of the 4th century A.D., as a section of the coastal artery circling the Peloponnese (Fig. 3.6).[43] The distance between Sikyon and Lechaion is marked as XX miles when the actual distance is about 10 Roman miles; a superfluous

38. Galliazzo (1995, vol. 1, p. 462) describes this rare variety as "arcate con archi di testata 'rientranti,' seppur di poco, rispetto ai muri di testa dei timpani."

39. Galliazzo 1995, vol. 2, p. 303; cf. Collart 1937, p. 496; see also Tsotsos 1997, pp. 155–157. More recently Tsotsos (1999, p. 1265, n. 31) argued that any recess of the face of the arch should rule out its assignment to the Roman or Byzantine periods, because it commonly occurs in bridges of the Ottoman era. Yet, the example of the Roman bridge over the Angitis River with its recessed arch, which Tsotsos (1999, pp. 1273–1274) does mention, contradicts the above statement. It is also worth noting that the Turkish bridge over the Asopos does not show such recession.

40. Galliazzo 1995, vol. 1, pp. 436–437.

41. Galliazzo 1995, vol. 2, p. 303. The criteria for dating include typology, material, and construction technique.

42. *SAGT* III, pp. 164–165; Galliazzo 1995, vol. 1, pp. 584–588.

43. Strecke 83 in Miller 1916, pp. 582–583; the Peloponnesian section of the map is reproduced in *SAGT* III, fig. 10. On the date of the *Tabula*, see Chevallier 1976, pp. 28–34; *SAGT* III, p. 198.

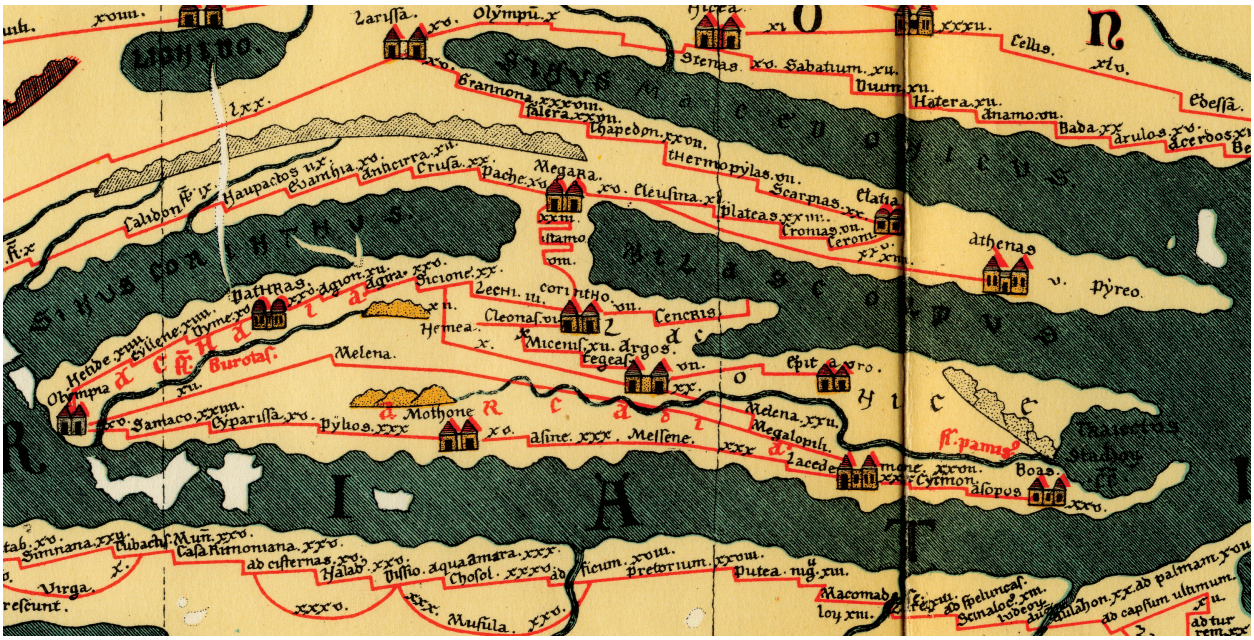


Figure 3.6. Detail of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Miller 1887

X was introduced by mistake in the *Tabula,* as was correctly observed by Lenschau, followed by Pritchett.[44]

A question remains regarding the adequacy of this bridge over the Asopos to accommodate the heavy traffic along the coastal road; allowing room for pedestrians, the bridge would have taken only one cart at a time. It is possible that two parallel bridges were built across the Asopos in Roman times, and that the southern (wider) one was incorporated into or destroyed during the construction of the Turkish bridge (Fig. 3.7).[45] Support for this hypothetical second bridge across the Asopos comes from west of Sikyon, where a Roman bridge along the line of the same artery is over 7 m wide, allowing ample space for wheeled traffic coming from opposite directions as well as for pedestrians.[46]

We must now turn to the city of Corinth and look for evidence of a road leading west. Livy explicitly mentions a Sikyonian gate in Corinth, with reference to the siege of the city by the combined Roman and Achaian forces during the Second Macedonian War: "porta quae fert Sicyonem" (32.23.4). In addition, Pausanias, leaving Corinth for Sikyon in the mid-2nd century A.D., distinguishes the *hodos* to Sikyon, from a *hodos* going inland, and describes a burnt temple, either of Apollo or of Olympian Zeus, along the former road: ἐκ Κορίνθου δὲ οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἰοῦσι ναὸς ἐμπεπρησμένος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ (2.5.5).[47] The Sikyonian gate has not been found and the burnt

44. *RE* Suppl. IV, 1924, cols. 996.50–51, s.v. Korinthos (T. Lenschau); *SAGT* III, pp. 273–274.

45. Cf. Rangabé 1857, p. 40 (referring to the Turkish bridge): "Les fondations de ce pont sont anciennes et probablement romaines; mais l'arche turque qu'elles supportent est si haute et forme des talus si rapides." It is often very difficult to distinguish between an ancient and a medieval ashlar block, hence the foundation blocks of the Tourkogephyra could be ancient.

46. RS-4; see below, pp. 155–156.

47. For Pausanias's route within the city, see Williams and Zervos 1984, pp. 101–104.



Figure 3.7. Detail of the lower courses of the Tourkogephyra (RS-1), showing its possibly ancient foundations

temple has not been securely identified, but a road bed was excavated in 1963 by Henry Robinson in the northwest sector of the city, in the area of Kokkinovrysi and near (south of) the Roman villa.[48] The excavation of the road surface revealed a succession of gravels ranging chronologically from the 5th century B.C. to Late Roman times. Another section of road bed consisting of hard-packed gravel can be followed today for approximately 200 m to the east of the Roman villa (i.e., toward the forum), between the Cheliotomylos gully and Kokkinovrysi (Figs. 3.8, 3.9). Although I do not know the precise date of this road bed, its location and orientation suggest that it belonged to the same road leading west, toward Sikyon and Achaia.[49] At Cheliotomylos, this road intersected with a road descending to the plain through the north cemetery of ancient Corinth, excavated in the early 1930s.[50] Rhys Carpenter reported finding wheel-ruts in the exposed rock to the north of Cheliotomylos, with additional traces around the shoulder of the hill, and he suggested that this road was "the main artery of vehicular traffic from plateau to plain, leading to Lechaeum as well as to Sicyon."[51] It is not clear if the main road to Sikyon went north through Cheliotomylos and then turned west, or simply continued west through Kokkinovrysi.[52] I am inclined to believe that the road through Kokkinovrysi was the one commonly used by anyone who wanted to go west, since it allows a smooth descent to the plain without having to pivot around the Cheliotomylos gully.

48. For fragments of what Dinsmoor called "the largest temple in the Peloponnesos," recovered from the area to the west of Lerna (to the northwest of the forum), see Pfaff 2003, pp. 115–119 (with earlier bibliography); on the road at Kokkinovrysi, see Robinson 1965, pp. 77–78; 1966, p. 101. I also consulted Corinth excavation notebook 256, pp. 62–106. I would like to thank Nancy Bookidis for giving me access to the excavation's records.

49. I am indebted to Aristomenes Arberores, former foreman of the Corinth Excavations, for bringing this unknown road stretch to my attention.

50. *Corinth* III.2, pp. 59–64.

51. *Corinth* III.2, p. 64. The construction date of this road has now been pushed to the end of the 4th century; see Landon 2003, p. 51.

52. Wiseman's account (1978, p. 84) is somewhat confusing on this issue: he writes that the road to Sikyon descended to the coastal plain by first crossing the neck of Cheliotomylos hill, and then passing through the wall alongside the Roman villa at Kokkinovrysi, before turning west. Such a route is impossible.



Figure 3.8. The surface of the old road leading from Corinth to Sikyon near Cheliotomylos, looking east



Figure 3.9. Detail of the road bed near Cheliotomylos. The pavement consists of hard-packed gravel, defined on either side by larger fieldstones.

When it reached Sikyon, the coastal road branched off toward the plateau of the ancient city. Pausanias, having crossed the Asopos River, turned toward the city, describing grave monuments on his way, and before reaching the gate saw a spring in a cave (2.7.3–4):

> προελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστρέψασιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ξενοδίκης μνῆμα . . . πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ πηγή ἐστί σφισιν ἐν σπηλαίῳ, ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἄνεισιν ἐκ γῆς, ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῦ σπηλαίου· καὶ καλεῖται δι' αὐτὸ Στάζουσα ἡ πηγή.

The location of the Dripping Fountain (Στάζουσα) and the road followed by Pausanias have aroused the imagination of almost all of the early travelers who came to Sikyon. In the era before automobiles there were three main paths leading from the plain to the plateau and branching off the main (Roman) road (Map 6): one ascended obliquely toward the present entrance to the plateau near the church of Agia Trias (Fig. 3.10), the second went



Figure 3.10. The dirt road ascending obliquely to the Sikyonian plateau, looking west

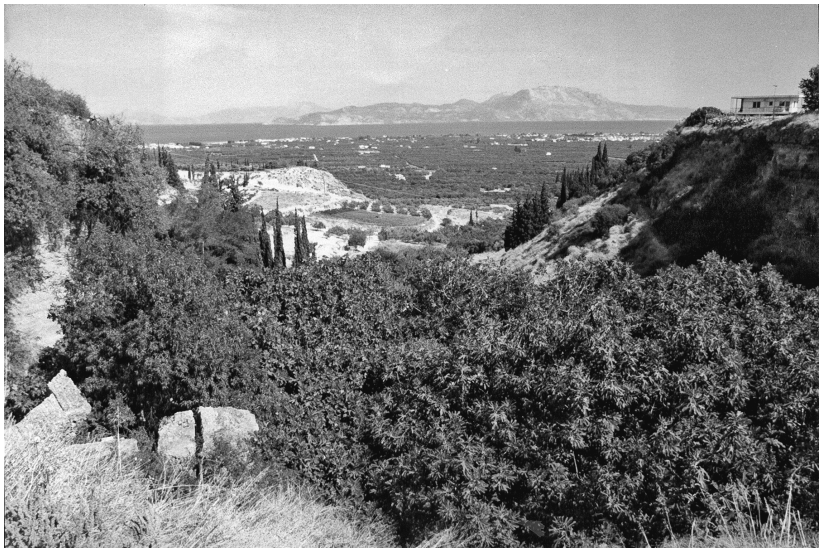


Figure 3.11. The gully of Mikri Vrysi from the basketball field, with the Asopeia plain in the background, looking east. The actual path descending to the plain is not visible.

almost straight up to the same entrance following the present road but cutting the turns, and the third followed the gully, which opens directly to the north of the modern village, up to the present-day basketball field, near the church of Agia Anna (Fig. 3.11). Alongside this last path exists a fountain, known locally as Mikri Vrysi (Μικρή Βρύση, "Small Fountain"). Mortimer Earle, the early excavator of Sikyon, considered this fountain to be the Stazousa of Pausanias, and described it as follows:

> This fountain is at present concealed by a Turkish wall, but the dripping can be heard through a small square aperture in the wall. Lapse of time may easily have wrought changes in the conspicuousness of this fountain, aside from its artificial concealment.[53]

At about the same time, Spyridon Paganelis, walking down from the plateau alongside the gully, noticed the spring to his left, which he described as gushing out from the "entrails of the cave," and identified it as the Dripping

53. Earle 1889a, p. 288, n. 2.

Fountain. Accordingly, he placed the gate further up the gully, below and to the right of the church of Agia Anna:

> Κατέλιπον τὸ χωρίον βαδίζων πρὸς τὸ Κιάτον. . . . Ἔφθασα εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παυσανίου μνημονευομένη Πύλην, κειμένη κατωτέρω τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης, ἐγειρομένου ἐπὶ βάσεως ἀρχαίας. Κατωτέρω καὶ ἀριστερόθεν εἶναι ἡ Πύλη. Κατέλθομεν ἔτι καὶ ἀριστερόθεν εἴδομεν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ σπηλαίου πηγήν, ἣν σαφῶς μνημονεύει ὁ Παυσανίας. Ἡ ἀκρίβεια τῆς τοπογραφίας προκαλεῖ αἴσθησιν. Καὶ σήμερον ἔτι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς πηγῆς "οὐκ ἄνεισιν ἐκ γῆς, ἐπιρρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῦ σπηλαίου." Ἀναγνωρίζει τις ἀμέσως καὶ τὰς θέσεις καὶ τὴν πηγήν. Ἤδη μονόκρουνος κρήνη δίδει διέξοδον εἰς τὸ στάγδην ἐντὸς τῶν σπλάχνων τοῦ σπηλαίου ἀποθηκευόμενον ὕδωρ. Τὴν πρὸ τῆς Πύλης μικρὰν χαράδρα ἔχουσι κατακλύσει καὶ ἐνιαχοῦ ἀποφράξει ὀγκόλιθοι κυλισθέντες ἐκ τῶν πέριξ ὑψωμάτων.[54]

Paganelis was perhaps too eager to see what Pausanias saw, but his description of the spring appears to be accurate: as one ascends alongside the gully today, one sees the fountain to one's right with a trickle of water coming out of its single spout; the screen of the fountain (presumably Late Ottoman or early modern) covers the rocky mass framing the spring. Through an opening, I observed the mouth of a rock-cut tunnel leading to the fountain (Fig. 3.12).[55] Rock slides, caused by tectonic activity in the area, could easily account for the alteration in the shape of the rocks here. Above and below the fountain, Earle observed a number of tombs:

> The most interesting of the tombs on the ancient site are those above and below the fountain called Μικρὴ Βρύσις. . . . Our attempts, however, which could not be pushed so vigorously as to interfere with our main work at the theatre, resulted in nothing beyond confirming the opinion of my workmen: Ὑπάρχουν τάφοι, ἀλλ' εἶναι ὅλοι ἀνοιγμένοι![56]

More graves and the actual road surface, made of stone slabs, have come to light during a rescue excavation initiated in 2007 just a few meters to the north of the path. The paved road, which preserves traces of wheel-ruts, dates from the Roman Imperial period, and seems to have a Middle Hellenistic predecessor.[57] This recent discovery proves that the path follows the line of the ancient road. Where the path joins the plateau there must have been a gate to the wall; a stretch of this wall was recently uncovered by a bulldozer, between the basketball field and the church of Agia Anna.[58]

For at least the last two hundred years, no fountain has been reported by the side of the two other paths ascending from the plain to the Hellenistic city. Two fountains exist on the southern and northern bank of a gully on the eastern slope of the plateau, due south of the village, and are known as Megali and Trani Vrysi (Μεγάλη and Τρανή Βρύση), respectively (Map 6; Fig. 3.13). A hundred meters northwest of the Μεγάλη βρύση, an artificial tunnel leads from the small church of Panagia up to the plateau through a series of steps (Fig. 3.14). Dodwell, Pouqueville, Rangabé, and Frazer thought that this spring may have been the Stazousa, although they could not find a cave.[59] Furthermore, the stepped and tunneled entrance to the city was clearly not a major gate, but rather a kind of postern for water

54. Paganelis 1891, pp. 348–349.

55. Griffin (1982, p. 15), who also considers the Mikri Vrysi a promising candidate for the Stazousa, describes the present fountain as "a fairly large cave with tunnels coming in from the back and sides."

56. Earle 1889a, pp. 287–288.

57. See Tsiogas, forthcoming.

58. See below, pp. 205–207.

59. Dodwell 1819, p. 295; Pouqueville 1826, p. 436; Rangabé 1857, pp. 41–42; Frazer 1913, vol. 3, pp. 48–49.



Figure 3.12. The tunnel behind Mikri Vrysi, as photographed in the summer of 2002



Figure 3.13. The five-spouted fountain of Megali Vrysi. The niche of the upper level probably framed a dedicatory inscription.

supply in times of emergency. In addition to a gate above the Mikri Vrysi, a second entrance to the city from the plain must have certainly existed where the present road enters the plateau. The remarkable natural opening in the rocks below the church of Agia Trias has been interpreted by Leake and Frazer as the certain position of a gate at this point.[60] Leake thought that it was the Sacred Gate, which Pausanias mentions later in his narrative, as he was descending from the plateau to the plain.[61]

It is likely that the Sacred Gate and the gate above the Dripping Fountain were different, and that Pausanias took a different route going up to the city than he did coming down to the plain. The periegete reported different monuments along his ascent of and descent from the plateau; going up, he described the grave monuments of Xenodike and of the Sikyonians fallen in battle, and going down, the sanctuary of Demeter. Although the natural opening through the cliffs has been considerably widened for the passage of the asphalt road in recent times, it does mark the spot where the two paths—one obliquely ascending from the Asopos and the other ascending

60. Leake 1830, p. 372; Frazer 1913, vol. 3, pp. 48–49.

61. Paus. 2.11.1–2: πύλην καλουμένην Ἱεράν.

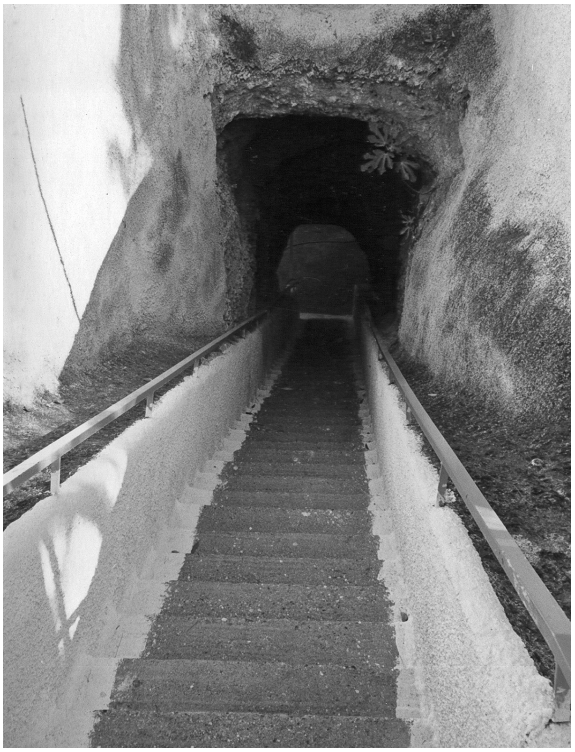


Figure 3.14. The tunnel of Panagia of Vasiliko

vertically and coming from the Sikyonian harbor—converged and entered the plateau. Furthermore, older residents of Vasiliko remember a section of this road, between the last zigzag of the asphalt road, as being paved, but this pavement was covered when the asphalt road was built. This must have been "the remains of the old paved way" seen by Clarke in the early 1800s as he descended from the acropolis to the plain in the direction of Corinth; some decades later, Clark observed at the foot of the hill "some scattered fragments and the wheelmarks of an old road."[62] Considering the loose, soft soil of the eastern scarp of the Sikyonian plateau, it seems unlikely that the wheel-ruts were preserved on ground surface; they were probably wrought or carved on a stone-paved section, perhaps the same as the one referred to by Clarke, below the church of Agia Trias.

The Palia Demosia has been used continuously from Roman times to the present, but it is not clear whether it follows the line of a pre-Roman road from Corinth to Sikyon and Achaia, or was a creation *ex novo.* The question regarding the degree of Roman organization of the Corinthian landscape is crucial, but only excavation of the road could provide a clue. In maps of the 19th century, and in the memory of the elderly inhabitants of the plain today, there was one other road connecting Sikyon to Corinth, and running higher than the Palia Demosia, along the upper reaches of the plain. It is marked in the *Carte de la Grèce,* the *Atlas* of Kiepert, Curtius (1851–1852), the map of Miliarakis, the Guides-Joanne, and the first edition (1941) of the 1:100,000 map of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service. The new highway to Patras, built in the 1960s, overlapped with the major section of this old road (R2). From Sikyon to Corinth, the road past the Asopos bridge would continue toward Saitaiika (Σαιταίικα), south of the village of Velo, then north of Tarsina and south of

62. Clarke 1818, p. 545; Clark 1858, p. 344.

Zevgolateio, through Kyra Vrysi (Κυρα-Βρύση) to Zachoulitika (Ζαχουλίτικα) and across Rachiani to Ancient Corinth. Among locals, it was known as Μικρή Στράτα, and its width did not exceed three meters. A paved section (λιθόστρωτο) was preserved within the Nemea riverbed, a little to the north of the Corinth–Patras highway, but it is now destroyed.[63]

Valuable information on the routes connecting the Corinthia with Sikyonia can be extrapolated from Xenophon's account of the first year (394 B.C.) of the Corinthian War (*Hell.* 4.2.14–15). The Spartans had rushed from Sikyon to Corinth, planning to gain possession of the city now that the main body of the force of the Confederates was en route, and a pro-Spartan faction had the upper hand there. Their plan, however, failed: having entered Corinthian territory at Epieikia, they were attacked by the light troops of their adversaries charging from higher ground, and were compelled to descend to the plain: ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῇσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν. The passage clearly implies that the Spartan army first marched along higher ground, at the foot of the hills, from Sikyon through Epieikia, before descending to the plain. The meaning of the pronoun ταύτῃ in the passage is not absolutely clear. In the majority of cases in the *Hellenika,* it is used adverbially to mean "there," and this is how I understand it in this sentence as well: "when they had descended toward the sea, there they were marching on through the plain, cutting and burning the territory."[64]

While the Spartan Aristodemos and his forces were busy laying waste to the enemy territory, the Confederates found the time to retreat along the higher road, and encamp in front of the χαράδρα: καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἔμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν. They were eager to stop the Lakedaimonian army from reaching the city because they may have suspected that the Corinthians who stayed behind were inclined toward turning the city over to the enemy. The Spartan forces marched forward and pitched camp across from the Confederates, at a distance of 10 stadia or less: ἐπεὶ δὲ προιόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπεῖχον τῶν πολεμίων, κἀκεῖνοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. The clear juxtaposition between the participles προιόντες in reference to the Spartans and ἀπελθόντες in reference to the Confederates leaves no doubt about the direction of the movement of both armies, the χαράδρα in question, and the position of the combatants in relation to it (see below, Fig. 3.28). Aristodemos was moving ahead, away from his base (Sikyon) and the Nemea River, the Confederates were coming back toward their base (Corinth), and the χαράδρα came in between them. The word χαράδρα is used to describe gullies formed by mountain torrents, and there are two such gullies of significant size between the Nemea River and ancient Corinth: the Nemea River itself and the Longopotamos River, locally called Rachiani. I hope I have sufficiently shown that both armies had already moved east of the Nemea River, consequently the χαράδρα in question cannot be any other than modern Rachiani. This conclusion conflicts with the testimony of Diodoros that the battle was fought on the banks of the Nemea River (14.83.2), but if we are willing to give credit to the most detailed account of the battle (by Xenophon), we must assume that Diodoros, who offers a very synoptic version of the event, is wrong on this point.

63. A short section of an ancient road, consisting of hard packed earth and gravel, is gradually coming to light along the line of the highway below the Sikyonian plateau. Although the excavation, which is being conducted for the construction of the new highway to Patras, is still in progress (2010) and the interpretation of the finds is tentative, it does provide support to the existence of an ancient, possibly pre-Hellenistic, road following the line of the modern highway to Patras.

64. *Hell.* 2.1.21, 3.2.12, 4.6.14, 5.4.50, 6.1.9, 6.5.26, 6.5.30; in two cases, it means "thus," "in this way": *Hell.* 5.2.7, 7.1.19. Brownson, in the Loeb edition, translates ταύτῃ as "by this route," supplying an implied ὁδός. Although the structure ταύτῃ with an implied ὁδῷ does occur in ancient literature (Herodotos, for example, uses it 19 times: Powell 1938, p. 284), it is not encountered in the *Hellenika* even once. A third possibility is that ταύτῃ refers to θάλατταν and is dependent upon the verb προῇσαν: "when they had descended to the sea, they were proceeding to it through the plain, cutting, etc." Xenophon does use the verb προιέναι with the dative in *Hell.* 6.1.5: τοὺς μὲν προσεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις. It must be admitted, however, that this construction with the verb is unique to Xenophon, who uses it in relation to people, and the reading it allows in our case is somewhat awkward: what is expressed in the main clause becomes redundant.

My interpretation supports Pritchett's reconstruction of the battle, its setting, and the position of the armies.[65] Pritchett challenged Diodoros's statement concerning the exact place where the battle was fought, locating it instead near the Rachiani River. He came to this conclusion mainly based on Demosthenes (20.52), who states that the battle was fought ἐν Κορίνθῳ, and since, as Pritchett shows, the engagement must have taken place to the west of the campsite of the Confederates, in other words west of the χαράδρα, this χαράδρα cannot be the Nemea River, which was the border between the Corinthian and Sikyonian territories.[66] This is not the place to go into details concerning the battlefield and the actual engagement, especially now that the stage of operations has been definitely removed from Sikyonian territory. What matters for our purpose is the implication that there were at least two parallel roads between Corinth and Sikyon. The upper road runs along the foothills at the southern edge of the plain: the section from Sikyon to the Nemea River was taken by Aristodemos's forces, and the section from the Corinthian border to Rachiani by the Confederates. The lower road runs closer to the sea through the plain, and the section from the Nemea to Longopotamos rivers was taken by the forces of the Peloponnesian League.

In retrospect, one legitimate question remains: why did the Spartans take a road running south of the plain, at the risk of being harassed by the enemy approaching from the south? If we are right in assuming that they wanted to capture Corinth before the arrival of the Confederate army, then we must also assume that they followed the most direct way to Corinth, and this was the southern road. Perhaps this was the main road to Corinth in the Classical period.

Buildings by the Road from Corinth

Pausanias, as we have already seen, mentions a number of monuments, mostly funerary, on the way to Sikyon from Corinth. Having crossed the Nemea River, he saw a tomb of the Messenian Lykos, and past the Asopos a shrine of Zeus Olympios on his right-hand side; a little further and to the left of the road was a tomb of the Athenian comic poet Eupolis. Ascending to the city, he saw the monument of Xenodike, and further on a tomb of the Sikyonians fallen in battle. He even provides a description of a typical Sikyonian grave monument, which resembled a small naiskos and consisted of a stone krepis, columns, and a pediment (2.7.2–4). None of the aforementioned monuments have been identified.[67] Column fragments and other ancient blocks lie in three locations. At the church of Agios Georgios, to the west of the Nemea River, and at the 15 km post of the new highway, Pritchett observed many reused blocks with cuttings, perhaps belonging to a small funerary building.[68] A short distance further to the west, by the village of Tarsina and to the right (north) side of the highway, stands the Middle Byzantine Church of the Transfiguration (SP-28; Fig. 3.15). The dome of the church is supported by two monolithic columns crowned by Ionic capitals of Hellenistic date (Fig. 3.16). Ionic capitals of smaller dimensions, column drums, and ashlar blocks with cuttings can be seen built into the western wall of the church (Fig. 3.17). At least these smaller fragments could have originally belonged to naiskos-like funerary monuments. They were also noticed by Clarke on his right side as he was

65. *SAGT* II, pp. 73–84.

66. Pritchett uses some further arguments in support of his view as to the site of the battle and the position of the combatants, including the escarpment of the river gully (*SAGT* II, pp. 83–84). I would be more hesitant, however, in building an argument based on the present shape of the banks of a river, since these are the most sensitive to natural erosion (due to small or large deviations of the course of a river) and human activity (e.g., occasional cultivation within the river valley).

67. It has been suggested that a Sikyonian funerary monument may be represented on a Roman imperial coin from Sikyon, which shows on the obverse a small distyle temple on a rock, flanked by two tall figures and cypress trees (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1887, p. 28, pl. H:i, ii; Head 1887, p. 411; Papachatzis 1976, p. 91, fig. 81). However, as Roux (1958, p. 136) pointed out, the struck image resembles more a little shrine or heroon than a tomb; cf. Musti and Torelli 1986, pp. 239–240. For typical Sikyonian funerary stelai, allegedly from the plain, see *IG* IV 433, 434: the inscription bears the name of the deceased followed by the imperative Χαῖρε. This formulaic expression occurs in funerary stelai from other ancient Greek city-states as well, including Phlious (*IG* IV 476, 477) and Pellene. In the house of Dr. Sotiris Michopoulos at Xylokastro, I saw an unpublished grave stele from the area of Pellene bearing the inscription ΕΛΙΚΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ, in letters of the Roman period. The stele is now in the Sikyon Museum.

68. *SAGT* II, p. 82, n. 48, pls. 53, 54.

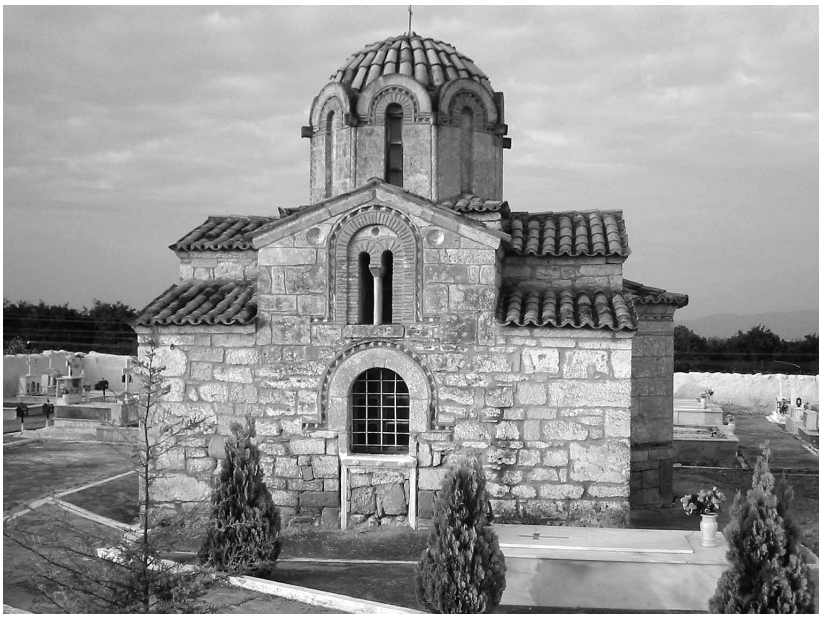


Figure 3.15. Tarsina, Church of the Transfiguration (SP-28), looking north



Figure 3.16. One of the two Ionic capitals within the church (SP-28)



Figure 3.17. Detail of the western side of the church (SP-28) showing ancient spolia: three Ionic capitals, two column drums, and a threshold block

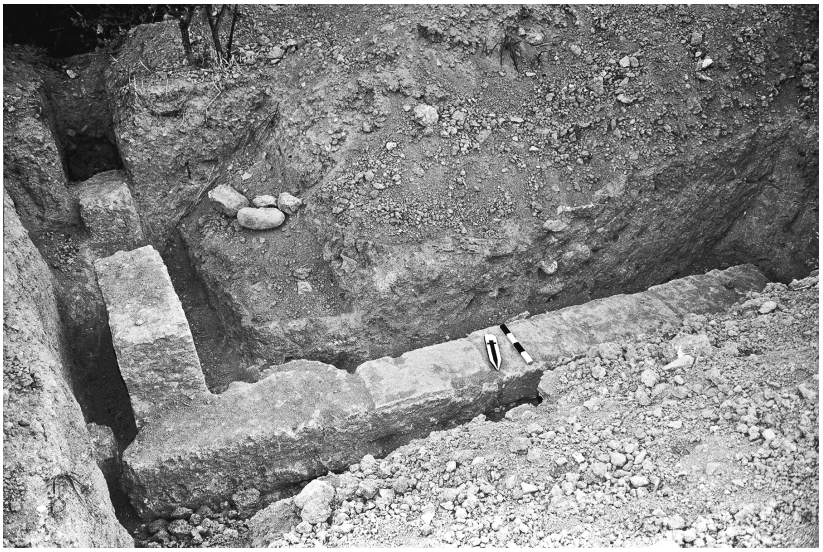


Figure 3.18. Rectangular building to the west of the Asopos River, looking south

coming from Corinth.[69] This means that the traveler in the early 19th century had taken the upper road to Sikyon, that is, the one that followed the line of the present new highway. Having crossed the Asopos, Clarke noticed ancient ruins "in several places" on his left, before arriving at Sikyon. One of these places is certainly Agios Nikolaos, in the courtyard of which lie ancient column drums. I believe that they may belong to a temple, and discuss them further in Chapter 6.

In 1996 a bulldozer working in a vineyard directly below (northeast of) the road, some 150 m due east of the church of Agios Nikolaos, exposed segments of the northern and eastern sides of a rectangular building, built of ashlar masonry (Fig. 3.18). The building faces east, and we seem to have two orthostates defining a door along the eastern side. Unfortunately, the size, function, and date of this structure, which was buried soon after its discovery, cannot be determined without systematic excavation.

Road from the Plateau to the Harbor

We have already referred to the path branching off the Roman road at a right angle and ascending almost straight up to Sikyon. In the opposite direction, having crossed the Palia Demosia, the road descended straight to the ancient harbor, following the line of a modern country road (R20; Fig. 3.19).[70] A section of the road bed, running parallel to the modern road, was excavated by Krystalli-Votsi in 1987, at the intersection with the highway to Patras. Unfortunately, the results of these excavations remain unpublished, and consequently the width and the techniques used in the construction of the road to the harbor are unknown.[71] Christos Zapheiropoulos, guard of the Sikyon Museum and one of Krystalli's workmen during the excavations, took me to a spot where a paved road with deep wheel-ruts was once exposed, also likely part of the road to the harbor. It was perhaps this road that was taken by Pausanias after his return to Sikyon from Titane and on his way west.

69. Clarke 1818, p. 532.

70. For the cemetery that flanked this road on either side, see below, pp. 283–284.

71. The information on the harbor road was kindly provided to me by Kiki Athanasouli from the 23rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.



Figure 3.19. The Asopeia plain from the plateau, looking northeast; the road to the harbor (R20) is clearly visible as it bisects the plain.

ROADS TO PHLIOUS AND THE SOUTH

From the Sikyonian plain, there were three main and two secondary routes to Nemea and Phlious in antiquity: two of the main routes followed the river valleys of the Asopos and the Nemea; the third ran along the ridge of the mountain range of Trikaranon, which stretches between the two rivers, and it had two roads running parallel and to the west of it that eventually converged in the area of Stimanga. Pausanias refers twice to a "direct" road to Phlious: ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ τὴν κατ' εὐθὺ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις (2.11.3), ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν [meaning Φλιασίαν] ὁδός ἐστιν εὐθεῖα (2.12.3).[72] This was, beyond any doubt, the road that followed the course of the Asopos, and it constitutes the primary reference point for Pausanias's pilgrimage to Sikyonian sanctuaries (R3).[73]

In the era before automobiles, as today, there was one main path leading from Vasiliko to the Asopos; the route starts from the southeastern corner

72. On the meaning of εὐθεῖα ὁδός, see Lolos 2003, pp. 140–141.

73. The ἄλσος of Ιιυραία was 10 stadia off to the left of the "direct" road (2.11.3); the ἄλσος πρίνων and the ναὸς θεῶν were ἐν ἀριστερᾷ [τῆς ὁδοῦ] διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπόν (2.11.4); Titane was off to the right of the "direct" road and past the Asopos River: ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβᾶσί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἥξασιν, ἐνταῦθα . . . (2.11.5). For a full discussion of Pausanias's route, see below, pp. 412–414. Yannis Pikoulas suggested to me an alternative reading, that the ὁδός to which Pausanias returned (2.11.5) refers to the road to the "temple of the goddesses" and not to the "direct" road to Phlious, in which case there is no reason to suppose that the road to Phlious ever crossed the Asopos in order to continue along the eastern bank of the river. Whatever the case may be, it is certain that the road lay beside the course of the Asopos. Therefore, Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 503) and Roux (1958, p. 157), followed by Torelli (Musti and Torelli 1986, p. 253), are wrong in opting for a road above the right bank of the Asopos, along the Trikaranon ridge, as the εὐθεῖα ὁδός. Overall, the topographical contribution of Roux's commentary to Pausanias's tour of Sikyonia is minimal.

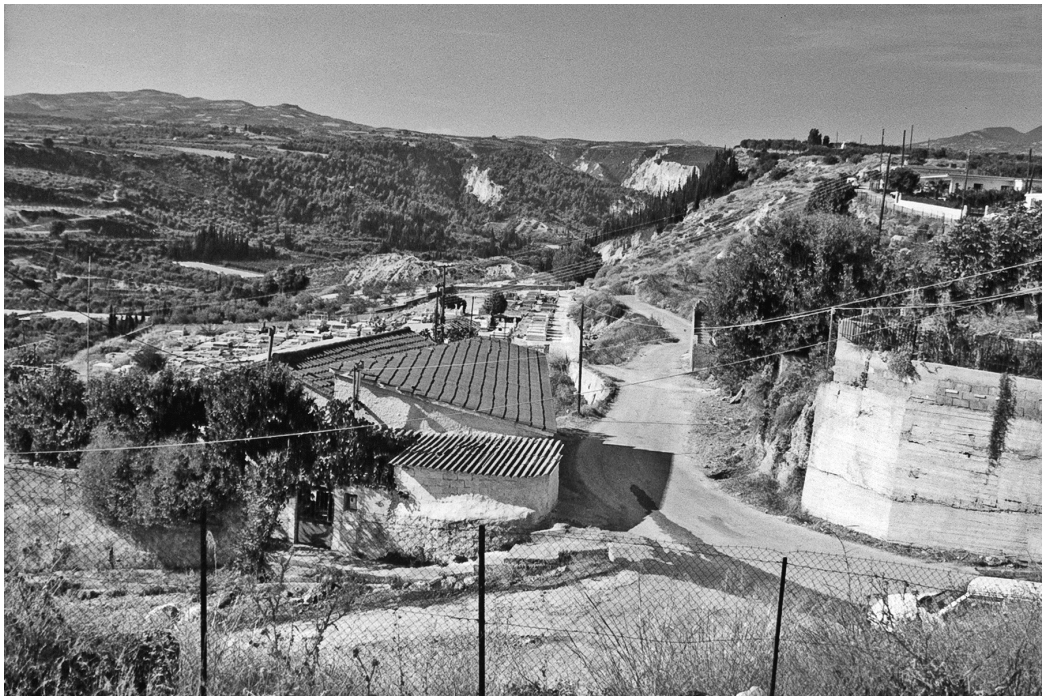


Figure 3.20. The road leading from the southeastern corner of the plateau to the Asopos, looking west-southwest; to the left, the cemetery of Vasiliko.

of the plateau and descends smoothly toward the valley in a southwestern direction, passing to the right of the modern cemetery of the village (Fig. 3.20). After descending to the valley, the road continued along the western bank of the Asopos as far south as Panagia (Παναγία), before crossing the river and henceforth proceeding along its eastern bank (Fig. 3.21). Near Kato Bathiza (Κάτω Μπάθιζα), and where a modern cement bridge is built across the river, I observed some scattered ashlar blocks that could have belonged to the piers of an ancient bridge at this spot. One possible interpretation of the description of Pausanias's route from Sikyon is that he crossed from the west (his right) to the east (his left) bank of the river at least once, somewhere to the north of the latitude of Titane: in order to reach Pyraia and the grove of πρίνοι, both to the east (his left) of the "direct road," he certainly crossed the Asopos, but further south he had to cross the river again in order to reach Titane, which is located above the western bank of the river.

The torrential nature of the Asopos, which I referred to in Chapter 1, is undoubtedly the reason for the disappearance of this major artery. Given the loose soil and the occasional violent flow of the Asopos, the road must have had substantial supporting terraces, which are no longer visible today. This is how Leake described his painful journey from Phlious to Sikyon in the early 1800s:

> At ten minutes beyond Polyfengo, I leave, on the opposite or left bank of the Asopus, the ancient foundations and blocks of stones already alluded to, which mark the site of Celae. . . . Half a mile farther, the valley of the Asopus becomes narrow, and is covered with fields of kalambokki [corn]. The road passes occasionally along the roots of the steep mountains which border it on either

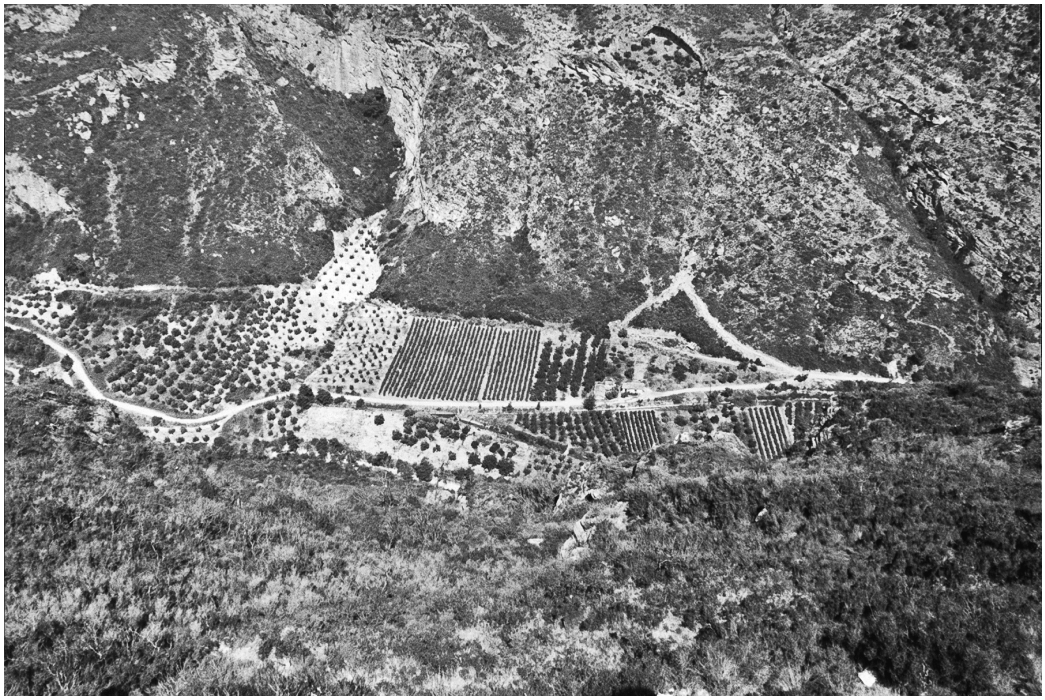


Figure 3.21. The road in the Asopos valley (R3) running along the eastern bank of the river (view northwest from Megali Lakka of Ellinochori)

side, and which are thickly covered with bushes; at intervals there are some small meadows, prettily situated amidst with shrubs and a few patches of ploughed land. As we proceed, the road becomes narrower, and at length in many places no path appears, the river having undermined the bank, and carried away the road.

The high mountain on the left is cultivated in many parts, and on its slope are seen the villages of Liopesi and Paradhisi. . . .

As we advance, the road becomes still worse, and we should probably have spent the whole day in getting out of the valley, had it not been for a peasant, whom we fortunately meet, who conducts us into the route which leads from Vasilika to Mazi and Liopesi. We fall into this track near the place where it ascends the mountain, which rises from the left bank of the Asopus, and consequently near the spot where the ancient route to Titane quitted the valley. We follow this road along the left bank of the river until the valley begins to widen, nearly at the distance from Sicyon at which Pausanias places the grove of the Eumenides, on the right bank of the river. . . . As the valley becomes wider, the cultivation increases. . . . Having crossed the Asopus we follow the valley to its right, until we enter the maritime plain on the eastern side of the hill of Sicyon. . . .

We left Polyfengo at 8.05, and arrived at Vasilika at 12.45.[74]

It is clear that Leake first took the eastern bank of the Asopos, and before the valley opens up he crossed the river and continued along the western bank before recrossing to the eastern side near the coastal plain. The place where the route from Vasiliko to Liopesi (Gonoussa) left the valley and began ascending the mountain is at Panagia.[75]

74. Leake 1830, pp. 353–356.

75. Unlike Leake, however, I do not believe that this modern path coincides with the path to Titane taken by Pausanias; see below, p. 413.

Thus, despite the changes to the Asopos valley and the absence of any archaeological remains, the road from Sikyon to Phlious seems to have followed the same course in the time of Pausanias as in the time of Leake, running at first alongside the western and then the eastern bank of the river. Given the importance of this road in antiquity, various buildings and monuments must have been erected alongside that have since been washed away, together with the road surface. Scattered ashlar blocks can be seen near Panagia, to the right of the road as one goes south, and at an elevation of 70 masl (at Chaidari).[76] High above the Asopos valley stood three towers—one at Ladas to the southwest of the Sikyonian plateau (AS-5), another at Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi (DS-12), and a third one at Ano Bathiza of Kryoneri (DS-14)—as well as the forts of Gonoussa (DS-3) and Titane (DS-2), forming a defensive network to be discussed in the next chapter.

The road described above (R3) is the only one that had the advantage of directly connecting Phlious to Sikyon, in Classical as well as in Hellenistic and Roman times. A second pass, descending to the Phliasian *pedion* through Trikaranon, is explicitly mentioned by Xenophon as the one taken by the main body of the Sikyonian and Pellenean forces against Phlious in 366 B.C.: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικαράνου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον, ὡς τὸ πεδίον φθεροῦντες (*Hell.* 7.2.11). The road ascending to Trikaranon would have branched off the coastal road somewhere to the east of the Asopos bridge. I was able to find traces of two ancient roads to the south of the coastal plain and east of the Asopos.

The western road (R4) followed the line of an older path, which from the eastern bank of the Asopos turned south to Prophetes Elias of Velo, and continued in a southward direction toward Panagia Giouroutsi. The main section of the asphalt road today follows the old path, with the exception of the segment between Prophetes Elias and the Asopos bridge, where it deviates to the east. The road runs along a low ridge defined by the Asopos to the northwest and the ravine of Panagia Giouroutsi to the southeast. Wheel-ruts are preserved to the west and above the church of Panagia Giouroutsi (Παναγία Γιουρούτση), beside the modern asphalt road leading to the village of Ellinochori and at an elevation of ca. 240 masl (RS-5; Figs. 3.22, 3.23). These wheel-ruts, running in a northeast–southwest direction, can be followed for ca. 15 m before they join the line of the modern road. The distance between the two grooves from center to center was found to be 1.483 m. The width of the grooves ranges between 0.10 and 0.20 m, and their depth between 0.15 and 0.18 m, suggesting that they were intentionally carved and not shaped by the passage of carts alone.

From Panagia Giouroutsi the road gradually ascended to Megali Lakka of Ellinochori by the site of Livadia. From there the ancient road could have followed the direction of two old paths: either to the southwest through Dendro (Δένδρο), west of the Rachi Koudouni (Ράχη Κουδούνι) to Dardiza (Ντάρδιζα or Ντάρτιζα), or to the south, though Staneza (Στάνεζα), Agia Paraskevi (Αγία Παρασκευή), and Agios Ioannis (Αγιος Ιωάννης) to Stimanga. The former path was divided at Dardiza, where one offshoot descended to the Asopos and was mainly used, until the Second World War, to reach the village of Titane and the valley of Kaisari, and the other offshoot continued south, passing to the west of the summit of Evangelistria (Ευαγγελίστρια) in order to join the ridge of Trikaranon at

76. Χαιδάρι; one of the blocks shows anathyrosis on its horizontal surface and is convex on one side.



Figure 3.22. The asphalt road at Giouroutsi following the line of the ancient road (R4), looking north toward the coastal plain



Figure 3.23. The wheel-ruts of the ancient road above Panagia Giouroutsi (RS-5), looking northeast

Kamari (Καμάρι) (R5a). The latter path, from Ellinochori to Stimanga through Agia Paraskevi, was used for connecting the two villages but also for going from Ellinochori to Nea Nemea and the Phliasian basin by passing to the east of Evangelistria and the village of Koutsi (R5b). Since Titane in antiquity could have been approached from the main road along the Asopos, and more directly from a road leading southwest from the Sikyonian plateau, as I will show below, it is unlikely that the cart road under consideration would have continued westward to Titane. The southern route for this road, passing either to the west or to the east of Evangelistria and proceeding along the Trikaranon, is more plausible. At least two towers stood above this road: one at Prophetes Elias (AS-6) and the other at Vardounia (AS-7) of Ellinochori, both destroyed in recent decades. In addition, during a short rescue excavation near the church of Agios Ioannis, the local Ephoreia of Antiquities unearthed remains of a Late Classical/Early Hellenistic sanctuary.[77]

77. On which, see below, pp. 399–402.

Of the second ancient road (R5) to the south of the coastal plain and east of the Asopos there is preserved at Saitaiika, near Velo, the cutting in the conglomerate rock on both sides of the road to a maximum depth of 1.2 m (RS-6; Fig. 3.24). The road bed is 2.8 m wide and can be followed for a length of ca. 18 m. The owners of the neighboring fields assured me that wheel-ruts were once visible on the surface of the road, but these ruts are now covered by layers of earth. I could not discern chisel marks on the sides of the road, probably because of the friability of the conglomerate. I have referred to the evidence for ancient quarrying in this location earlier, in Chapter 1.[78] The road is undoubtedly associated with the transportation of this quarried stone toward the south, but it may have also been used as an alternative wagon road to Phlious from the Sikyonian plain, through the areas of Ellinochori and Stimanga. It is worth mentioning that an old path ascended from Saitaiika to Ellinochori through Agia Aikaterini (Αγία Αικατερίνη) and Roumpi (Ρουμπί). Between Roumpi and Megali Lakka, Paliopyrgos (Παλιόπυργος) marks the site of a pile of rubble, but the inhabitants of Ellinochori have no memory of an "old tower" standing on the spot.

A third route to the Phliasian basin along Trikaranon followed the line of the modern asphalt road from Tarsina to Stimanga, considerably to the east of Sikyon (R6). This route was taken by Ross in the early 1830s on his way from Phlious.[79] A few sections of the old path can be seen between zigzags of the asphalt road, most prominently at the "Galari tou Nirou" (Γαλάρι του Νίρου; Fig. 3.25). According to the late Demetrios Balaphoutas, former head of the village of Stimanga, this originally narrow path was widened in 1910, while the present road was constructed in the 1920s and in some sections superseded the older path. Ross does not mention traces of ancient road, nor was I able to find any, but the marl predominant in the area would not have favored their preservation.

On one of the last terraces above the coastal plain, Ross reported seeing to his right "un fondement hellénique assez considérable," which he associated with the fort of Epieikia.[80] I searched for the remains in the area of the village of Tarsina, as well as to the east of that village, but in vain. No one in Tarsina remembers seeing traces of a fort, although it must be pointed out that the village was founded after Ross's visit. In the next chapter, I discuss a possible location for this "Hellenic foundation" to the southeast of Tarsina.

Further up the road to Stimanga, and on a low hill to the left side of the old path (elev. 450 masl), one can see conglomerate foundations of an ancient building (DS-11). The area is locally known as Pournari, where the small settlement of Agios Konstantinos is located (συνοικισμός Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου). The remains visible today comprise a single course of the southern wall of the structure, made of large ashlar blocks with traces of mortar and tile fragments in the joints. The visible part of the wall is 5 m long and 1 m thick; the rest (if still preserved) lies beneath a pile of earth from a recent illegal excavation in the interior (Fig. 3.26). The southern wall seems to curve at its eastern end, but until the overburden is removed it is difficult to make out the plan of the building. Around and in the center lie scattered fragments of ancient roof tiles and a few stone slabs, perhaps coming from the paved floor. Pharaklas records the structure as a semicircular tower 5 m in diameter, and believes that it was probably part of

78. See above, pp. 54–56.

79. Ross 1841, pp. 39–46: from Phlious to Stimanga and Ibrahim Bey (modern Krinai).

80. Ross 1840, p. 24.



Figure 3.24. The cutting in the conglomerate rock for the passage of a road at Saitaiika (RS-6), looking north-northeast



Figure 3.25. The old path between Pournari of Stimanga and Tarsina at the "Galari tou Nirou," looking northeast



Figure 3.26. Part of the south wall of the structure at Agios Konstantinos of Stimanga (DS-11); to the left, the bulldozed earth from the illegal excavation inside the building.

a system of fortifications on the hill, and likely associated with the foundations seen by Ross.[81] I could not find any additional signs of fortifications around the hill, which is cultivated with olive trees, and I believe that this towerlike structure functioned independently. Furthermore, the location is too close to Stimanga (about 1,500 m northeast of it) to be "over an hour" by horse from the village, and is definitely not on "one of the last terraces" above the plain, as Ross described it. If its plan is indeed ∪-shaped, it is unusually so, for there are very few, if any, independent towers from the Greek countryside that show one rounded side.[82] Post-Roman modifications, betrayed by sections of masonry made of brick, rubble, and mortar, may account for its unusual plan (Fig. 3.27).

To the south of Stimanga, the summit of Evangelistria is surrounded by a polygonal wall (DS-1), which belongs to the fort of Thyamia and was the boundary between Sikyon and Phlious.[83] This fort, which stood high above the road to Phlious, will be described in detail in the next chapter.

The three paths over Trikaranon (R4, R5, R6)—the two through Ellinochori and the one through Tarsina and Stimanga—converged at Kamari (Καμάρι), on the southern side of Evangelistria, and thereafter followed a common course (R6) toward the Phliasian basin. The low hill to the north of Koutsi, marked as Kastro (Κάστρο) on the military map (elev. 579 masl), rises to the east (left) of the road. Some wall foundations of undressed stones surrounded the hill and were reported by Ross, who assigned them to the fort of Phoibia or Bouphia.[84] I argue in Chapter 4 that this identification is completely unfounded, and that what stood upon the hill of Kastro belonged to Phliasia. The existence, though, of foundations consisting of "unbehauenen Steinblöcken" was confirmed a few years later by Curtius, who stated the impossibility of assigning an ancient name to the small fort.[85] In the early 1920s A. G. Russell could not find the wall foundations around the hill, nor could I distinguish any in the

81. Pharaklas 1971, site 31 (app. II, p. 3).

82. Wiseman (1978, pp. 118–120) found a ∪-shaped tower at Kephalari of Stephani (Corinthia), but Pikoulas (1995, p. 173) doubts the accuracy of the description.

83. See above, p. 22.

84. Ross 1841, p. 40: τὸ παλαιόκαστρον 'σ τὸ Κοῦτσι.

85. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, pp. 480–481.

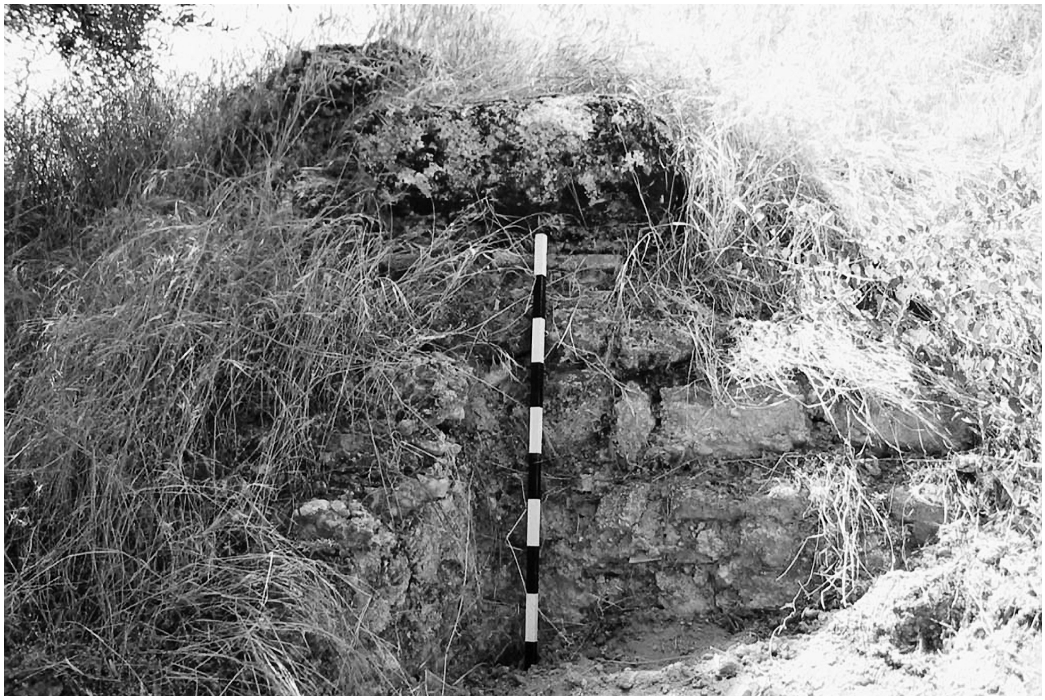


Figure 3.27. Agios Konstantinos of Stimanga (DS-11), detail of later masonry of the structure

midst of the thicket crowning the top today.[86] I was equally unsuccessful in my effort to find potsherds which were reportedly scattered around the area.[87] It must be stressed here that the entire hill has been cultivated with vineyards for the last 20 years, with the exception of a small patch on the summit.

The third main route to Nemea and Phlious followed the course of the Nemea River, in other words, the boundary line between Sikyon and Corinth (R13). Today, the asphalt road to Archaia Nemea (former Herakleio) from the coastal plain, through the village of Soulinari and below the village of Chalki, at first runs above the western bank of the river, as far south as Soulinari, where it crosses to the eastern bank and follows it all the way to Archaia Nemea. This road is modern, and elders from Soulinari and Chalki vividly remember that prior to its construction, in the early part of the 20th century, the old road descended to the coastal plain along the flat riverbed of the Nemea. At the church of Agia Paraskevi (Αγία Παρασκευή or στου Γρηγοράκη, as this specific area is known locally), the old road left the riverbed and turned toward the northwest, in the direction of Tarsina and the coastal plain. Whoever wanted to go toward Kiato or the villages in the western part of the plain would have taken this path and would not have descended further south to Vochaiko (Βοχαικό, formerly Χασὰν-Ἀγᾶ) as one does today.

I once heard a very vivid description of this road from the late Georgia Kitsalia, a native of Chalki. When her relatives brought her from Chalki to Poulitsa for her wedding in 1929, the cart had a difficult time traveling through and getting out of the river valley, as it would often stick in the mud or bump into rough ground; the journey was anything but pleasant for the bride-to-be. The same road was taken by Clarke in the early 19th century on his way to Sikyon after his visit to the Nemean sanctuary:

86. Russell 1924, p. 42. Pharaklas (1973, app. II, p. 1) maintains that the fort on top of Kastro hill was associated with a surrounding settlement dated from the Archaic to the Byzantine period. On the other hand, Peppas (1993, pp. 164–165) reports finding spurs of two concentric walls around the summit, consisting of a few boulder stones and rubble, but the photograph accompanying his description is not very convincing; one wonders whether Peppas saw pieces of the natural rock or real masonry work.

87. This information is provided by Meyer, who took it from the unpublished Tagebücher of Frickenhaus and Müller: see *RE* XXXIX, 1941, col. 279, s.v. Phleius (E. Meyer); and *SAGT* II, p. 104.

> After riding about two hours along the Nemean rivulet, we suddenly quitted its course upon our right, and beheld Sicyon, occupying an elevated situation upon some whitish cliffs. Here we noticed a Tomb and ruins upon our right hand, and immediately descended into the great fertile plain. . . . Soon after entering into this plain, we observed, upon our right hand, a Chapel, containing Ionic capitals, and other marble fragments.[88]

The point where Clarke quit the course of the river was the heights of Grigoraki (Γρηγοράκη) or Plakes Kokkinias (Πλάκες Κοκκινιάς), above the church of Agia Paraskevi, and the chapel with the Ionic capitals is the Church of the Transfiguration below the village of Tarsina. Plakes of Vochaiko (HS-1) was an important and sizable settlement in the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods, but has earlier and later remains as well. In addition, some brickwork can be seen in a low wall in the courtyard of Agia Paraskevi, perhaps suggesting the existence of a much earlier church on this site.

To the south of Soulinari and past Chalki, the road branched off to the west, one branch leading toward Koutsi, the other toward Kastro. The path to Kastro passed by the church of Agios Georgios and is now superseded by a narrow country road (R14b);[89] the path to Koutsi followed the ravine of Dourmiza (Ντούρμιζα), parallel to a recent country road with the same destination (R14a). The latter was busier, as it was used by the residents of Chalki and Soulinari whenever they went to the town of Nea Nemea, and it is possible that this was the case in antiquity as well; in other words, this would have been an expedient way to get to Phlious from the northeast, since the Phliasian acropolis lies just a kilometer and a half to the southwest of Koutsi. Such a route would have also allowed someone coming from Corinth to circumvent Sikyonian territory. As elsewhere in Sikyonia, the soft earth (marl) is unfavorable for the preservation of traces of these ancient roads.

From the junction point described above, a straight southern course along the river would take the traveler to the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea. The modern (asphalt) road runs along the eastern bank of the river, and elders of Archaia Nemea remember a path in place of the asphalt. The road allowed direct access to the panhellenic sanctuary from the Corinthian plain. In addition, it would have been a good route from Sikyonia to Argos for someone who wanted to avoid Phliasian territory.[90] This route must have been more frequented during Mycenaean times than in later periods, for throughout the Archaic and Classical eras minimal exchange is attested between Argos and Sikyon, given that they belonged to different hegemonic camps. As far as our sources indicate, it was only during the tyranny of Euphron (368 B.C.), when the Sikyonians collaborated with the Argives and attacked Phlious, that there arose a need for secret communications between Sikyon and Argos.

Throughout the Classical period, Sikyon, by virtue of its strategic location, became an invaluable ally to the Spartans and the Peloponnesian League. The roads leading from Phlious to the Corinthian Gulf through Sikyonian territory were of extreme importance for the Lakedaimonians and their allies whenever they ventured by land north of the Isthmus. Sparta's long-standing rivalry with Argos would have prohibited its forces from marching across Argive territory, and made the availability of the Sikyonian

88. Clarke 1818, pp. 531–532.

89. Near where this road joins the ridge of the mountain, directly north of Kastro, Ntinos Mpougas, a resident of Chalki, remembers a small rectangular building, above Marakos field (πάνω από του Μαράκου το χωράφι). I was not able to check this information, and people from Koutsi do not remember such a structure there.

90. I thank Stephen Miller for this suggestion.

passes invaluable.[91] Achaia was too far west to be a suitable conduit to the Isthmus from Lakonia, and it was naturally divided from Arkadia by the high mountain range of Kyllene. Pausanias (4.11.8), referring to the aftermath of the First Messenian War (ca. 735–715 B.C.), clearly implies that there were only two passes from the southern Peloponnese to Corinth, namely, through the Argive and the Sikyonian *chora*; both Argos and Sikyon had sided with the Messenians, and the Corinthians, the only Spartan allies, had a difficult time returning home, for both routes crossed enemy territory:

> ἡ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀναχώρησις τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν, Κορινθίοις δὲ ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι χαλεπή· διὰ πολεμίας γὰρ ἐγίνετο ὁμοίως διά τε τῆς Ἀργείας πειρωμένοις καὶ παρὰ Σικυῶνα ἀνασωθῆναι.

As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, it was precisely this geographical location of Sikyonia that determined its political ties to Sparta throughout the Classical period. It would be tedious to recount every occasion that brought the Spartan army to Attica and continental Greece from the late 6th century B.C. to the period of the Macedonian supremacy, but there is a good example involving the events of the first year of the Corinthian War, as described by Xenophon. In 394 B.C., the members of the quadruple alliance, namely, the Athenians, Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives, had gathered their forces in Corinth with the intention of waging war against Sparta. At their council, they decided to march toward Lakonia so that the Spartans would not have the opportunity to grow stronger by adding allied contingents along their northward advance. But while the members of the *symmachia* were still negotiating the leadership and tactics of their march, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινέας ἐξῇσαν τὴν ἀμφίαλον (*Hell.* 4.2.13). Xenophon seems to describe the Spartan itinerary, albeit briefly, in its correct geographical order: Aristodemos, marching north from Sparta, proceeded through Tegea and Mantineia.[92] In the next sentence, Xenophon specifies that the two armies

91. This is not the place to describe at length the long-standing enmity between Sparta and Argos, which is attested from the 7th to the 4th century B.C.

92. The main clause in Xenophon's passage (ἐξῇσαν τὴν ἀμφίαλον) has caused much debate as to its meaning and its correct transmission: some commentators have understood an implied ὁδόν going with ἀμφίαλον and depending on the verb as cognate accusative. LSJ adopted their view, but both Grote and Pritchett reject it (*SAGT* II, pp. 79–80). The adjective ἀμφίαλον does not occur anywhere else in prose but is exclusively poetic, where it is taken to mean "sea-girt." Taken literally, it defines something surrounded by two seas, and, lacking any other indication, this reading must be preferred. If so, then an ἀμφίαλος ὁδός has no place in the heart of Arkadia. (The translation offered by Brownson in the Loeb edition, "[the Lakedaimonians and their allies] were on their outward march, taking the road along the sea-shore," is unacceptable.) I am in favor of two possibilities, both involving an emendation of the text: either read ἀμφὶ Ἀλέαν, or add an ἐπὶ in front of ἀμφίαλον. The first emendation was suggested by Herbst, the latter by Breitenbach (see *SAGT* II, p. 80, and *SAGT* VI, p. 3, n. 14). Pritchett is inclined toward the former suggestion, as is Pikoulas (1995, p. 91). Pikoulas was unable to locate traces of a straight road from Mantineia to Alea, and tends to believe that the road from Mantineia to Nemea, taken by Agis in 418 and probably by the Lakedaimonians in 394, went around the northwest slope of Skiathis mountain. In either case, I would suggest supplying not ὁδόν but χώραν with τὴν ἀμφίαλον. The former emendation of Ἀλέαν has the merit of being close to the manuscript, and the implied word would be a cognate accusative (rare, but it does occur in prose, e.g., in Herodotos 7.29): the Lakedaimonians came out in the area around Alea, which is to the north of Mantineia. The latter emendation supposes the omission of a preposition (not a rare occurrence), and the verb used intransitively to mean "march out." The ἀμφίαλος (presumably χώρα or even πόλις) cannot be any other than the area surrounding Corinth, or even just the city itself, as this is the only polity surrounded by two seas (the Corinthian and the Saronic gulfs). In this case, I would translate the phrase as "marched out against Corinth(ia)," the base of operations of the enemy.

reached their destination, the former at Sikyon, the latter at Nemea, at the same time: καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι (*Hell.* 4.2.14). Thus, they seem to have taken parallel routes, but in the opposite direction. The two armies missed each other, contrary to the expectation of the Confederates, who wanted to face the enemy as close to Lakonia as possible. The Spartans and their allies deliberately took a different route in order to reach Sikyon safely, where presumably more forces were gathered, and to establish it as their base. The route taken by the Confederates can now be easily understood, the majority of it following the main road from Corinth to Sparta (i.e., the Tretos): the Confederates marched by way of Agia Marina, west of Penteskouphi, down the Longopotamos to Spathovouni, through the valley of ancient Kleonai to Rachi Mantzorou, and over the saddle of Evangelistria into the valley of Nemea.[93]

The route followed by the Lakedaimonians is not so clear. We know the starting and the ending points, namely, Mantineia and Sikyon, but Xenophon does not say how the Spartans found themselves ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι. Since Aristodemos would have tried to avoid running into the Confederates along his march, there are three possible routes he could have chosen: through Stymphalos and the modern village of Souli, through Phlious and along the Asopos valley (the εὐθεία ὁδός), or along the Trikaranon ridge.[94] Timing was a serious consideration, and it is conceivable that the Spartans intended to capture Corinth, deprived as it was of the main part of its military forces and willing to adhere to their cause. Accordingly, it is likely that they chose the "direct road" along the Asopos (Fig. 3.28). Upon arriving at Sikyon, the Spartans and their allies rushed toward the Corinthia, invading the enemy territory by Epieikia. The rival forces caught up with them though, and started harassing them from the heights to the south of the plain (and to the right of the advancing Spartan army):

> ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν οἱ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων.[95]

In other words, the Confederates had marched in great haste from Nemea to the coastal plain in order to catch up with the Spartans and stop their advance to Corinth. Pritchett rightly suggested that it was the road along the Nemea River that was taken by the Confederates at that time.[96] Before reaching the plain, their army quit the river valley and followed a higher route, parallel and to the east of the Nemea, in order to descend upon the invaders. As we have seen already, they succeeded in checking the march of their adversaries, eventually drawing them to battle in front of the Longopotamos River.

A road connecting Argos to Sikyon appears on the Peutinger Table (Fig. 3.6). The line of the road is drawn through the word Nemea, suggesting that the latter was a station between the two cities.[97] However, as Meyer and Pritchett have noticed, Nemea is inscribed at the end of a line drawn from Kleonai, which means that there was a road connecting the two.[98] In order to represent a road from Argos to Sikyon, the artist had to draw his line through the word Nemea. Therefore, it is not certain whether

93. The direct route from Kleonai to Nemea branched off the main road (of Tretos); for its full description, see Pikoulas 1995, p. 276. For the Tretos, see *SAGT* II, pp. 76–77, and now Pikoulas 1995, pp. 273–275.

94. On the roads from Stymphalos to Sikyon, see below, pp. 136–148. It is interesting to note here that one of the several emendations of τὴν ἀμφίαλον was Στυμφαλίαν (*SAGT* II, p. 80). If we follow this suggestion, then we must assume that the Spartans advanced from Mantineia to Sikyon via Stymphalos.

95. Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.14.

96. *SAGT* II, p. 77.

97. Accordingly, the section from Nemea to Sikyon is represented as Strecke 84a in Miller's commentary (1916, p. 566, fig. 180).

98. *RE* XVI, 1935, col. 2315, s.v. Nemea (E. Meyer); *SAGT* III, p. 244.

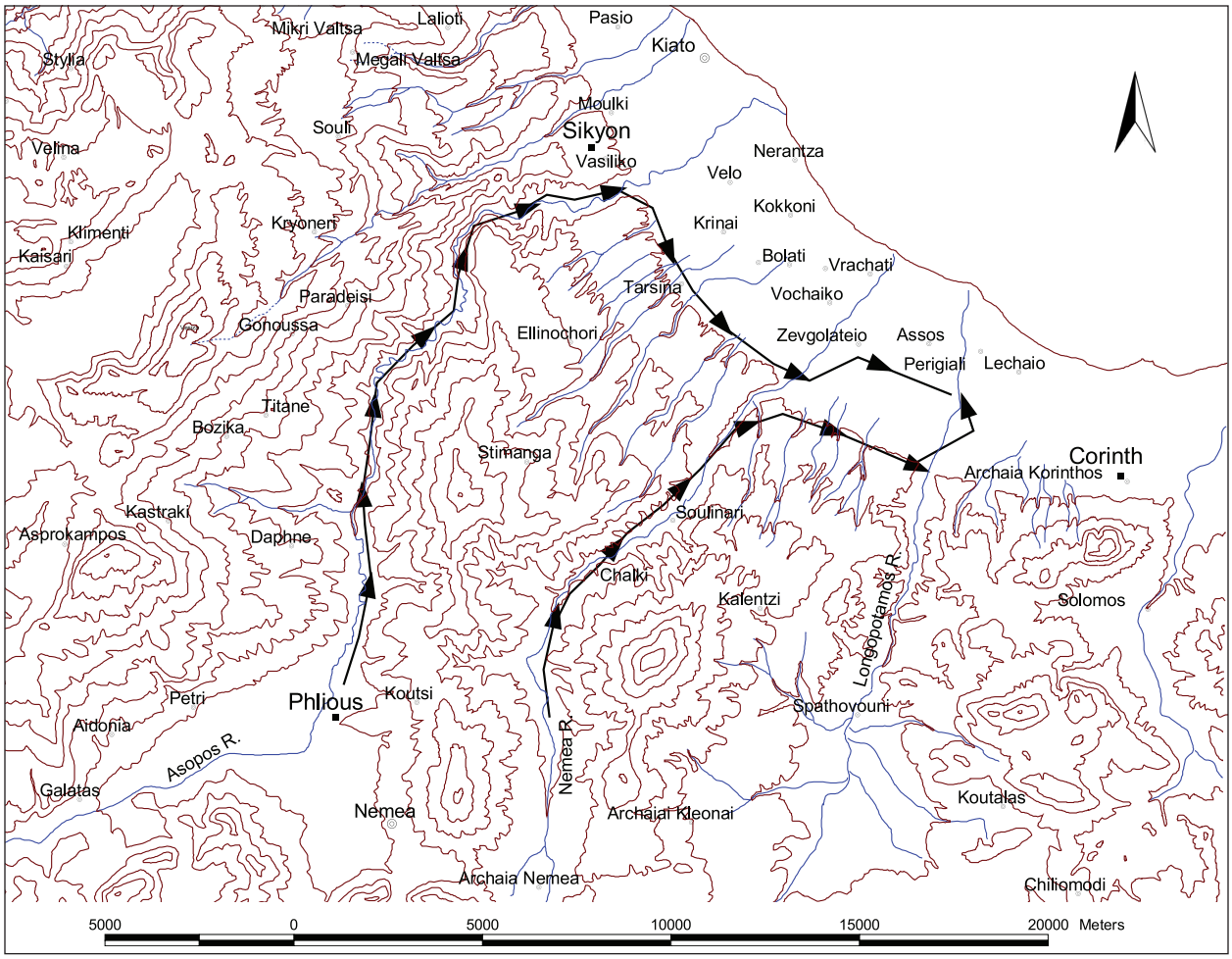


Figure 3.28. Reconstructed army movements before the battle of 394 B.C. in the Corinthian plain; the left line shows the movements of the Spartans and their allies, the right line those of the Confederates.

Nemea was also a station between Sikyon and Argos. If it was a post, then the *cursus publicus* must have taken the road along the Nemea River; if not, then the represented road could have been the εὐθεία ὁδός, following the course of the Asopos River.[99]

In an attempt to provide an answer to this question, it is worth examining what we know about roads from Argos to Nemea and Phlious. One could get from Argos to Nemea by taking the major road to Corinth (the Tretos), and, just past the straights of Dervenakia, turning off to the northwest (through Chani Anesti) in the direction of the Nemean valley. On the other hand, access to Phlious from Argos was possible by at least three roads, and the most important and shortest of the three was the easternmost, passing north of the village of Phichtia to the areas of Limiko, Tourkovrysi, and Xerokampos.[100] It is obvious that the efficiency of the imperial post depended a great deal upon its expediency, which itself depended upon the roads used: had the *cursus* passed by Phlious, the shortest and easiest of the three roads to this city must have been the natural choice. The XII miles given in the *Tabula* for the stretch from Phlious or Nemea to Sikyon seems to favor the route along the Asopos over that along the Nemea. The former distance (from Phlious to Sikyon) is slightly more than

99. The dilemma was first presented by Pritchett in *SAGT* III, p. 249.

100. See Pikoulas 1995, pp. 64–73.

18 km, the latter (from Nemea to Sikyon) ca. 23 km, and XII Roman miles correspond to almost 18 km.[101] Therefore, I would agree with Pikoulas that the road from Argos to Sikyon marked on the *Tabula* passed by Phlious and followed the Asopos valley.[102] Yet, there is one more difficulty to address here: the *Tabula* shows the line of the road starting from Argos and ending in Sikyon. The road, however, as Pikoulas and others have traced it, falls at the beginning of the road to Tretos, and takes a different course (to the northwest) past Phichtia. There are two possibilities: either there was a road to Phlious completely independent of the Tretos that has yet to be found, or else the *Tabula* did not represent the fusion of the two lines from Argos to Phichtia. Surveys in the area have failed to discover traces of a direct road to Phlious, especially one intended for wheeled traffic.[103] On the other hand, one could also account for the inconsistency by the notorious lack of geographical precision in the *Tabula,* or the desire of the artist to differentiate the two itineraries.[104]

Road to Titane

A road line connecting the Sikyonian plateau to the Bozikochoria, the villages built along the eastern slope of the Vesiza range, can be easily recognized (R7). The present country road, which more or less follows the course of an earlier path, leaves the western side of the plateau and takes a southwestern direction toward the village of Paradeisi. Between Xerokastelli and the plateau, and on the left (east) side of the road, a cist grave has been recently (and illegally) dug, which can be dated by the pottery scattered around it to the Roman period (SP-17; Fig. 3.29). According to locals there are more graves to be found in the vicinity, as was often the case along roads leading from ancient towns. From this area to Sesi (Σέσι), the road goes through two narrow ridges, precipitous on both their north (toward the Helisson) and south (toward the Asopos) sides, as it pivots around Xerokastelli (Fig. 3.30).

Recent opening of a road giving access to a field along the eastern side of the first ridge (the one closer to the Sikyonian plateau) has exposed a segment of an elaborate terracing system oriented southwest–northeast (RS-24). The artificial terracing consists of at least two parallel retaining walls made of conglomerate stones (Fig. 3.31). The visible segment of the upper wall, which is closer to the actual ancient road surface, is 1.30 m long and 1.26 m high (Fig. 3.32). Four courses of conglomerate ashlar blocks are preserved, the lowest barely visible; the upper courses (from bottom to top) measure 0.55, 0.44, and 0.33 m in height. The lower wall, made of orthostate blocks projecting ca. 1.6 m from the upper wall, acted as a buttress. Only one row of orthostate blocks is visible, 0.64 m high and 0.72 m wide, but another fallen orthostate block nearby measures 0.90 (H.) × 0.86 (W.) × 0.30 m (Th.), which probably represents the typical dimensions of the blocks of this row. Almost certainly there was a similar arrangement, no longer visible, along the west side of the ridge. We can also be fairly confident that the second ridge (toward Xerokastelli) was artificially supported as well, or else the road surface would have collapsed due to the erosion of the marl.

101. One Roman mile equals 1,482 m.

102. Pikoulas 1995, pp. 321–322.

103. Yet, it must have been a substantial road: for a good example of a Peloponnesian road marked in the *Tabula,* see Pikoulas 1984.

104. See Chevallier 1976, p. 29: "The fact is, the road routes, themselves, are looked upon as being more or less rectilinear and are drawn independently of each other." The X miles marked above the road from Nemea to Argos (but curiously not addressed by Miller or Pritchett) either could refer to a section of this road, or else represents a mistake, for even a straight line between these two sites exceeds 20 km in length; for mistakes in numerals and names in Peutinger's table, see *SAGT* III, pp. 202–203, and Pikoulas 1995, p. 321.



Figure 3.29. A cist grave at Ladas (SP-17) alongside the road from Sikyon to Titane



Figure 3.30. The two narrow sections of the road to Titane (indicated with arrows), between Xerokastelli (in the foreground) and the Sikyonian plateau (in the background), looking east

Sections of the old path can still be seen between the switchbacks of the modern road (to the southwest of Xerokastelli), and for a longer distance to the southwest of Sesi where the path runs parallel and to the east of the road (RS-7; Fig. 3.33). In places its width is reduced to less than a meter because of the collapse of the soft conglomerate road bed. I walked this section a number of times, once in the company of Ronald Stroud, but we could not find any traces of wheel-ruts or prominent cuttings (κατατομαί) on the sides for the passing of a road. I did observe, however, a terrace wall in one place, constructed of large irregular stone blocks (Fig. 3.34). Further to the southwest, the conglomerate gives way to marl, which makes



Figure 3.31. The artificial terracing of the ancient road to Titane near Xerokastelli (RS-24), directly southwest of the Sikyonian plateau

Figure 3.32 *(below)*. Detail of the upper retaining wall near Xerokastelli (RS-24) showing four courses of conglomerate blocks



Figure 3.33 *(opposite, left)*. The old path connecting Vasiliko with the Bozikochoria at Sesi (RS-7), looking southwest; to the left, the characteristic pointed hill of Dortori.

Figure 3.34 *(opposite, right)*. Short section of the terrace wall along the path at Sesi (RS-7)

the preservation of possible ancient road traces even more unlikely. The path continues around the northern side of Speliza (Σπέλιζα), at which point its line diverges from the country road and continues through the village of Paradeisi, and from there to Gonoussa, running lower than the modern (asphalt) road. Directly north of Paradeisi, and to the east of the path, abundant water still gushes out of an early modern fountain under a gigantic plane tree, which would have offered to the traveler then, as it does today, a welcoming rest from his tiring journey.[105]

From Gonoussa to Titane, the line of the old path can still be made out in a few places, characterized by a whitish marly bed that becomes muddy in rainy seasons (Fig. 3.35).[106] As it rounds the eastern slope of the hill of Agios Tryphon, the exposed hard conglomerate bedrock shows clear traces of wheel-ruts, first observed by Curtius and drawn on Meyer's plan (see

105. The fountain is also mentioned by Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500).

106. I walked from Paradeisi to Titane with Demetrios Triantaphyllou, an elderly resident of Gonoussa, who pointed out to me the course of the old path.

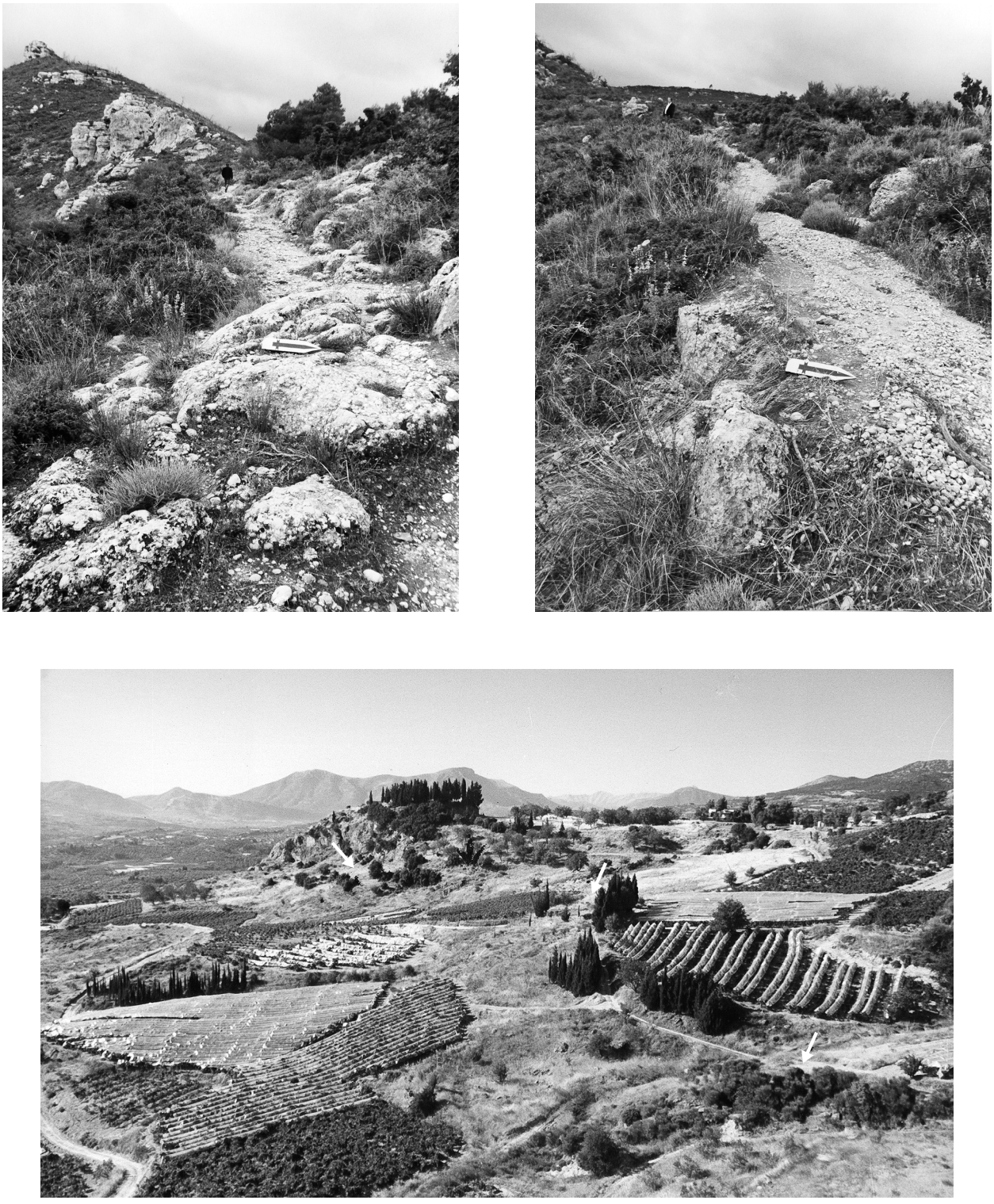


Figure 3.35. The old path (indicated with arrows) from Gonoussa to Titane, looking south; the road at the lower left corner of the picture is recent.



Figure 3.36. Double wheel-ruts at Titane, corresponding to one of the wagon's wheels, looking southeast

below, Fig. 6.7).[107] Curtius had come to Titane from Sikyon by taking the old path through Xerokastelli and Paradeisi, as Ross had done a decade earlier.[108] Curtius vividly describes the narrow defile through Xerokastelli, as well as the clay road bed, full of cracks in summertime and very slippery during the rainy season:

> Zwischen den beiden Flussthälern [of Asopos and Helisson] ragt eine zerrissene, selstam geformte Bergmasse empor [Xerokastelli] . . . ; ein Hohlweg führt hindurch; . . . In zwei Stunden erreicht man auf Lehmwegen, die in trockener Jahreszeit mit tiefen Spalten durchfurcht, aber bei Regenwetter schlüpfrig und unwegsam sind, das Dorf Paradisi. . . . Unter dem östlichen Absturze ziehen sich hart um den runden Fuss des Tryphonhügels die eingebauenen Geleise einer alten Fahrstrasse auf rauhem Felsboden.[109]

I could follow the ancient road for a total distance of 57 m, along which wheel-ruts are preserved in four places, in approximate lengths (from northeast to southwest) of 3 m, 8 m, 2 m, and 3 m (Figs. 3.36–3.39). Only two of these sections (the second and third) preserve both wheel-ruts, each with a gauge of 1.45 m. The first section features double ruts for the inner wheel of the wagon (on the side toward the hill), which do not seem to continue in the other sections (Fig. 3.36).[110] Most likely, the innermost of the two ruts corresponds to a turnout at this point for the passing of a wagon coming in the opposite direction. There are possible hints of the presence of turnouts along roads in the ancient sources, but physical examples are so far rare.[111] The depth of the ruts varies between 0.03 to 0.30 m according to the terrain, and their ∪-shaped section has an average width of 0.10 m. A few meters to the north of the double grooves, the (eastern) terrace wall of the road is visible. I would suggest that, from this point on, the ancient road continued its northwestern direction toward the Sikyonian plateau, following the line of the old path through Paradeisi and Xerokastelli. Furthermore, I believe, as I have argued elsewhere, that the construction of this road relates to the foundation of the sanctuary of Titane, and that its

107. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 501; Meyer 1939, plan I ("Wagengeleise").

108. Ross 1841, pp. 47–51.

109. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, pp. 500–501.

110. The ruts corresponding to the outer wheel of the wagon (on the side toward the Asopos) are not preserved.

111. See Despotopoulos 1940, pp. 333–334; Pikoulas 1995, pp. 23–24. Pikoulas has yet to encounter an example of an ancient turnout in the countryside, and points out that almost all examples cited by Despotopoulos are urban.



Figure 3.37. Parallel, U-shaped grooves of the ancient road at Titane, looking northeast



Figure 3.38. Wheel-ruts at Titane, looking northeast; in the background is the pointed hill of Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi.

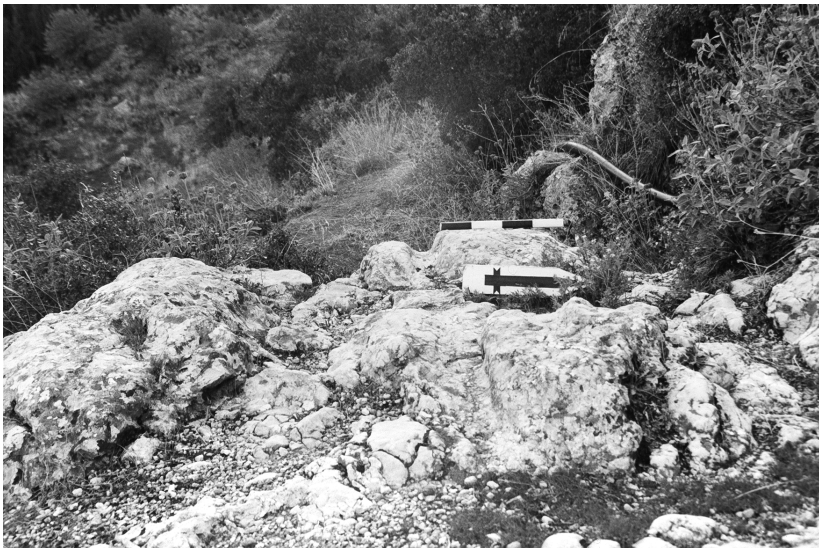


Figure 3.39. The southernmost wheel-rut at the foot of the hill of Agios Tryphon, looking west, showing that the road curved to the west, toward the village

primary purpose was to connect the acropolis of the early city to its most important extraurban sanctuary.[112]

From Titane going in the opposite direction, the road curves around the hill of Agios Tryphon, and the last section of wheel-ruts has a western direction, toward the village (Fig. 3.39). Indeed, the inhabitants remember seeing wheel-ruts (now covered with cement) near the church of the village, and at the threshing floor of Roumpekas (στου Ρουμπέκα τ' αλώνι), both to the southwest of the hill. The southwestern direction of the ancient road was imposed by the need to cross the ravines on the eastern slopes of Vesiza. From that point on, the road must have gone below the village of Bozika, and obliquely descended to the Asopos valley, in the direction of Phlious—at least, this is how people from Titane and Gonoussa communicated with Agios Georgios (Nea Nemea) in the era before automobiles. The old path can now hardly be recognized in the landscape, because the surrounding fields have gradually encroached upon it. Rangabé, who followed it in the early 1850s, spent two and a half hours getting from Titane to Phlious because of the numerous ravines impeding his march. He walked down to the course of the Asopos and crossed to the other (eastern) side shortly before arriving at the acropolis of Phlious:

> . . . la marche est entravée par de nombreux ravins dont les pentes sont très-abruptes, quoique couvertes d'arbousiers et de myrtes. Deux heures et un quart après avoir quitté Voïvoda, nous descendîmes de la vallée de l'Asopos au bord de la rivière même, qui, coulant à travers une plaine argileuse, s'y est creusée un lit profond, et nous laissâmes, à notre droite, une église entièrement construite de matériaux antiques. . . . De l'Asopos, nous nous dirigeâmes vers la haute montagne qui borde la plaine à l'orient, et, un quart d'heures après, nous atteignîmes une colline assez élevée. . . .[113]

Pausanias gives the distance between Titane and Phlious as more or less 40 stadia (some 7.2 km), which is certainly an underestimation, since the approximate distance of the course described above comes to 10 km, and in a straight line the two places are still 9 km apart.[114] The likelihood that Pausanias himself did not take this road may account for the inaccuracy of his estimation, since from Titane he mentions returning to Sikyon.[115]

The roads from Phlious and Sikyon were not the only wagon roads to Titane in antiquity. I found traces of two more *hamaxitoi,* one approaching the sanctuary from the northwest and the second from the southwest. The former branched off the road from Sikyon to Stymphalos, and I present it below, in connection with that road. The latter led from Titane to Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (R8). The only evidence for its existence was shown to me on the eastern slopes of Spartia (Σπαρτιά), to the west of Bozika (RS-8).[116] The specific area is locally known as Gephyraki (Γεφυράκι), through which a path descended from Agia Trias to Bozika and Titane (Fig. 3.40). A single wheel-rut is visible along the course of the old path, which has now been abandoned for several decades (Fig. 3.41). The visible section (ca. 0.4 m) of the low-lying bedrock is characteristically carved at a blunt angle so as to create an oblique side (0.2 m high) and a flat bottom (0.12 m wide) for the passage of the wheel. The ancient *hamaxitos* followed

112. Lolos 2005, p. 292–298.

113. Rangabé 1857, p. 410.

114. Paus. 2.12.3: καὶ Τιτάνης μὲν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἡ πόλις [Phlious], ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδός ἐστιν εὐθεῖα.

115. On the contrary, Heberdey (1894, pp. 41–42) believes that Pausanias did continue to Phlious from Titane, and then passed by Titane again in order to go back to Sikyon. His argument is based on the very fact that the periegete mentions the distance of the road from Titane to Phlious. I am not convinced by Heberdey's argument: I see no reason for Pausanias to have returned to Sikyon from Phlious by way of Titane instead of taking the more direct road.

116. The single wheel-rut at this spot was accidentally discovered by Nikos Mikos and Georgios Stasinopoulos, both residents of Bozika, while they were hunting.

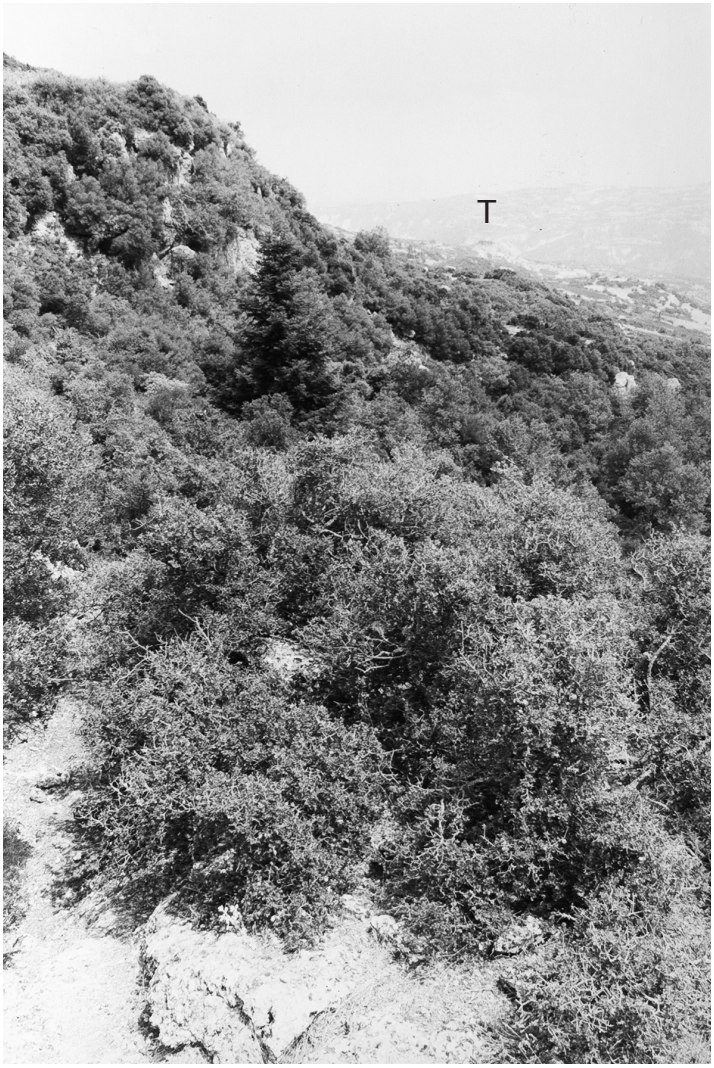


Figure 3.40. The now-overgrown path (R8) leading from Gephyraki to Titane (T), looking east-northeast



Figure 3.41. Wheel-rut at Gephyraki (RS-8), looking southwest; note the boulder on the left, which has obviously collapsed from above since antiquity.

a west-southwest to east-northeast direction. That the rut was for the right wheel of a wagon ascending the slope (i.e., traveling toward Kokkinovrachos) can be deduced by the inclination inward of the side carving of the bedrock. Based on the present configuration of the path, and had this one short section of the wheel-rut not been visible, one would have excluded the possibility that an ancient *hamaxitos* went through here. Indeed, huge blocks have fallen on the road bed since antiquity, and the actual width of the path directly in front of the wheel-rut is barely a meter. The two hunters who showed me the traces knew of a second spot where one rut is visible, lower down, but we could not find it because of the vegetation.

Upon ascending to Agia Trias, the road must have continued west passing to the north of Kokkinovrachos toward Stavrodromi (Σταυροδρόμι), parallel and to the north of a modern country road. I looked for possible ancient traces along the old path, but did not find any. Stavrodromi, meaning "crossroads," took its name from the convergence of five roads: ours coming from Bozika, another coming from Kastraki (both to the east), a third from Psari (to the south), one more from Kephalari (to the west), and the fifth from the *kampos* of Kaisari (to the north). It is possible that the *hamaxitos* from Titane continued to Stymphalos, either through the area of Psari or via the hill of Kastro (Κάστρο), and represented a secondary route to the Arkadian town.[117] Its main purpose, however, must have been to connect two important border forts of Sikyonia, Titane and Kokkinovrachos.

ROADS TO STYMPHALOS AND THE SOUTHWEST

From Demetrios Poliorketes' refounded Sikyon, two paths descended to the Helisson River in a western direction, both still visible today: one passes between the ancient stadium and the theater (through Gate 6), the other to the north of the stadium (through Gate 7) (Map 6).[118] In recent decades, these paths have been widened and deepened by mechanical means (Fig. 3.42). The pass between the theater and the stadium is shown on the map of the Expédition scientifique de Morée, and labeled "chemin de Vasilika au Lac Stymphale." The same pass is described by Curtius as running between the baths and the theater and continuing through the cavity of the stadium:

> der heutigen Weg von Basiliká nach Stymphalos führt zwischen den Ziegelruinen und dem Theater hindurch und durch die Höhlung der alten Rennbahn auf die höhere Fläche.[119]

Perhaps helpful for determining which of the two paths better fits the ancient route to Stymphalos are the traces of an ancient bridge that I discovered on the banks of the Helisson River (RS-9). The remains are located some 200 m to the south of the church of Panagia of Moulki (Παναγία του Μουλκιού), and less than 100 m to the south of a modern bridge. Only one abutment of the bridge is still standing, against the western bank of the river, facing east-southeast (Figs. 3.43–3.45). The maximum preserved height of the bridge is 4.9 m, its width 3.15 m, and the visible parts of its short sides measure 2 m (northern) and 3.4 m (southern).

117. For the section between Stavrodromi and Kephalari through Kastro, see below, pp. 167–169.

118. In recent years bulldozers have opened more roads to the river.

119. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, pp. 489–490.



Figure 3.42. The path leaving the Sikyonian plateau between the stadium and the theater and descending to the Helisson River, looking west



Figure 3.43. Ancient bridge over the Helisson River (RS-9), looking west



Figure 3.44. Helisson bridge (RS-9): the northern and eastern sides of the abutment



Figure 3.45. The upper surface of the Helisson bridge (RS-9); in the foreground, the circular basin.

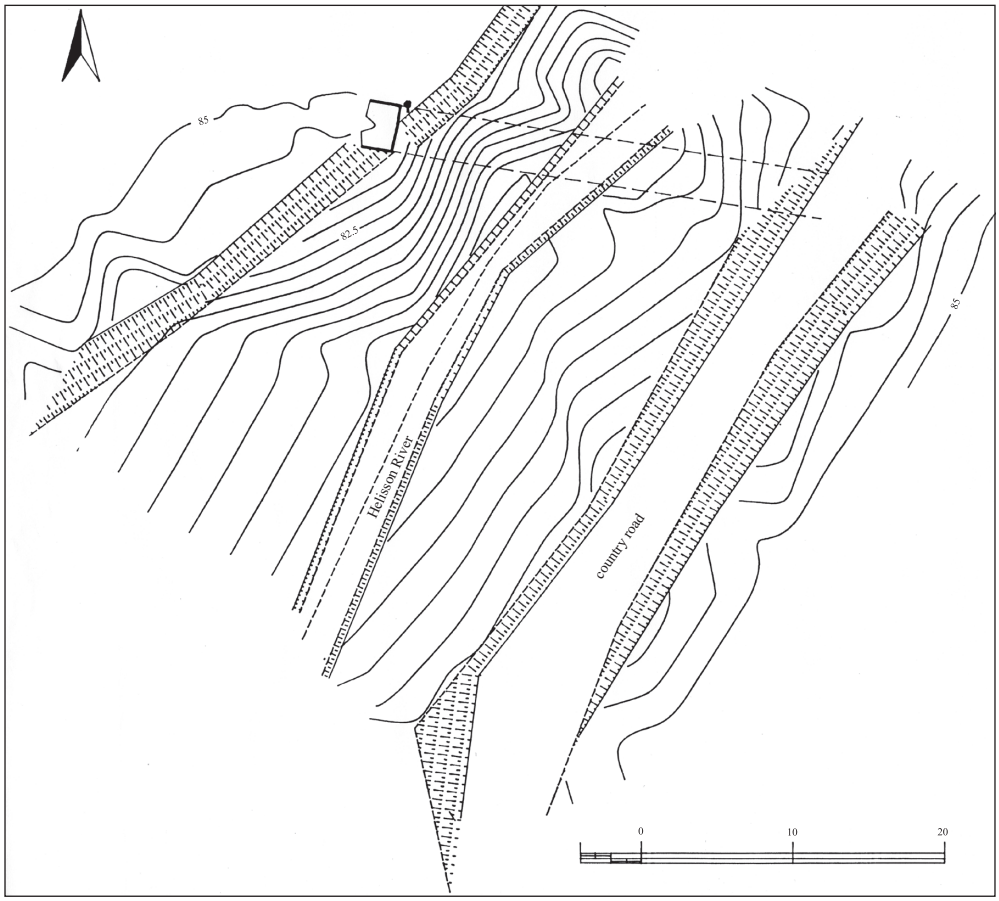


Figure 3.46. Plan of the Helisson bridge (RS-9)

The masonry is isodomic and consists of nine courses of ashlar blocks of compact gray conglomerate, ca. 1 × 0.7 m and 0.5 m in height. The ashlar courses are separated by mortar layers, averaging 0.05 m in thickness. The mortar contains small and large pebbles mixed with lime and a few tiles. The width of the structure is entirely preserved, but it is unclear whether the height is original or not. The flat surface of the abutment shows that the ashlar blocks hide a core of rubble and earth, and perhaps mortar.[120] There is no sign that it ever carried an arch, and it is doubtful that it supported more ashlar courses.[121]

We surveyed the bridge and the riverbed electronically in December 1997 (Fig. 3.46). According to our plan, based on 66 measurements, the original length of the bridge must have been about 27 m. Spanning such a distance would have required the erection of at least two, possibly more, middle piers joined by planking.[122] The date of the bridge is very difficult to establish, and the ashlar masonry alone does not allow us to assign it to

120. I found scattered chunks of mortar inside the bridge, but I am not sure whether they come from its filling or from the round basin that was built on top when the bridge went out of use.

121. There are a few cuttings on the upper surface of the stones, but they do not look like dowel holes to me.

122. For an example of this technique, see the reconstruction of a bridge in Assos of the Troad in Galliazzo 1995, vol. 1, p. 33, fig. 18.



Figure 3.47. Detail of the structure below the abutment of the Helisson bridge showing one of the reused blocks

Figure 3.48 ***(opposite, top)*****. The course of the old path at Valathra (R9a, indicated with arrows) as it ascends from the Helisson River valley toward Chani, looking south**

Figure 3.49 ***(opposite, bottom)*****. Panagiotis Tsolakos (center) standing on the bed of the old path (R9a) near Chani, looking east**

the pre-Roman rather than to the Roman period.[123] The type of mortar set between the stones indicates that the abutment was built or perhaps rebuilt some time in the Roman period. When the bridge collapsed, a circular basin was built into the upper surface of the abutment, but the purpose of such an arrangement escapes me. Mortar is absent from a low structure that lies in front of the bridge, built on a natural boulder of the Helisson bank. Within its masonry, I distinguished at least two reused blocks belonging to a Doric triglyph and geison. The structure has the same orientation as the bridge and most likely represents an earlier bridge on the same spot (Fig. 3.47). The reuse of Doric fragments, also apparent in the walls of the acropolis, indicates that this bridge probably dates from the early 3rd century B.C., soon after Demetrios refounded the city on the site of the Classical acropolis.[124]

In relation to the path descending from above the theater to the river, the bridge is located to the northwest, and due northeast from the point where the path joins the river valley. On the contrary, those taking the path below the theater would have the bridge on their west, and upon descending to the valley they would have to continue some 400 m along the eastern bank of the river in order to cross it. Until the Second World War, two old paths led toward Stymphalos from this point. One went through the area of Valathra (Βαλάθρα), below (to the south of) the village of Souli, and past the church of Agios Nikolaos of Rakitiza (Ρακίτιζα), to the saddle between Philiantra (Φιλιάντρα) and Thekriza (Θέκριζα) (R9a; Fig. 3.48).[125] The few traces of the old path now visible are characterized by the soft,

123. Cf. the Rasina bridge of Xerokampi near Sparta, originally thought to be Classical, then Hellenistic, and now Early Roman (Höper 1981; Bougia 1996, pp. 233–237); the Mavrozoumaina bridge in Messenia, variously dated between the 4th century B.C. and the Roman period (Bougia 1996, pp. 238–245); the Karystos bridge, which could be either of Hellenistic or Roman date (Bougia 1996, pp. 255–257); or the bridge of Eleutherna in Crete, dated by various experts anytime from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (Briegleb 1971, p. 100; Bougia 1996, pp. 267–271).

124. On the Hellenistic walls of the city, see below, pp. 191–212.

125. The detailed course of this path from Helisson to the plain of Kaisari is as follows: boundary line of Souli and Kryoneri (δημοσιά), Γεωργοπούλου, Μελίστρα, Σπηλιά, Μπακατσέλι (all four in the general area of Valathra), Ρακίτιζα, Λάζι, Τζουμπαβάρδα (this last is a small but conspicuous hill to the east of Thekriza).





clay earth that predominates in the area and that makes an easy ride all but impossible. Much like the road to Titane, the road bed at Valathra cracks in the heat of the summer and becomes muddy when it rains; as might be expected, no traces of an ancient road are preserved here, but further up, as the road comes out to the area between the plain of Kaisari and Souli, the road bed is easily distinguishable at the conglomerate northern foot of Philiantra. The area is known as Chani (Χάνι), and the road bed today is covered with prickly oaks and weeds, while a sheepfold (η στρούγκα του Τόλη) set in the middle prohibited me from examining it thoroughly (Fig. 3.49). Locals from Kryoneri, though, remember well the distinctive road bed here, some 4 m wide, but not any wheel-ruts.[126]

126. I particularly benefited from the guidance of Panagiotis Tsolakos, a farmer from Kryoneri.

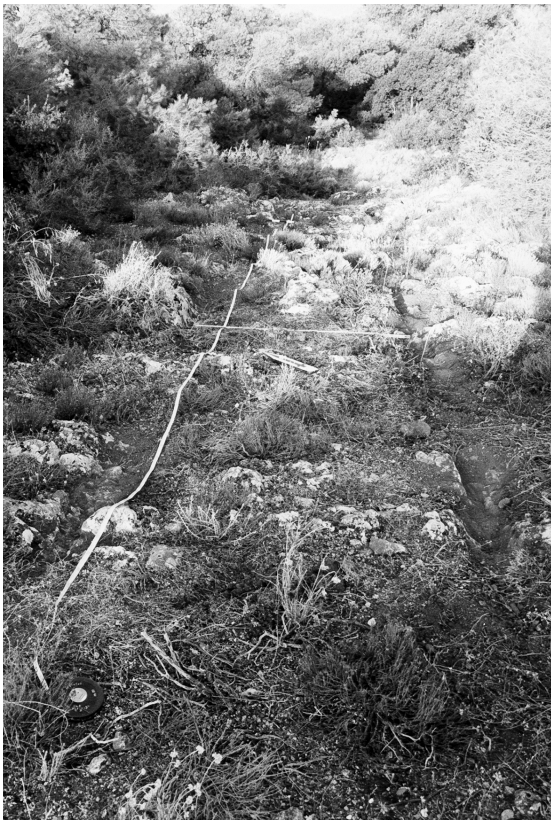




Figure 3.50 *(left)*. **Wheel-ruts near Agios Georgios of Souli (RS-10), looking northeast**

Figure 3.51 *(right)*. **Agios Georgios of Souli (RS-10): detail of chiseled wheel-rut (the measuring tape parallels its line)**

The second path from the Helisson followed a different course, gradually ascending to Tsakriza, either around its eastern slope or straight up the eastern slope by Prophetes Elias (Πρφ. Ηλίας). From this point, the path assumed a western direction toward Gourgourati (Γουργουράτη) and Elliniko (Ελληνικό), passing to the north of Agios Konstantinos (northeast of Souli), and close to the source of the *rema* of Kyrillou (R9b). The path is now impassable, save for a few sections that were incorporated into other country roads. The itinerary was described to me by Vasileios Mytas, former secretary of the community of Souli, who in addition pointed out to me in the fields the precise course of the old path. During one of my journeys, I observed the wheel-ruts of an ancient road, running parallel to the old path, near the church of Agios Georgios (Αγιος Γεώργιος) of Souli (elev. 365 masl) (RS-10; Figs. 3.50, 3.51). The ruts are fragmentarily preserved for several meters on the exposed conglomerate, and follow a northeast–southwest direction alongside the Gourgourati ravine. Their ∪-shaped section, 0.12 m wide and 0.20 m in maximum depth, is clearly shown in four places. In addition, one of these places shows a double groove, one bearing the imprint of the wagon's wheel (Fig. 3.52).[127] The gauge was found to be 1.44 m. Judging from the depth of the grooves and their vertical sides, I believe that they were intentionally carved, and not a result of wear and tear. The discovery of the wheel-ruts proves that an ancient road followed the line of the old path. From Tsakriza to Sikyon, the road could have either descended to the Helisson valley along the eastern slopes of Tsakriza, as the path did, or continued to the northeast, through Arkouda, and crossed

127. I thank Yannis Pikoulas for pointing this out to me.



Figure 3.52. Detail of the double wheel-rut near Agios Georgios (RS-10) showing the preserved imprint of the wagon's wheel

the Helisson at a lower spot. In fact, both possibilities may be true, the former corresponding to a road to the Hellenistic city, the latter to a road to the Classical city in the plain. The gradient of the road from Tsakriza to Elliniko, a distance of approximately 4 km, is 4.2%.[128]

At Elliniko, near the church of Agios Georgios of Megali Valtsa, the road split in two: one branch led to the southwest toward the *kampos* of Kaisari, and the other continued west, passing above Megali Valtsa, toward the Sythas River (R11). At the junction point, and a little higher than road level, stand the remains of a small fort, first reported by Andreas Skias and described at length by Ernst Meyer (DS-5). I discuss the remains, together with the rest of the defensive installations of Sikyonia, in the next chapter. The line of the old path to the *kampos* of Kaisari is the same as that of a country road that runs through vineyards today (Fig. 3.53). The path ascended to the Chani, between Thekriza and Philiantra, and is still visible at Skala (Σκάλα) of Souli, between the zigzags of the asphalt road to Stymphalos (RS-11; Fig. 3.54). The present conglomerate surface of the path is wide enough to have been suitable for carts, but I did not find any traces of wheel-ruts here, nor did my fellow travelers, Ronald Stroud and Yannis Pikoulas. Some of these traces could have eroded away over the centuries, together with chunks of the conglomerate road bed, and a few may still be buried under the rubble thrown onto the path during construction of the asphalt road. The gradient of the section from Elliniko to Chani is steep, 8.4%, the last segment (between the zigzags) being by far the steepest, at close to 20%.[129]

At Chani, which took its name from an inn that stood to the left (east) of the road to Stymphalos in the early 20th century (το χάνι του Κουτρουμπή), the two roads—the one coming from the east and the other from the west of Souli—converged and followed a single course across the plain of Kaisari. Across the road from Chani, low on the eastern slopes of Thekriza, I observed ashlar blocks scattered by a bulldozer, which, according to the owners of the fields nearby, belonged to a stone foundation, 5–6 m long and with a north–south orientation.[130] In the vicinity there are fragments of

128. Tsakriza (230 masl), to Agios Georgios (365 masl), and Elliniko (400 masl).

129. The section goes from 400 masl near Elliniko to 820 masl near Chani, in a distance of 5 km.

130. All traces of this foundation, which I noted in September 1996, have since disappeared due to the planting of a vineyard.





Figure 3.53 *(top)*. **The line of the old road (indicated with arrows) from Skala of Souli toward Elliniko of Megali Valtsa, looking north-northeast**

Figure 3.54 *(bottom)*. **The old path at Skala of Souli (RS-11), looking southwest; note the highly eroded road bed.**

roof tiles and a few examples of plain pottery. Perhaps the roofed structure that once stood here provided lodging and food to travelers to Stymphalos and western Arkadia, an ancient forerunner of the χάνι του Κουτρουμπή. On the summit of Thekriza stands a square ancient tower with a commanding view over the road and the plain to the south (DS-10). This tower, already mentioned in Chapter 1 in my discussion of the Sikyonian frontiers, will be described at greater length in the next chapter.

Upon exiting the valley, the road did not follow the line of the modern asphalt road, but ran through the middle of the northern half of the *kampos* before it joined the line of the asphalt road near the intersection leading to Kaisari (R9). This section of the old road is known locally as παλαιός δρόμος, and is still used by farmers. Curtius thought that the antiquity of

this road was the only noteworthy element in the entire plain.[131] The old road passed by a Mycenaean settlement (HS-11) and to the west of Vrysi (Βρύση), where a fountain existed long ago. This is the second fountain attested for the road coming from Sikyon; the first can still be seen at Gourgourati, on the right (north) side of the road below Agios Georgios, but it has dried up during the last few decades. In the southern half of the plain of Kaisari, the road ran along the western side, as the asphalt road does today. This course was imposed by the existence of a lake formed at the southern end of the *kampos,* which was drained in the late 19th century.[132] Directly north of the site of the former lake, and to the right (west) of the road, rises the hill of Goulas (Γουλάς), which bears scanty traces of fortifications (DS-6). Approximately 1,600 m due northeast, and to the west of the road, the hillock of Tsakouthi (Τσακούθι) is topped by a round tower of polygonal and trapezoidal masonry (DS-16). It communicated visually with the fort of Agios Vlasios (DS-9), 1,000 m to its northwest. All three were meant to provide surveillance over the road, as was the tower of Thekriza further north, and are discussed in the next chapter. The road drops down into the Stymphalian plain through a narrow pass formed by the Kyllene mountain massif to the west and the western projection of the Vesiza range to the east.

Of the two roads from Sikyon to the plain of Kaisari just described, the one through Valathra (R9a) has the advantage of being shorter, by at least a kilometer, but it becomes very slippery and muddy when it rains, which would certainly have been a challenge to vehicular traffic. The road passing from Elliniko (R9b) was surely smoother, and, save for a few sections, of an easy gradient. On the other hand, the *Carte de la Grèce* and the map of Miliarakis clearly show a track leading from Vasiliko to Trikala and passing through the village of Souli. This path to Trikala followed the same line as the modern (asphalt) road from Tsakriza to the *kampos.* During the widening of this road in the second half of the 20th century, an isodomic wall was revealed some 2 km (in a straight line) to the east of Souli and 1.5 km to the west of Agios Konstantinos (ca. 490 masl). Up until 1997, two ashlar courses could be seen, but their presence alone does not constitute proof that the structure was built alongside a road as opposed to a mere path.[133] The main argument, I believe, against an ancient course parallel to the modern road is the existence of a deep gully between Skala and the village of Souli by the monastery of Taxiarches (Ταξιάρχες). The wide span is bridged today, as it was in the early modern and perhaps Ottoman periods, in order to connect the village of Souli to Klimenti-Kaisari and the Stymphalian basin.[134] In antiquity there would have been no such need, since there was a way around this obstacle that did not involve building a bridge. It is somewhat unfortunate that Leake and Clark, riding from Kaisari to Sikyon, were not more descriptive as to the precise route taken, for both mention antiquities along their way:

> [Coming from Klimenti] After a halt of ten minutes on the ascent of the eastern side of the valley of Kaisari, we turn to the left, and from the summit of the mountain enjoy a fine prospect of the Isthmus, with a part of the gulf of Eghina. The ridge is covered with a mixture of pines and oaks, through which we descend in

131. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 499: "Ausser den Ueberresten einer alten Strasse, die nach Stymphalos hinabführte, enthalt die kleine Ebene nichts Merkwürdiges, als die römischen Namen der Dörfer Klimenti und Kaesari."

132. See above, pp. 8–9.

133. The remains were recorded in April 1997, and were destroyed soon after by the opening of the new road linking Kiato to Stymphalia.

134. The early modern bridge was built with stone, and, according to elderly people from Souli, it resembled the Turkish bridge over the Asopos. It was destroyed during the German occupation (1941–1944).

> the direction of Sicyon, until we arrive upon broken clayey ground like that near Xylokastro. At 2.25, on the descent, I observe fragments of ancient pottery in the gullies by the road side, and, on a neighbouring eminence to the right, some Hellenic foundations: soon afterwards descend into the valley of the stream which joins the sea on the western side of Sicyon, and which takes its rise at no great distance above the place where we cross it. In this valley, at 2.50, pass some Hellenic foundations; at 2.56 some mills on the right. . . . Soon afterwards ascend the steep side of the hill of Sicyon, and arrive at the theatre at 3.15.[135]

> [Coming from Kalianoi] We passed another amphibious lake, like that of Stymphalus, but much smaller. . . . The whole day is a gradual ascent; and about ten o'clock we reached the summit of a ridge of hills running east and west and commanding a splendid prospect of both the gulfs and the isthmus between. . . . The descent on the northern side is more rapid, down a path cut deep between chalky banks and glowing like a furnace in the mid-day sun. Here and there I observed traces of an old road. . . . At half-past twelve we came to a ruined bridge, probably ancient, at the bottom of a ravine, and then ascended the right bank by a steep path. Along the crest of the hill might be traced . . . the western wall of Sicyon.[136]

It is clear that both travelers ascended to the northeastern side of the plain, and came to the saddle between Thekriza and Philiantra. From that point until Sikyon, I suggest that the travelers took different routes. Leake took the clayey path of Valathra and descended to the valley of the Helisson River some 2 km southwest of the remains of the ancient bridge. After crossing the river, he rode along the eastern bank of the Helisson and ascended to the plateau near the theater. Clark, on the other hand, descended from the northern side of the ridge, probably through Skala, Elliniko, and Gourgourati, down to the valley of the Helisson. He refers to traces of an old road along his route, perhaps at Skala of Souli or the road bed at Agios Georgios, and he saw the ruined bridge. The straighter route taken by Leake would explain his shorter journey, two hours versus Clark's two and a half hours, as well as the fact that he does not mention the bridge, since he was on the other bank of the river and already ascending to the theater.

Aside from the paths described above, there are other natural routes ascending from the coastal plain toward the south, funneled into the plain of Kaisari through a corridor between Moungostos and the plateau of Velina, appropriately named Chouni (Χούνη from χωνί, meaning "funnel") (Fig. 3.55). The roads are divided by deep river gullies, and they run almost parallel to each other in a southwestern direction. They include (from east to west) the road from Pasio to Elliniko, from Diminio to Lalioti and Megali Valtsa (R16), from Melissi to Mikri Valtsa (R17), from Geliniatika (Γελληνιάτικα) to Throphari through the area of Dendro (R18), and from Xylokastro directly to Chouni through Zemeno (R19). All of them are cut through soft earth, namely, sandy marls and other alluvial formations. This perhaps explains the absence of ancient traces, such as terrace walls or wheel-ruts, along their course. The road from Pasio to Elliniko was opened by manual labor before the Second World War. The (asphalt) road between

135. Leake 1830, p. 226.
136. Clark 1858, pp. 337–338.

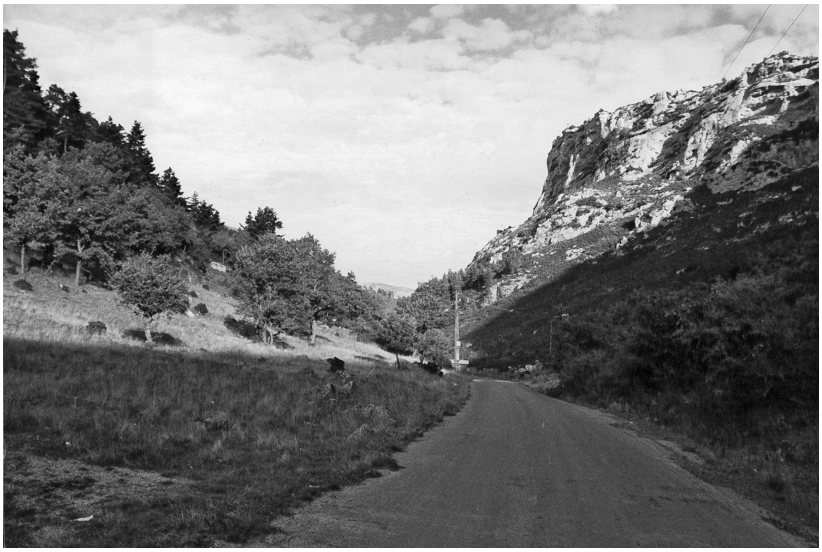


Figure 3.55. Chouni, the natural corridor between the plain of Kaisari and Zemeno, looking northwest

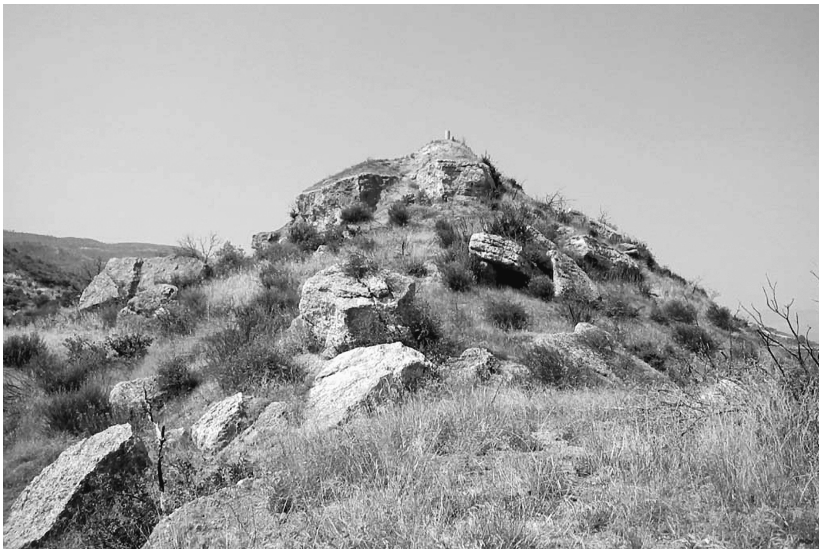


Figure 3.56. The pointed hill of Chasné (SP-7), looking west

Lalioti and Megali Valtsa is recent, but an older path connecting the two villages runs lower. The road from Throphari to Geliniatika included a section paved with cobble stones *(*a *kalderimi)* at Dendro (Δένδρο), which was dismantled after the Second World War. On the summit of the pointed hill rising above Dendro, locally known as Chasné (Χασνέ), we found ancient Lakonian tiles, probably signifying the existence of a roofed lookout on this spot (SP-7; Fig. 3.56). We found similarly tantalizing evidence at Beskaki (SP-12; Fig. 3.57), a hill rising above the road from Xylokastro to Zemeno, and at Paliopyrgos of Lalioti (SP-11), near the Diminio–Megali Valtsa route. Due to the absence of wheel-ruts and ancient terrace walls we cannot prove the antiquity of these roads, but the fact that they follow natural passes and their association with ancient structures and habitation sites, which existed above or by their course, allow us to assign them to the period of the Greek polis with a fair degree of certainty. Whatever the



Figure 3.57. The hill of Beskaki (SP-12), looking northeast

situation may have been, there are only two natural passes to the plain of Kaisari, through Chouni to the west and by Chani to the east, and only one road crossed the Lagovouni (Λαγοβούνι) pass in the direction of the Stymphalian basin.

The road to Stymphalos was Sikyonia's means of communication with the towns of northeastern Arkadia, since from the Stymphalian basin roads led to Orchomenos and Mantineia in the south and Pheneos in the west.[137] How strategic, though, were the roads from Stymphalos to Sikyon, in relation to the roads to Phlious? As far as the Spartan army is concerned, we do not hear of any instance when the forces of the Peloponnesian League were gathered in Stymphalos in order to proceed northeast to Sikyonia. On the contrary, the League was assembled at Phlious on at least two occasions, in 418 and 388 B.C., and Xenophon commented at length on the close relations between the two cities.[138] Therefore, it is almost certain that, at least in the Classical period, the wagon road to Stymphalos was used far less by military contingents than were the roads to Phlious. A unique Arkadian interference in Sikyonian affairs is reported by Xenophon for the year 366 B.C., when the *strategos* Aineias of Stymphalos led his Arkadian army to the acropolis of Sikyon in order to depose the tyrant Euphron and restore the old regime (*Hell.* 7.3.1–3). Since we do not know what happened before or after the episode between the Sikyonians and the Stymphalians, we can only guess at Aineias's motives. Possibly the Stymphalians felt that their relations with Sikyon were deteriorating under Euphron, and, consequently, one of their main access routes to the Corinthian Gulf was in danger. Furthermore, the treaty signed between Sikyon-Demetrias and Stymphalos soon after the refoundation of the city by Demetrios suggests close contacts between the two cities during that period.[139] The coins found in the excavations of Stymphalos, mostly Late Classical/Early Hellenistic issues of Sikyon, point in the same direction.[140] With the expansion of the Achaian League under the leadership of Aratos and the incorporation of cities of northeastern Arkadia in the 3rd century B.C., the road must have gained even more importance.[141]

137. On the Oligyrtos pass, from the Stymphalian basin to Orchomenos by way of Kandila, see *SAGT* VI, pp. 12–18, and Pikoulas 1995, pp. 90–91, 286, and 308; on the roads from Stymphalos to Pheneos, see Lolos 2000; cf. the overview of Tausend 1999, pp. 321–330.

138. Thuc. 5.57.2 (418 B.C.), Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.3 (388 B.C.) and 7.2.2 (praise of the Phliasian fidelity to the Spartan cause).

139. On the treaty, see above, pp. 72–74.

140. See Williams 1996, p. 86, n. 12; Williams et al. 1998, p. 278.

141. Polybios (2.57–58), for example, refers to the Achaian forces under Aratos occupying Mantineia in 223 B.C., after its defection to the Spartans.

Deviation to Titane

So far, I have described three ways to reach Titane from the north. One road led directly from the Sikyonian plateau; I assigned the wheel-ruts below Titane to this road and therefore believe it was suitable for wheeled traffic (R7). A second approach was a steep path off the Asopos River valley, taken by Pausanias. A third path runs alongside the Asopos valley on the western slopes of the Trikaranon range, and this I identified as the ὁδὸς ζεύγεσι ἅβατος διὰ στενότητα, mentioned but not taken by Pausanias.[142]

Now I will present a fourth road to Titane, clearly built for wagons, and branching off the road to Stymphalos (R10). I observed traces of this road in four places, which helped me to determine its course. The assistance of a number of inhabitants of the village of Kryoneri, above all the shepherd Sotiris Lepesiotis, was decisive, for there is no path today (or within the living memory of the people) that follows the course of the ancient road. It diverged from the road from Sikyon to Stymphalos (R9) near Chani and followed a southern direction toward the Observatory of Kryoneri (Αστεροσκοπείο Κρυονερίου). It passed a few meters northwest of the Observatory, and continued southwest toward Pigadi (Πηγάδι), where the chiseling of the conglomerate for the rolling of one of the wheels can be followed for approximately 35 m (RS-12; Fig. 3.58). Along this course the road gradually ascends from ca. 840 to 900 masl. From Pigadi, the road took a southwestern and then southern direction toward the hill of Choriza (Χώριζα).[143] A spot preserving the wheel-ruts of the road has been spared by the bulldozer to the right (west) of a country road that was deeply carved into the exposed bedrock (RS-13; Fig. 3.59).[144] An interesting detail is that the ruts are not at the same level—one is about 0.3 m deeper than the other. In other words, carts would have tilted toward one side (the east or inner side). The reason for this must lie in the subsequent course of the road, which would have dropped gradually for several meters before ascending again on the other side, at the same time curving toward the east. Indeed, the wheel-ruts can be seen on the opposite side of the depression, on the western slopes of Choriza, again not in the same plane (RS-14; Figs. 3.60, 3.61). The inward lean of a cart as it rounded a 90° curve would compensate for centrifugal forces, intensified in this location by the simultaneous acceleration of the vehicle due to the considerable drop in elevation.[145] Wheel-ruts cut in different planes are not uncommon, and are mentioned by Theophanis Despotopoulos but with no explanation.[146] In our example, the tilt of the wagon may also explain the narrower gauge, 1.4 m (horizontal measurement), in relation to the gauge of the next section of the road, which was found to be 0.054 m wider.

From Choriza the road assumed a south-southeastern direction, passing to the southwest of Kryoneri through Skaliza (Σκάλιζα) to the Rachi Sarchani (Ράχη Σαρχάνη). At Skaliza, locals remember traces of the road but the area is now completely overgrown with prickly oaks and I could not find the reported wheel-rut. The best traces of the road are preserved along the eastern slope of the Rachi Sarchani, above the ravine of Melisiklias (Μελισικλιάς), as they gradually descend toward the country road that

142. For a detailed discussion of Pausanias's route, see below, pp. 412–414.

143. People from Kryoneri hold that Choriza was the site of the Asklepieion, but all I could find on the top was some rubble and scanty fragments of post-Roman tiles.

144. In fact, it was the driver of the bulldozer from Kryoneri, Panagiotis Zarkos, who showed me the wheel-ruts.

145. The same principle dictates the banked curves of the automobile racetrack today.

146. Despotopoulos 1940, p. 331.



Figure 3.58. The cutting for the road bed at Pigadi of Kryoneri (RS-12), looking northeast; the Observatory is indicated with an arrow.

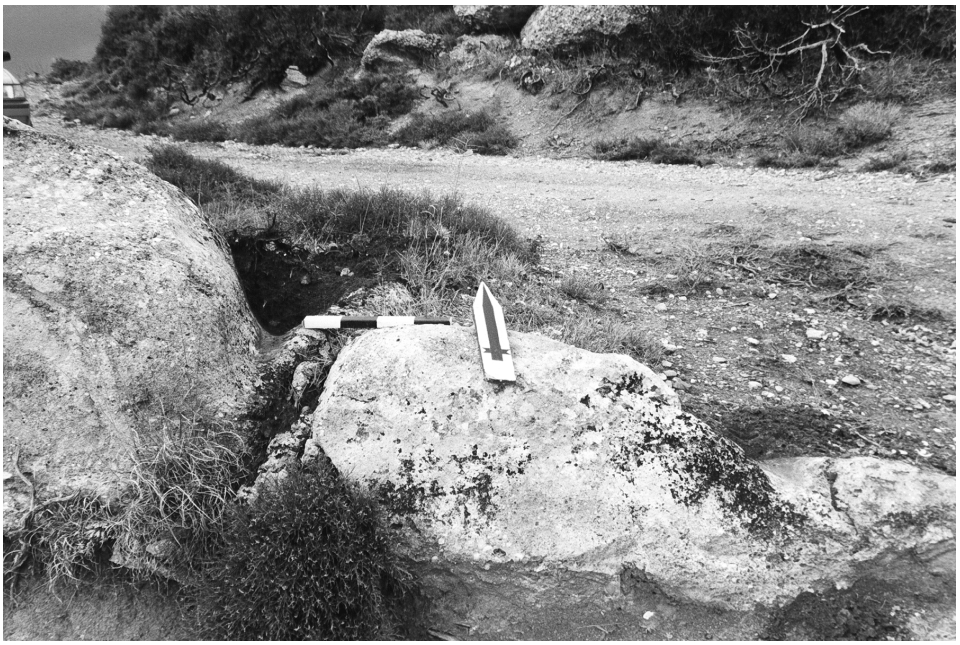
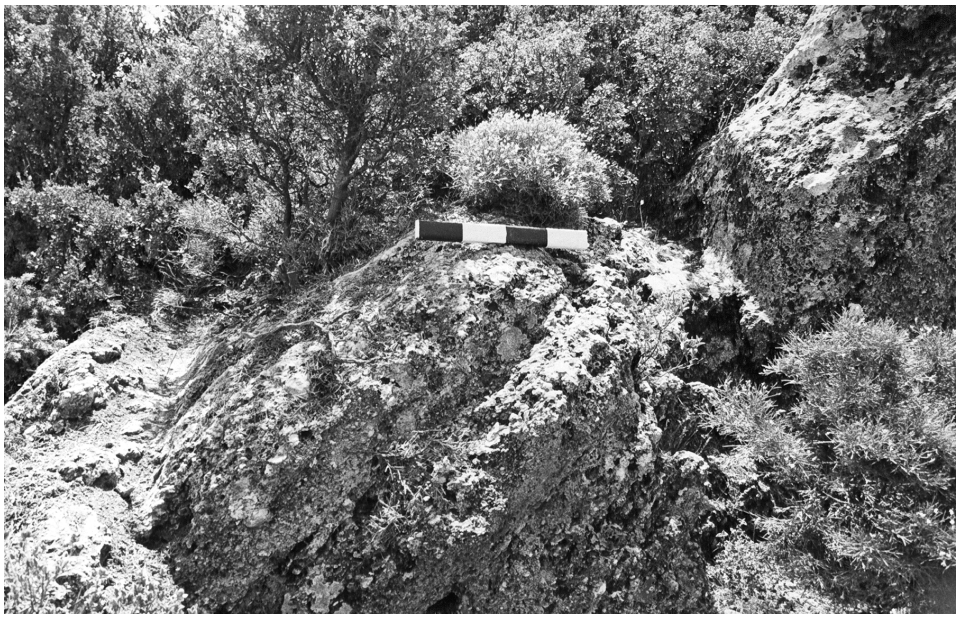


Figure 3.59. The wheel-ruts at Bouzouliko 1 (RS-13), running in a southern direction; note the difference in the horizontal level of the two grooves.



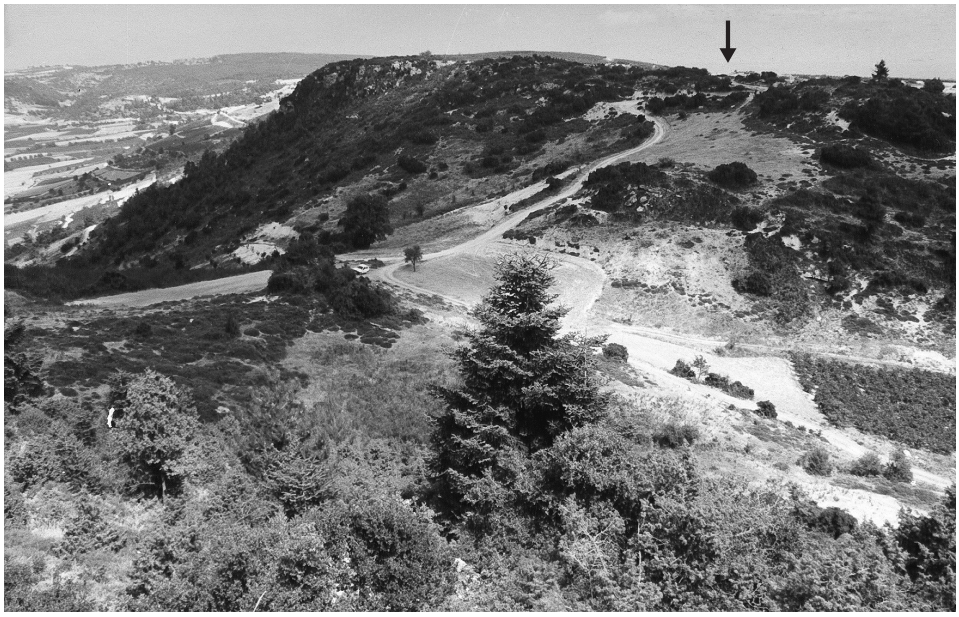


Figure 3.60 *(top)*. **The wheel-ruts at Bouzouliko 2 (RS-14), running in an eastern direction; note the difference in the horizontal level of the two grooves.**

Figure 3.61 *(bottom)*. **View from RS-14 toward RS-13 (indicated with an arrow), looking north**

leads today to the monastery of Lechova (Λέχοβα) (RS-15). The slope is now densely covered with prickly oaks, but some old shepherds from Kryoneri remember seeing the grooves as they crossed the area with their herds. The wheel-ruts can be followed in sections for over 100 m along the slopes in a north-northeast to south-southwest direction (Figs. 3.62, 3.63). Their gauge was measured as 1.454 m. It is interesting to note that the distance between the two ruts following the contour comes to 1.486 m, since the ground in between the ruts was not leveled, as was often the case. The depth of the grooves varies between 0.03 and 0.30 m, and the width between 0.08 and 0.12 m. From Melisiklias, the ancient road presumably



Figure 3.62. Wheel-ruts at Melisiklias of Kryoneri (RS-15), looking southwest

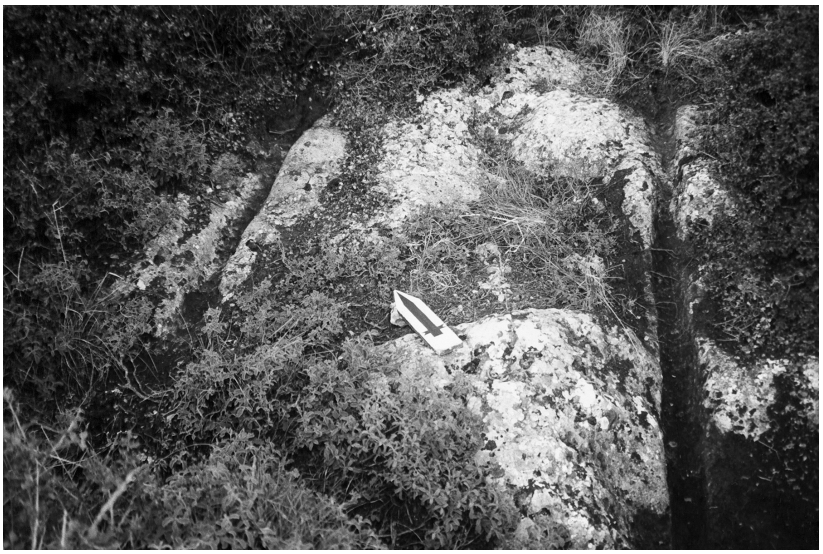


Figure 3.63. Deep wheel-ruts at Melisiklias (RS-15), looking northeast

ascended parallel to the country road to Lechova, but on lower ground, as did the old path.[147] Upon reaching the height of the monastery, the road would have turned to the southeast again in order to reach Titane. The present country road between Titane and Lechova more or less follows an older path, along which the late Spyros Papoutsis, an old shepherd from Titane, remembered seeing one clear wheel-rut at Tsouka (Τσούκα).[148] We went to Tsouka to try and find these traces, but were unsuccessful; they are most likely buried under rubble from the opening of the country road.

This route was established both by the location of physical traces and the exclusion of other possible itineraries. One such itinerary would be a course from Choriza to the plain of Kaisari, descending by a path between Vesiza (Βέσιζα) and Balkouri (Μπαλκούρι). Part of this path is a stepped *kalderimi,* formerly used by people from Kaisari and Klimenti in order to

147. On the Medieval path from Vasiliko to Lechova, see below, pp. 173–175.

148. The path from Titane to Lechova was taken by Ross (1840, p. 28) in 1839.



Figure 3.64. The *kalderimi* descending from Choriza to the *kampos* of Kaisari (RS-16)

come to the monastery and the Bozikochoria (RS-16; Fig. 3.64). I examined it for possible traces of an ancient road, once with Yannis Pikoulas, but did not find any. In addition, it would be difficult to explain why a road to Stymphalos would quit the easy course through the northern half of the plain of Kaisari in order to ascend to Vesiza and come back to the plain. A second possible direction for the road would be from Lechova toward the south, instead of southwest. A narrow pass along the bed of a dry stream leads from the monastery to Agia Trias (Αγία Τριάς) through Lakapoka (Λακαπόκα) and Spartia (Σπαρτιά). Long ago, the path was used by inhabitants of Asprokampos (Ασπρόκαμπος) in order to visit the monastery or go further north to Kryoneri. I took the fairly wide path, through beautiful fir trees, but did not observe traces of an ancient road. Again, the reason for the existence of a wagon road between Chani and Agia Trias of Bozika would be difficult to explain: once at Agia Trias the road could go either to the right (west) toward the southern end of the plain of Kaisari, or around Kokkinovrachos to Asprokampos, and from there either to Psari and Stymphalos or to Kastraki and Phlious around Gavrias. Both destinations could have been reached by easier and shorter ways, the former by the road through the plain of Kaisari, the latter by way of Titane. Therefore, I believe that Titane must have been the destination of the road under consideration. The use of wagons by pilgrims going to healing sanctuaries is hardly surprising, and one may recall the *iama* of Thersandros of Halieis, who relates traveling to and from the Asklepieion of Epidauros in a cart.[149]

Along its course, the road passed by three fountains, one near the entrance to the Observatory (Βρύση Μπεκίρη), the second about midway, known locally as Karpoutsithi (Καρπουτσίθι), and the third at Melisiklias. In addition, between Pigadi and Bouzouliko, to the right of the road, I observed irregular trapezoidal blocks belonging to the foundations of a

149. *IG* IV^2.1 122, *iama* 33. For travel by land to Greek sanctuaries, see Dillon 1997, pp. 34–38 (mainly a collection of testimonia, with very little information on specific routes).





Figure 3.65 *(top)*. **The southeast corner of the structure along the road to Titane by Pigadi (RS-12)**

Figure 3.66 *(bottom)*. **The mortared building near the fountain of Karpoutsithi, looking east**

rectangular structure; only part of the southern side is visible, but the entire eastern side is preserved to 6.15 m in length (Fig. 3.65). Further south, near the fountain at Karpoutsithi, a bulldozer cut through a structure in *opus caementicium* (Fig. 3.66); the cut revealed two parallel foundation walls, some 0.8 m high, supporting a floor that stretched between them. I do not know what the function of this structure may have been, and have not been able to locate it again during my subsequent visits to the area. Finally, the spring at Melisiklias is fed by the same water that fed one of the two aqueducts to Sikyon, which are described in Appendix III. Frequent stops for water along the way to Titane would have been important for sick people in pursuit of a cure from Asklepios.

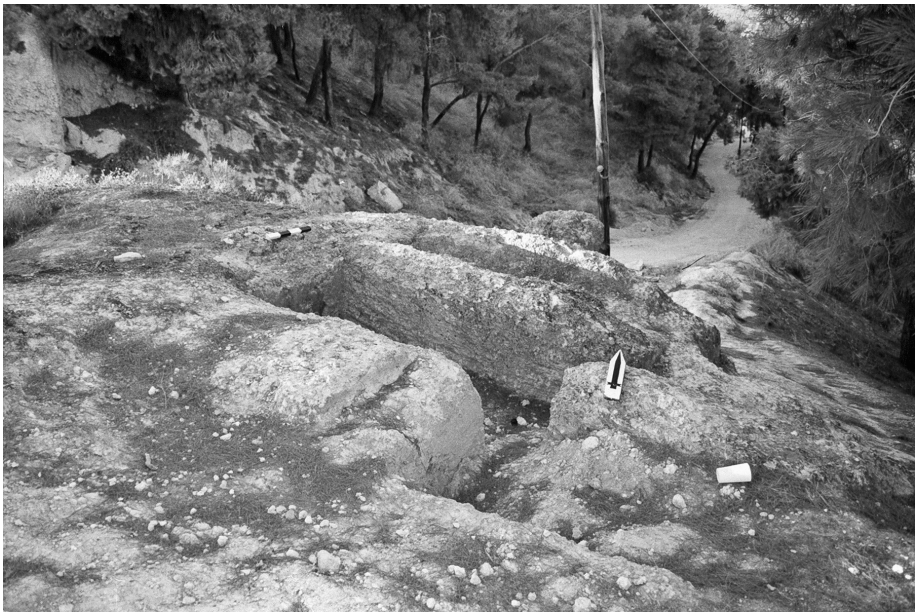


Figure 3.67. The road descending from Agia Eirene of Vasiliko to the plain through the Pefka of Moulki; in the foreground, the pit graves on a low mound by the road, looking north.

ROADS TO PELLENE AND THE WEST

I have described the Roman road from Corinth to Sikyon, which stretched in a straight line from the southeast to the northwest and branched off toward the city of Demetrios past the Asopos River (R1). That the road continued its northwestern course toward the Sythas River and the Achaian frontier is strongly suggested by the discovery of a monumental bridge (RS-4) over the Kyrillou *rema,* which empties into the sea to the west of Kiato. Extrapolating from this data, the line of the road seems to have passed right through the village of Moulki, across the Helisson River, and below the Tsakriza hill to the Kyrillou ravine.[150] From Sikyon a path descends along the northeastern side of the plateau, and joins R1 to the west of Moulki. This path, widened in the last few years, led from Agia Eirene (Αγία Ειρήνη) of Vasiliko to Agia Kyriaki (Αγία Κυριακή) of Moulki through the pine trees of Moulki (Πεύκα του Μουλκιού) (Map 6). To the east of the path (on the right for someone descending) rises a small but conspicuous rounded hill, into the upper surface of which were carved a large number of pit graves (Fig. 3.67). They must have been covered with slabs of either stone or terracotta, and marked with stelai saluting the deceased.[151] I counted twelve cuttings, and I have been told that there are more here and on the opposite side of the road. In the same area, the local Ephoreia has recently excavated three more cist graves, dated to the Early Hellenistic period.[152] This large cemetery is further evidence for the existence of a road descending from this corner of the city in antiquity. Over the Helisson River I did not notice any trace of an ancient bridge, but perhaps this is due to the heavy bulldozing of the riverbed in the 1960s in order to provide material for the construction of the new highway to Patras.

At Kyrillou, I found the bridge at an approximate elevation of 90 masl (RS-4; Fig. 3.68). Despite the monumental dimensions of the bridge, it is not mentioned anywhere in the literature, including the reports of the

150. The predilection of Roman road builders for straight lines, sometimes despite natural obstacles, is well known. See, e.g., Goodchild 1957, p. 505; Chevallier 1976, p. 92.

151. Six pit graves were excavated by the 4th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in 1979, and one inscribed stele was recovered; see below, p. 201.

152. Kassimi 2004.



Figure 3.68. The western abutment of the bridge at the *rema* of Kyrillou (RS-4)

early travelers. The abutments can be seen on both banks of the river, but the western one is the best preserved. It measures 7.25 m in width, and over 3 m in height. The thick vegetation of the riverbed did not allow me to measure the span of the bridge, and photography was very difficult. The bridge is built in ashlar isodomic masonry and the western abutment preserves eight courses, each ca. 0.4 m high. The upper two courses of the western abutment show rubble masonry. I also discerned a thin layer of mortar in the joints, and large rubble stones set in mortar on the sides of the bridge. The dating of the original construction is, again, a frustrating question. The strong mortar in the joints points to a Roman or post-Roman date, and since its position aligns with the road coming from Corinth, I date it to the Imperial period.[153] The rubble, on the other hand, is clearly a later repair, perhaps made in the Byzantine or Frankish period.

From this point toward the northwest, the road probably followed the line of an older path, shown on the Hellenic Army map (1:50,000) by a dotted line. Its itinerary can be described as follows (from east to west): Valtsaiika (Βαλτσαίικα), north of Kapandri (Καπανδρί), Perasma (Πέρασμα) across the Seliandros, which the locals call Skala (Σκάλα), Koza (Γκοζά) of Melissi (to the north of Agios Athanasios), Geliniatika (Γελινιάτικα), Karyotika (Καρυώτικα), Agios Gerasimos (Αγ. Γεράσιμος) of Xylokastro, Psila Alonia (Ψηλά Αλώνια) of Xylokastro, Chani (Χάνι) of Kamari. A short section of the old path is preserved only between Valtsaiika and the Seliandros, and the rest of its course has been widened and is used currently as a country road, either abandoned and taken over by vegetation, or having again become part of someone's field. I did not find any other ancient bridges west of the Kyrillou ravine. Locals remember crossing the Seliandros stream at Skala (meaning "staircase") by walking down to its course and up the other bank (Fig. 3.69). At Katharoneri, between Geliniatika and Karyotika, the abutments of a 19th-century bridge still stand on both banks, but I did not see anything distinctively ancient in their masonry (Fig. 3.70).

153. For the date of the Roman road, see below, p. 179.



Figure 3.69. Skala of Seliandros, looking north. Notice the road on both banks of the river.



Figure 3.70. The abutments of the early modern bridge over Katharoneri, between Geliniatika and Karyotika, looking west

The road passed by the settlement of Xylokastro, which was originally founded on the slopes of Mavra (Μαύρα) to the west of the Sythas River.[154] Further west, the road passed by Chani, and continued west toward Aigeira, Aigion, and Patras.[155] I believe that this is the course shown on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as part of the artery circling the Peloponnese (Fig. 3.6). The distance between Sikyon and Aigeira is given as 25 miles, which corresponds exactly to the 37 kilometers between the hill of Sikyon and Mavra Litharia. Furthermore, the city of Sikyon is mentioned in a Latin declamation as a station along the way from Brundisium.[156]

The toponym "Chani" comes from an inn *(khan)* of the Tourkokratia, mentioned by early travelers. The ruined walls of the inn, and of a nearby fountain, could be seen up to the 1960s right above (south of) the new highway to Patras (49 masl).[157] Today, only part of the wall of the fountain is in situ, and nothing remains of the old inn. Leake and Wyse each passed by the Χάνι, observing brickwork in the walls, and ashlar blocks lying nearby:

> On the eastern side of the Khan are some pieces of ancient brick-work, and some squared blocks of stone lying near them in the fields. They are some remains perhaps of Aristonautai, the port of Pellene.[158]

> The Khan of Kamares shows some squared blocks and antique brick-work, supposed by Leake to be remains of Aristonautae but in which Curtius sees only traces of a Roman aqueduct.[159]

The traces of Roman arches in the vicinity of the *khan* were first reported by Dodwell, and later by Aldenhoven and Curtius, but have since long disappeared.[160] I believe that what Leake and Wyse saw and described were the remains of an older inn, perhaps a private hostelry of the Imperial period. As the road was used throughout the centuries, so was the inn, which was still operating in the early 19th century. It is also possible that the Roman aqueduct described by Dodwell would have brought water to it. Obviously, with the physical traces gone it is not possible to prove the existence of a Roman inn here, but the descriptions of it and its location are compelling arguments.[161]

More difficult here, as for the eastern part of the Sikyonian plain, is to define the itinerary of the pre-Roman road. Physical traces on the ground

154. This upper settlement is the Xylokastro to which the early European travelers often refer.

155. A straight section of a Roman road, 800 m long and 5–6 m wide, was discovered in 2001 through trial trenches in the Helike plain, to the southeast of Aigion. The excavators date this road to the 1st century B.C./A.D. and identify it with the main coastal artery connecting Corinth with Patras in Roman times; see Katsonopoulou 2002, pp. 208–210, fig. 2.

156. *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek* 4 (Hamburg 1954), p. 125, no. 168, line 18: cited in *SAGT* III, p. 272. I have not seen the papyrus.

157. The precise location was shown to me by Spyros Theodosopoulos, a shepherd native of Kamari.

158. Leake 1830, p. 384.

159. Wyse 1865, p. 294.

160. Dodwell 1819, p. 298; Aldenhoven 1841, p. 94; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 1, p. 485.

161. As far as I know, not a single hostelry-type building (*deversorium, hospitium, taberna, thermopolium,* etc.) has been positively identified or excavated along a road of the Roman province of Achaia. Pikoulas located a few kilometers to the north of Phichtia a large Late Roman/Early Byzantine installation, which he tentatively associates with the Mansio Micenis of the *Tabula* (Pikoulas 1995, p. 322); Valerius Maximus mentions a *taberna meritoria* at Megara (1.7.10). For the private establishments along Roman roads in general, see Chevallier 1976, pp. 189–191.

surface are virtually impossible to locate because of the heavy alluviation, the consistency of the soil, and the extent of infrastructural works in recent decades (the new and old highway to Patras, growth of the villages in and above the plain, bulldozing, etc.). Once more we turn to Pausanias and the early travelers. The periegete devotes only two sentences to the road to Aristonautai, which he calls *leophoros:*

> καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπεῖσιν ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστοναύτας τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληνέων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν· προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον Ἑλισσών τε καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Σύθας ἐστίν, ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν.[162]

It is clear that from the Sikyonian plateau he took the road to the harbor, and then turned left in the direction of Pellene. What is not so clear is the location of the *leophoros* that Pausanias took with regard to the harbor. The plain has undergone so many changes since antiquity, caused by both nature and human activity, that one would expect to find very little, at least above surface level. The only trace I was able to record was an old bridge over the Kyrillou *rema* (RS-3). The position of the bridge confirms my suggestion regarding the course of the coastal route from Corinth to Achaia (R2), namely that it ran higher and closer to the foothills than the present old highway to Patras does. There may have been a second road, lower in the plain, but physical evidence for it is still wanting. Since Pausanias descended toward the harbor, it is likely that he took the road that ran closer to the coast. A little above the road, and on the left-hand side of the *leophoros* for someone traveling west, Pausanias saw the sanctuary of Poseidon. To the southwest of Magoula, which marks the western end of the ancient harbor, by the church of Panagia, the large Christian basilica excavated by Orlandos incorporates ancient spolia, which may come from the nearby sanctuary of Poseidon (Map 5).[163] Accordingly, the avenue that Pausanias took must have passed a little to the north of the hill of Panagia (represented as a straight line on Map 4).[164] This second *leophoros* would presumably have joined R2 somewhere past the Helisson or Kyrillou rivers, given that the plain here is reduced to a narrow coastal strip.

The remains of the bridge over the Kyrillou lie ca. 120 m northeast of the modern bridge of the Corinth–Patras highway, and some 1,100 m inland from the coast. The two abutments of the bridge as well as the springing of the arch are now visible on the banks of the ravine (Fig. 3.71). I was able to observe and measure only the eastern abutment, ca. 3.5 m high (the western abutment seems to be higher) and 4.7 m wide, while the width of the arch equals 1.95 m (Figs. 3.72, 3.73). The masonry on both sides of the arch seems to act as a buttress, and may have served for pedestrian traffic on wooden planks. The span of the bridge comes to ca. 4.9 m. The arch is in *opus testaceum* (average ratio brick/mortar: 3:3), unlike the abutments which are built with bricks, rubble, and reused ashlar blocks set in mortar. Ashlar is used mostly for the lower courses and the corners of the abutments. Judging by the masonry I would suggest a Medieval date for the bridge, but the reused ashlar blocks may come from a bridge of an earlier (Roman or pre-Roman) date.

162. Paus. 2.12.2.

163. See below, p. 385.

164. On the meaning of *leophoros,* see Lolos 2003, pp. 141–142.





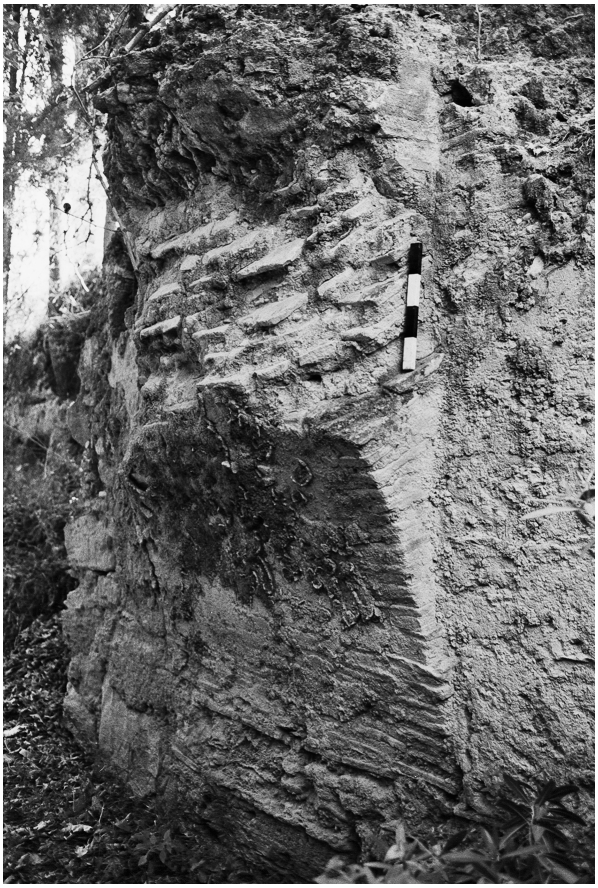


Figure 3.71 *(opposite, top)*. **The abutments of the Medieval bridge over the Kyrillou *rema* (RS-3), looking southwest**

Figure 3.72 *(opposite, bottom left)*. **The eastern abutment of the bridge (RS-3); notice the ashlar blocks in the lower part of the bridge.**

Figure 3.73 *(opposite, bottom right)*. **Eastern abutment of the bridge (RS-3): the springing of the arch in *opus testaceum***

The coastal route was taken by the early European travelers, who reported antiquities on their way. Most of their references are vague, with the exception of an Ionic temple seen by Gell and Pouqueville. Seventy-eight minutes east of the Sythas River, Gell recorded the following:

> A well-fountain r. A rock close to the road r. with a wall, and the vestiges of an Ionic temple of white marble. The columns are about one foot in diam. From the ruins the prospect is fine.[165]

The same remains were observed by Pouqueville in the "golfe Melisse," but his location of the temple "sur les bords d'une petite rivière" is clearly inaccurate.[166] The well, which both travelers mention, and which Pouqueville calls the "puits de Halil-Aga," must have been the "well of Rentis" (το πηγάδι του Ρέντη) at the western entrance to the village for someone coming from Xylokastro, about 50 m to the south of the old highway. The conspicuous rock close to the road mentioned by Gell is certainly the rock of Agios Dimitrios that now rises between the new and old highways to Patras, and is mutilated at its southern side from the opening of the new highway. Meyer tried in vain to locate the remains of the Ionic temple before the Second World War, and found only a heavily plastered Ionic column inside the church of Agios Athanasios near Ano Melissi.[167] In addition, Yannis Liakopoulos, former *proedros* of the community of Melissi, told me that two columns were found during excavation for the erection of the church of Agios Dimitrios on the top of the rock, and that these were cut and reused as support for the altar of Agia Marina (Αγία Μαρίνα). Rescue excavations and our survey established that the hill of Agios Dimitrios supported an Early Byzantine church and settlement of that period (HS-143). It is possible that that church succeeded an earlier temple on the same spot where the modern church now stands. Judging from the present narrow strip between the Rock of Melissi and the seashore, it is possible that in antiquity the road passed to the south of the Rock, as does the new highway, in which case the lofty temple stood between the road and the seashore. Upon crossing the Sythas River, the road continued west to Aristonautai, the harbor of Pellene, which I place about midway between Kamari and Xylokastro.[168] From this harbor a road would have certainly led south to Pellene, probably following a straighter course than the modern (asphalt) road, which goes through the village of Riza.

A Mountain Road to Pellene?

Above I described the road that led west of Sikyon to Stymphalos by way of Agios Georgios of Souli and Elliniko (R9b). A few hundred meters to the west of the fortified installation that stands above the road (DS-5), first Skias and then Meyer observed traces of an ancient road leading to the area of Megali Valtsa (RS-17).[169] The traces were preserved until 1999, immediately to the south of the church of Agios Georgios of Megali Valtsa (wrongly labeled on the 1:50,000 map of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service as Agios Ioannis). The vertical cut (κατατομή) of the conglomerate,

165. Gell 1817, p. 15.

166. Pouqueville (1826, p. 431) associated a small stream flowing through Melissi with the Sythas, and he described the remains of the temple as belonging to Poseidon, because he thought that Pausanias saw the temple of Poseidon on the banks of the Sythas River, which is clearly a mistake. Pausanias makes no reference to a temple by the Sythas River. Earlier in his account (p. 431), Pouqueville calls the river of Xylokastro "Elisson de la Phliasie," which shows how confused his conception of the ancient topography was.

167. Meyer 1939, pp. 9–10. I tried to enter the church, which is normally kept locked, but I was denied access upon stating the reason for my visit.

168. See above, p. 17, n. 43.

169. Skias 1919, p. 46; Meyer 1939, pp. 4–5.





Figure 3.74 *(top)*. **The vertical cut in the conglomerate rock for the passage of the road by Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (RS-17) in the summer of 1997, looking east**

Figure 3.75 *(bottom)*. **The road (RS-17) in the summer of 1999, looking east; the rock-cut side of the ancient road has been razed by a bulldozer.**

of a maximum depth of 1.7 m and to a length of ca. 150 m, created a road bed ca. 4 m wide (Figs. 3.74, 3.75). Meyer claims to have detected wheel-ruts along the road, and almost every elderly resident of Megali Valtsa confirmed their existence to me; the gravel that was later laid over the road bed covers what the residents described as a single pair of wheel-ruts. Meyer could follow the ancient road toward the ravine in front of the village (coming from the east). Within the ravine, he observed a square stone block that he thought belonged to an ancient bridge, the predecessor of the bridge of his day. In addition, on both banks of the ravine he noticed the carved resting surface of an old bridge, possibly an ancient one:

> Hier soll auch früher eine Brücke aus "sehr grossen Steinen" gestanden haben. Eine grosse Quader sieht man noch im Bachbett



Figure 3.76. The continuation of the ancient road toward Megali Valtsa (indicated with arrows), looking east; the modern road drops in elevation and runs below it.

> liegen, ausserdem auf beiden Seiten die aus dem Fels gearbeiteten Auflager einer ehemaligen Brücke; dass sie antik war, halte ich mindestens für möglich.[170]

The road today, recently paved with asphalt, does not follow the old road taken by Meyer but descends toward the ravine, crosses it over a low bridge, and ascends again toward the village. The old road did not lose elevation and can be followed with difficulty amid the pine trees and dense vegetation that have almost completely blocked its course (Fig. 3.76). In one place I observed a stretch of a low terrace wall 2 m long, but no traces of wheel-ruts as far west as the ravine. My examination of the ravine itself was discouraging: not only was I unable to identify the traces for the support of the bridge on the banks, but I could not even find remains of the bridge of Meyer's time. Instead, huge boulders are piled over the bed, which have clearly rolled down from the surrounding heights.[171] There is, however, no reason to doubt Meyer's testimony. The deck of the ancient bridge would presumably have been flat and made of wood, supported by abutments in ashlar masonry securely built against the banks of the river.

The course of the ancient road to the west of the ravine was not investigated by Meyer. The road continues its western direction, however, going south of Megali Valtsa and the Skempi ridge (Σκέμπη), and then proceeding along the northern slopes of Moungostos where its line crosses that of the modern road toward the *kampos* of Kaisari and Stylia (R11; Fig. 3.77).[172] At the intersection, the old path continued west, ascending toward the Lakka of Velina (Fig. 3.78). The path, which was once paved with cobblestones, can still be seen to the north of Prophetes Elias of Stylia. A good stretch of *kalderimi* is preserved, almost entirely along the last

170. Meyer 1939, pp. 4–5.

171. When I inquired among elders of the village, I was told that rock slides and soil sinks are common phenomena in the area. An interesting local tale is that the deep basin separating their village from Lalioti to the northeast was once raised land.

172. The precise itinerary is as follows: Μεγάλη Βάλτσα, Στραβού αλώνι, ρέμα του Παγώνη, Λυσαριά (district of Throphari), Καλύβιζα, Παλιοστρούγκα, Ντούσκουτη. The road was described to me and shown in situ by the late Georgios Deisis, former *proedros* of Throphari.





Figure 3.77 *(top)*. **The ancient road (R11) from Douskouti toward Chouni, looking southwest; the asphalt road follows the line of the old path.**

Figure 3.78 *(bottom)*. **The ancient road (R11) from Chouni toward the Lakka of Velina, looking west; the old path (indicated with arrows) follows the line of the pine trees.**

section of the path before ascending to the Lakka, just to the west of Prophetes Elias (RS-18; Fig. 3.79). Immediately below the church, and to the right of the ascending path, flows a copious spring known locally as Kalbatsathi (Καλμπατσάθι). The *kalderimi* had to switch back almost 180° in order to reach the plateau. There were no steps in this last section and probably nowhere else along the *kalderimi.* Once it came up to the plateau, the old path followed its western slope along Lazi (Λάζι), descending gradually toward Panagia or Klisi-Boukoura, which is located between the villages of Stylia and Panariti. On the slopes of Lazi or Spelantoni (Σπελαντώνη), as the area is known locally, I observed one wheel-rut carved for 2.5 m on the sloping surface of the conglomerate bedrock, showing clear traces of vertical chiseling on one side (RS-19; Fig. 3.80). The right wheel of the



Figure 3.79. The *kalderimi* (RS-18) as it ascends toward the Lakka of Velina below the church of Prophetes Elias, looking west



Figure 3.80. Wheel-rut to the southwest of Spelantoni (RS-19), showing chisel marks on the vertical (right) surface, looking northeast

wagon, as it drove toward Panagia (i.e., southwest), must have rolled on the dirt surface; in other words, the left wheel-rut locked the wagon in place, preventing it from sliding down the slope. Now the path is barely a meter wide and blocked by fallen trees from a forest fire in the summer of 1991, but there is no doubt that since antiquity much of the road bed has been washed down the slope. The path clearly continues toward the church of

Panagia, where I noted *membra* of an Early Byzantine church and perhaps of an ancient temple lying in the courtyard (HS-95). The preservation of this single wheel-rut proves that the old path from Elliniko to Panagia followed the course of an ancient road. If the ancient road at Spelantoni continued to the north or the west, as I believe it did, the only way to descend from the plateau of Velina was on the northern slope, through the pass below Prophetes Elias. It is possible that it made a zigzag descent from the plateau, as the cobble road did. Any hypotheses about the route this road took must take into account its final destination and proposed use.

I did not find traces of the road west of Panagia, but the contours suggest that any such road would have taken a western direction toward Panariti and Manna. Considering the steep and marly banks of the Trikalitikos (ancient Sythas) River on both sides, it is highly unlikely that the road descended to the bed of the river and ascended the northern side by Pellene or Dendro (Δενδρό). Further west, on the northern outskirts of the village of Manna, wheel-ruts reportedly existed at Priphti (στου Πρίφτη) but are no longer visible. From Manna a winding road leads across the river to Trikala, through Saitas (Σαιτάς). I associate this last path with a road leading from Phlious to Pellene, which I describe in the next section. It is possible, however, that the road coming from Megali Valtsa through the Lakka of Velina (R11) crossed the river at this height, where it is fordable, thus entering Pellenean territory. A second possibility is that the road stopped somewhere near Manna, in which case its purpose was not to serve interstate communication. I have already mentioned the rich forest that once covered the entire area between the Sythas River and the plain of Kaisari, and the possibility of the forest having served in antiquity as a prime source of timber. Thus, regardless of whether the road continued across the Sythas or not, one of its main uses, and perhaps the reason for its creation, was the transport of timber to Sikyon from the southwestern fringes of its territory. The average gradient between Tsakriza and Panagia of Stylia is 3.2%, and even the difficult ascent to the Lakka of Velina from Douskouti is no steeper than 10%, certainly manageable by heavily loaded carts.[173] If, in addition, this road did continue to Pellene, it must certainly have been a secondary route to the Achaian city, as it was circuitous and more difficult than the coastal route by way of Aristonautai.[174]

The importance of the coastal road in the Roman period has already been addressed. It was part of a major artery marked in the *Tabula,* and there is enough evidence to suggest that at least the section from Corinth to the Sythas River was incorporated or created in the context of the Roman land centuriation. The artery connected the three Roman colonies of Achaia, namely Corinth, Patras, and Dyme. Before the Roman period, military and civilian traffic between Sikyon and the Achaian cities was certainly intensive from the time Sikyon joined the Achaian League in 250 B.C. onward. We know that under the leadership of Aratos the League organized many military expeditions.[175] The various meetings of the Koinon (*synodoi, ekklesiai,* or *synkletoi*) were often held in Aigion, and occasionally in Sikyon, until 218 B.C., when Philip V transferred the *synkletos* to Sikyon. Thirty years later, the meetings began to be hosted by various cities of the League on a rotating basis.[176] Achaian forces under Aratos appear twice at

173. The distance between Tsakriza (ca. 240 masl) and Panagia of Stylia (ca. 740 masl) is about 16 km. The difference in elevation between Douskouti and the Lakka of Velina is 100 m over a distance of ca. 1,000 m.

174. Calculated *grosso modo,* such a mountainous route to Pellene would have been 10 km longer than the coastal route (36 km versus 26 km).

175. See above, pp. 74–75.

176. For the meetings of the Achaian League between 288 and 146, see Larsen 1955, pp. 165–188.

Pellene, once against the Spartan King Agis IV sometime in the late 240s, and once more, against the Aitolians in 241 B.C.[177] In both cases, the Confederate army was victorious and drove the invaders out of Pellene. In the Classical period, both cities collaborated as members of the Peloponnesian League. In 394 B.C., Pelleneans contributed to the Lakedaimonian force at the "battle of the Nemea River," and we have seen their collaboration with the Sikyonians against Phlious in 367.[178] Earlier, under the tyranny of Orthagoras and Kleisthenes, the two cities were in a long state of war, which ended with the destruction of the Achaian city by Kleisthenes.[179] The strategic importance of the coastal road to Achaia for Sikyon and Corinth is shown in a Thucydidean passage referring to the thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian War: the Athenian general Alcibiades persuaded the Patraians to extend their walls down to the sea, and himself considered building another fort at Rhion, but the Corinthians and Sikyonians together rushed to Achaia and prevented the construction.[180] Finally, in a religious context, Pausanias describes the long-standing Sikyonian tradition of sending an annual procession of seven boys and seven virgins to the Sythas River and back during the festival of Apollo.[181]

A Road from Phlious to Pellene

My incentive to explore a possible road connecting the Phliasian *pedion* to the territory of Pellene developed after closer examination of an excavated watchtower on the eastern slopes of Mount Gavrias, and the discovery of an ancient road to the south of the village of Manna (R12a). Such a road would have been literally peripheral to the Sikyonian *chora,* and I did not pursue its investigation in either Phliasia or Pellene (R12, R15).

The old road connecting Nea Nemea to the plain of Kaisari followed a northwestern direction, skirting the eastern slopes of Mount Gavrias in the direction of Kastraki.[182] A large portion of the old path has now become a country road, and is represented by a dotted line on the 1:50,000 map of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service. To the left (west) and above the course of this road, ca. 2 km in a straight line southeast of the village of Kastraki (formerly Mazi), rises a low hill known locally as Limiko (Λημικό, a corruption of Ελληνικό: elev. 740 masl).[183] On the summit of this hill, and about 100 m higher than the course of the old road, stand the remains of a rectangular tower which I describe in the next chapter.[184]

Upon reaching the village of Kastraki the road turned west and followed the pass between Gavrias and the Vesiza range, along what I have taken to be the boundary line between the territories of Sikyon, Phlious, and Stymphalos. The old road ran to the north of the modern asphalt road, at a lower elevation, toward Stavrodromi (Σταυροδρόμι). It had the hill of Kokkinovrachos to its right (north), with its large ancient fort, and the small hill of Tampouri to its left (south).[185] From Stavrodromi, as we have seen, roads led to Stymphalos, the *kampos* of Kaisari, and to the west toward the area of Kephalari. It is unlikely, I believe, that the main destination of the road from Phlious would have been toward the south and through the village of Psari to Stymphalos. At least three more direct and parallel roads served this purpose, leading west from Phlious through the areas

177. The first episode is mentioned by Pausanias (2.8.5, 7.7.3, 8.27.4), the latter by Plutarch (*Arat.* 31–32).

178. Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20 (Pelleneans at the "battle of the Nemea River"); 7.2.11 (Pelleneans against Phlious). The Pelleneans rejoined the Spartan alliance a year later (*Hell.* 7.4.18).

179. See above, pp. 61, 65.

180. Thuc. 5.52.2. For discussion of this event, see Stroud 1994, pp. 288–289.

181. See below, pp. 379–380.

182. The modern asphalt road follows a course further to the east, through the village of Daphni (formerly known as Leriza).

183. For the corruption of this common word, see Kakridis 1979, p. 41, no. 78. I thank Dr. Pikoulas for this reference.

184. See below, pp. 255–259.

185. On the fort of Kokkinovrachos (DS-4) and the scanty remains of a Medieval or post-Medieval installation on Tampouri, see below, pp. 234–240, 264.



Figure 3.81. The old road (R12a) from Asprokampos to Kephalari (RS-21), looking west; notice the friability of the stone.

of the villages of Galatas and Platani to Stymphalos over the Apelavron pass.[186] It is possible, however, that a branch of this road turned south toward Stymphalos, and was a longer, alternative route to the Arkadian city, whereas the main road continued either west or turned north.[187]

I will first consider the western direction (R12a). A path, now a country road, leads from Stavrodromi to Kastro (Κάστρο). Upon reaching Kastro, the old path continued west along its northern slope, whereas the line of the modern road strikes northwest along the southern slopes of Lagovouni. The sections of the old path that are visible along the northern slopes of Kastro display an artificial cut of the slope on one side, which created a width of more than 3 m for the actual road bed (RS-21; Fig. 3.81). The friable conglomerate did not preserve tool marks on the cut surface, but it is clear that the path would have been suitable for vehicular traffic. As it descends toward the area of Kephalari, parts of the road bed have collapsed, and it is possible that when the road was functioning terrace walls were built on one side. The road descended to the northernmost reaches of the Stymphalian plain. At this point, it would have joined the road from Sikyon to Stymphalos, but I do not think that it would have ended there, for the reasons explained above. Instead, I believe that it continued northwest, ascending to Isomata (Ισώματα) above the village of Kephalari. Again, the modern dirt road follows a circuitous route, whereas the old path went almost straight up in a northwestern direction. Its conglomerate bed is visible in two sections, but I did not see traces of wheel-ruts. The preserved width is again over 3 m, and the high gradient of 15%–16% would not have prohibited the use of wagons. At Isomata, the path did not follow the modern road, but again ran in a more northerly course toward Manna, passing between Asphakorachi (Ασφακοράχη) and Pikiza

186. The northernmost of the three (through Mermyngolongos) seems to have been the main road: Pikoulas 1995, pp. 74–85 and 285–288.

187. Such a circuitous road to Stymphalos would have been ca. 5 km longer than the roads found by Pikoulas.

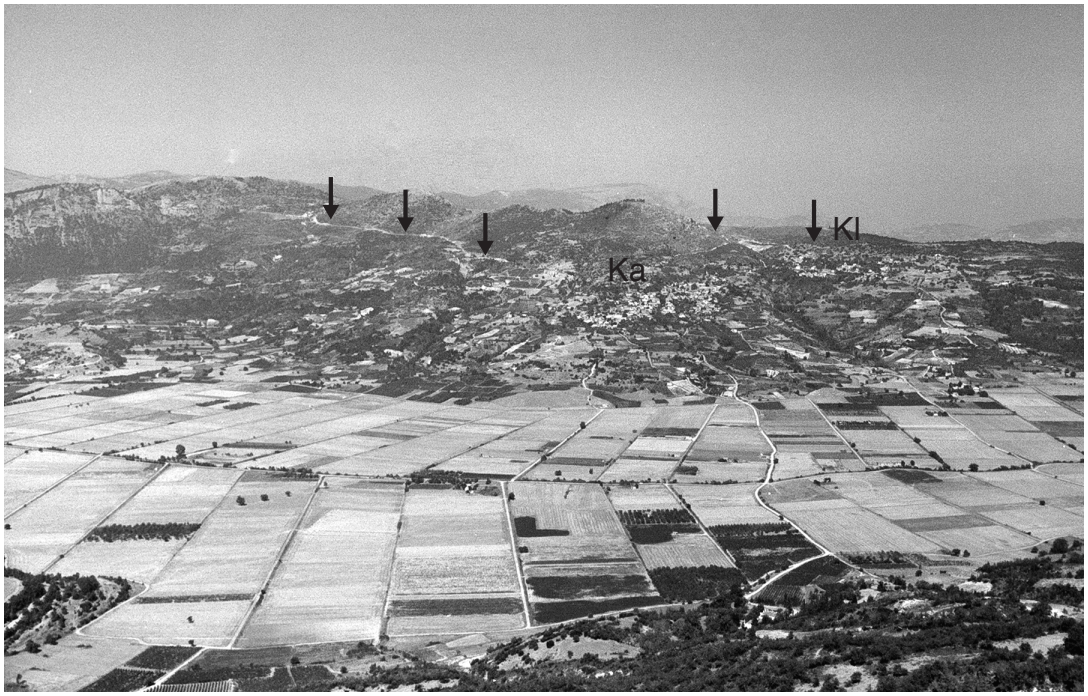


Figure 3.82. The western side of the *kampos,* looking west; arrows mark the two roads (R12b, R12c) leading from Kaisari (Ka) and Klimenti (Kl) to Manna.

(Πίκιζα) and above the Goura spring (Γκούρας Βρύση). Near that spring the path from Kephalari came across the path leading up from the *kampos* of Kaisari (R12b). This is the second possible itinerary of a road coming from Stavrodromi, to which I will now turn.

Instead of continuing to the west from Stavrodromi, the second path struck northwest and proceeded along the Mavrorema, following the line of the modern asphalt road. Before reaching the southern end of the *kampos* the old path turned to the north and ran along the eastern and then northern slopes of Lagovouni. The reason for this turn was the lake formed at the southern end of the *kampos.* The path is still visible at Lagovouni, but its present width does not exceed 1.5 m. It must have crossed the road coming from Sikyon to the northwest of Lagovouni. At this point a northwestern course for the path toward Manna was obstructed by the insurmountable obstacle of Markoutsa (1,338 masl). The ascent was possible only from the area of Klimenti and Kaisari. From these villages two paths led to Manna and Trikala. One started from Klimenti (R12c), and ascended on the northern side of Konomavra (Κωνομαύρα), while the other started from Kaisari and passed south of Konomavra (Fig. 3.82). The two met near the church of Agios Athanasios, at the northern side of Markoutsa. The former (northern) path allowed a smoother ascent and is now the only road from Klimenti to Manna suitable for cars. The latter path was abandoned and I was told that it can still be seen in places, but I did not take it. From Agios Athanasios, the path proceeded northwest toward Prophetes Elias and the Goura Vrysi, and joined the path from Kephalari at Xeropigado (Ξεροπήγαδο). From there, the path did not follow the line of the modern dirt road to Manna, but went northwest and then north toward the village.





Figure 3.83 *(top)*. **The rutted road at Prophetes Elias of Manna (RS-20), looking west**

Figure 3.84 *(bottom)*. **Detail of the wheel-ruts at Prophetes Elias of Manna (RS-20), looking east**

To the south of Manna, between the Goura spring and the church of Prophetes Elias, the wheel-ruts of an ancient road are preserved for several meters, deeply carved into the conglomerate (RS-20; Figs. 3.83, 3.84). The ancient road descends in a northwestern direction, following exactly the line of the old path toward the village. The distance between the grooves is 1.44 m, and their depth reaches a maximum of 0.40 m, while the rough and uneven rocky surface between them was clearly left uncut. A northwestern continuation of the ancient road is impossible because of the sheer drop toward the Goura spring. The road certainly curved to the north and continued its descent toward the village along the western side of Marmalouka (Μαρμαλούκα), exactly following the line of a later cobbled path (Fig. 3.85). My search for wheel-ruts along this *kalderimi* was fruitless, but there can be no doubt that this was the direction of the ancient road.



Figure 3.85. The *kalderimi* from Prophetes Elias of Manna toward the village, which is barely visible at the upper right corner of the photograph, looking north

The rest of the course of this road is less certain. It is possible that it continued east to join the traces of the road coming from Sikyon at Spelantoni (R11), in which case the wheel-ruts above Goura would be part of the same road from Sikyon to the highland between Manna and Kaisari, used for lumbering purposes (and in which case there is no reason to assume that the road descended to the *kampos*). Another possibility is, in my opinion, more attractive: that the road continued west across the Sythas River to Trikala, and from there to Pellene (R15). My suggestion is based on the following: (1) the area between Manna and Trikala is the only place where the deep valley of the Sythas is fordable, being close to its sources; (2) wheel-ruts have been reported at Trikala, near where the old path ascended from the river; and (3) I can see no other way to go from Phlious to Pellene in antiquity, unless one was willing to cross the territory of Sikyon from south to north, and then turn west to Aristonautai.

The path from Manna to Trikala descended to the river valley and ascended to the Upper Quarter of Trikala (Επάνω Συνοικία Τρικάλων).[188] It was taken by a few early travelers, including Gell, Leake, Ross, and Philippson. Gell went to Manna from Klimenti, and Philippson the other way around, but neither made note of the ancient road.[189] On his way from Manna to Trikala, Gell saw "tiles" in a couple of places, and commented upon the "terrible zig zag ascent."[190] His journey from Klimenti to Trikala

188. Trikala has always been divided into three parts, the Upper, Middle, and Lower Quarters: Πάνω, Μέση, and Κάτω Συνοικία.

189. Gell 1817, pp. 19–20; Philippson 1892, p. 121.

190. Gell 1817, p. 20.

was almost four hours long. Leake, coming from Trikala, says that "the road, in order to avoid the abrupt descent to the main branch of the Xylo-kastro river, and the ascent from its right bank, makes a detour by the foot of the Ghymno-vuni."[191] The toponym is no longer recognizable, but Leake probably took a path that avoided the zigzag by curving toward the south. Stavros Koutivas mentions traces of an ancient cart road at the Upper Quarter of Trikala, "in the lower part of Agios Nikolaos," which is the main church of the village.[192] Locals remember the wheel-ruts reported by Koutivas, which were recently eradicated by the opening of a country road. Additional road traces in the Middle Quarter of the village were reported to me, but I did not pursue the investigation.

Of the two possible itineraries for the ancient road between Stavrodromi and the Goura spring, I would favor, with some reservations, the course through Kephalari because of the wider road bed preserved in places along the way. Either way, such a direct road from Phlious to Pellene had the advantage of circumventing Sikyonian territory, and being significantly shorter, at least in distance, than the road through Sikyonia to the harbor of Pellene and back toward the south. I believe that there is at least one occasion in Phliasian military history where the circumstances required an expedient trip to Pellene in search of provisions. This was in 366 B.C., when the Phliasians were at war with Sikyon. The Athenian general Chares, having escorted the noncombatant Phliasians to Pellene, was returning to Phlious by night with a convoy of beasts of burden loaded with supplies. The Sikyonians, however, laid an ambush and attacked Chares and his Phliasians on their way. The attack was successfully repulsed, and the Sikyonians were finally driven out of the road, while the Phliasians and Chares made it home safely.[193] In such circumstances, one would expect the Phliasians to have tried to keep outside Sikyonian territory as much as possible, and the only other way to approach Pellene would have been through Stavrodromi, Manna, and Trikala. I suggest that this is what they did, and that the Sikyonians waited for their return somewhere above the *kampos* of Kaisari.

SUMMARY OF THE ROAD NETWORK

Before addressing the frustrating questions of who created these roads, how they were administered, and when and how they were made, I summarize my reconstruction of the road network of Sikyonia. Along the coastal plain, there were at least two highways, extending from Corinth to Sikyon and across the Sythas River to Achaia. The Roman highway (R1) ran in an almost straight line from Corinth to the Sythas, and possibly continued beyond that river toward Aigeira and Patras. This road crossed the eastern part of the Sikyonian plain at about the middle, but once past the city of Sikyon it gained higher ground, only to drop down to the coast again at Xylokastro. The existence of a second, earlier *leophoros* (R2) is implied by ancient sources and shown on historical maps, and was confirmed by the location of the Medieval bridge over the *rema* Kyrillou (RS-3). This road ran parallel to the new highway from Corinth to Patras, along the foot of the southern heights of the plain. From Corinth to Sikyon it went higher

191. Leake 1830, p. 224.

192. Koutivas 1962, p. 35: Ἴχνη ἀμαξιτοῦ δρόμου βρίσκονται στὴν ἄνω συνοικία τῶν Τρικάλων καὶ στὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου.

193. The story is told by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.2.18–19).

than the Roman road, but from Sikyon to the Sythas River it continued closer to the coastline. Sikyon and Phlious communicated by at least six roads: two followed the courses of the Nemea (R13) and Asopos (R3) rivers, the latter being the direct road. Three more followed the Trikaranon mountain range passing below its summit (R4–R6). The sixth *hamaxitos* was through Titane, and was clearly secondary (R7). Stymphalos was served by one main artery leading from Sikyon through the *kampos* of Kaisari (R9), although it is likely that there were two roads leading from Sikyon to the *kampos,* one passing to the east (R9a) and the other to the west (R9b) of Souli. An alternative route to Stymphalos was through Titane and Agia Trias, and was clearly less important, albeit also a *hamaxitos* (R8).

Wagon access to the Asklepieion of Titane was possible directly from the Sikyonian plateau (R7), and also by deviating from the Stymphalos–Sikyon road (R10). It is not clear whether the access to the Asklepieion from the "direct road" to Phlious would also have taken carts or not. The normal way to go from Sikyon to Pellene was to take the coastal route to Aristonautai (R1, R2) and to then turn south. I am not convinced yet of the existence of a mountainous cart road to the Achaian city by way of Megali Valtsa, Stylia, and Trikala. It is more likely that the prominent marks of an ancient road from Sikyon to the plateau of Velina (R11) served other purposes, such as the transportation of timber. In addition, I have presented evidence—suggestive, though not conclusive—for the existence of an ancient road between Phlious and Pellene that skirted Sikyonian territory to the south (R12). Finally, there are a number of old paths—now country roads—that most likely represent ancient routes, such as the ones linking western coastal Sikyonia with the southern districts of the state (R16–R19).

The number of ancient roads that have survived through the Middle Ages to the present is surprising. Few carts have traveled them since the high empire, but their courses, efficiently and skillfully adapted to the mountainous terrain, were followed by the *kalderimia* and the *monopatia* of the Tourkokratia and early modern Greece.[194] In the case of the deviation to Titane, the course of the ancient road was abandoned because the Asklepieion, the main attraction, had long ceased to function. At the other end stands the example of the Roman road between Sikyon and Corinth, which was not only the main route in the coastal plain until the late 19th century, but also provided the axis for the layout of nine villages since at least the second half of the 17th century.[195] The pre-Roman road, which ran closer to the coast, was maintained throughout the Middle Ages, and was one of the two principal communication routes of the 17th-century Peloponnese.[196]

The *ex nihilo* creations of the Medieval and Ottoman eras, which appear as dirt and, more rarely, rock-cut and cobbled paths for pack animals and pedestrians, are few.[197] One of them is the path that led from Vasiliko to the monastery of Lechova. Having left the southern side of the Sikyonian plateau toward Xerokastelli, it crossed the stream known as Xerorema in order to continue southwest through the natural pass formed between Konstantithi and the Vesiza mountain range in the direction of Lechova. Its stepped switchbacks, at places cut out of the conglomerate northern bank of Xerorema, are still visible today (RS-22; Figs. 3.86, 3.87). Soon afterward it branched off in the direction of the village of Kryoneri. A small section

194. It is quite suggestive that in the past few years the Greek state has been working to build a highway along the Asopos River valley, the successor of the εὐθεῖα ὁδός.

195. For the foundation date of the villages in the Vocha plain, see below, pp. 358–359.

196. The second one was the route connecting Corinth to Tripolis via Argos; see Anoyatis-Pélé 1993, p. 31.

197. For a general treatment of the evolution of the road system in Greece, from antiquity to the Ottoman era, see Pikoulas 1999.



Figure 3.86. The zigzag course of the Medieval path to Lechova along the northern bank of Xerorema (RS-22)



Figure 3.87. Retaining wall and rock-cut path by Xerorema (RS-22)

TABLE 3.1. DISTANCES IN HOURS AND MINUTES FROM CORINTH AND KIATO (ACCORDING TO NOUCHAKIS 1901)

From Corinth to	*Distance*	*From Kiato to*	*Distance*
Ellinochori	4 hrs	Diminio	50 min
Evangelistria	2 hrs 30 min	Gonoussa	5 hrs
Kokkoni	2 hrs 30 min	Kaisari	5 hrs
Krinai	2 hrs 45 min	Klimenti	5 hrs
Bolati	2 hrs 20 min	Kryoneri	3 hrs 20 min
Bozika	11 hrs	Lalioti	2 hrs 20 min
Nerantza	3 hrs	Lechova	5 hrs
Poulitsa	2 hrs 30 min	Manna	6 hrs 30 min
Stimanga	10 hrs 45 min	Megali Valtsa	2 hrs 45 min
Titane	10 hrs 30 min	Melissi	2 hrs
Velo	3 hrs	Mikri Valtsa	3 hrs
Vochaiko	2 hrs 20 min	Moulki	45 min
Vrachati	2 hrs 15 min	Panariti	6 hrs
Xylokastro	6 hrs	Paradeisi	4 hrs
		Souli	3 hrs
		Stylia	5 hrs
		Sykia	2 hrs 15 min
		Thalero	2 hrs
		Throphari	3 hrs 15 min
		Vasiliko	1 hr
		Velina	5 hrs
		Zemeno	4 hrs

of the cobbled path is preserved leading to a stone bridge with raised arch over a tributary ravine to the Helisson River (RS-23). From Lechova now, one could follow three directions: to the south toward Bozika, Kastraki, and Asprokampos (through Lakapoka), to the west in order to descend to the valley of Kaisari, or to the east toward Titane.

Such modest paths provided communication between villages in the Medieval and post-Medieval eras until the appearance of the automobile. One of the first "road markers" (δρομοδείχτης) of early modern Greece, published in 1824, gives the distance between Corinth and Vasiliko as five hours, and between Vasiliko and Xylokastro as seven hours.[198] Ioannis Nouchakis, an infantry captain in the late 19th century, gives the distances in minutes and hours between the villages and the main cities (Table 3.1).[199] These distances are valid not only for the early modern era but also for the Medieval and ancient periods, when traveling was done primarily on foot or by means of pack animals, as I suggested at the beginning of this chapter. Thus, a Sikyonian horse-rider would have needed over six hours to reach the southern borders of the state, at the southern end of the valley of Kaisari, while the religious procession from Sikyon to the Sythas River and back would have taken almost 14 hours.

198. Rousiadis 1824, p. 61.

199. Nouchakis 1901, pp. 477–478 and 496–498. In addition, Rangavis (1853, p. 368) writes that the plateau of Vasiliko is 45 minutes away from the sea.

Road Creation and Administration

I have already touched upon the issue of responsibility for road making in Greece and the silence of the ancient authorities on the building and administration of roads. Among the few surviving written documents, most concern officials in charge of city streets, and only a handful refer to those involved with the roads of the *chora*.[200] In early Sparta, according to Herodotos (6.57), the kings alone had authority over public roads *(demosiai hodoi)*. In Classical Athens, the board of *agoranomoi* was responsible both for the maintenance of the city streets and for the *leophoroi* of the countryside that extended into the city.[201] A decree of Piraeus of 320/19 B.C. entrusts the *agoranomoi* with the task of repairing the agora and its surrounding streets but specifies that this was normally the duty (ἐπιμέλεια) of *astynomoi*.[202] Despite their name, the *astynomoi* of Hellenistic Pergamon were in charge of roads in both the city and the countryside.[203] Outside of Greece, in Scythia and Moesia, the inhabitants of a *kome* were obliged to maintain the *demosia hodos* by their village and perform the associated duties.[204] The obligation of landowners and householders to pave the roads in front of their property, be it within the city or in the countryside, is recorded also in Justinian's codices.[205] For Roman Sparta, an inscription found at Amyklai mentions an ἀγορανόμος ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδούς.[206] One of the responsibilities of *aediles* (ἀγορανόμοι) in Roman cities was the maintenance of the streets, among other public works.[207] In Corinth, one *agoranomos* and several *aediles* are epigraphically attested, but not in connection with roads.[208] In addition, an (ἐπιμελητὴς ἔργων) δημοσίων, "curator of public works," is restored in an inscription that was found in several fragments in the area of the forum.[209] For Sikyon, there is no evidence of an official for any period connected with public works, but this is hardly surprising if we take into account the paucity of inscriptions from this city. Perhaps *agoranomoi* and *astynomoi* were in charge of the roads inside and outside the city, as at Athens, Piraeus, and Pergamon, but the comparison might not be valid, considering how different these four cities were.

The main question, though, regards the driving force behind the interstate roads that we have described. Were they products of collaboration between the concerned city-states, or was their construction undertaken by only one polity? There are no definite answers to these questions regarding Sikyonia or any other Greek city-state. Pikoulas put forward the attractive

200. To the examples cited by Pritchett (*SAGT* III, pp. 145–151), one may now add the 5th-century B.C. inscription found at the port of Thasos, mentioning the body of *epistatai* as being in charge of the supervision of city streets; see Duchêne 1992, especially pp. 48–49 and 109–131.

201. Pl. *Leg.* 6.763c: τῶν τε ὁδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τεταμένων.

202. *IG* II² 380, lines 17–22.

203. *OGIS* 483; on the disputed date of the inscription, see *SAGT* III, p. 148, n. 12.

204. *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris* II.1, 378, side A, front, line 13; *SEG* XIX 476, side A, front, lines 10–15; both inscriptions are dated to the 2nd century A.D.

205. *Dig.* 43.10.

206. *IG* V.1 497 (2nd century A.D.). Cartledge and Spawforth (1989, p. 152) think that these were presumably roads "in the civic domain" requiring repair, a task undertaken by the wealthy citizen Pratolaos.

207. See *RE* I, 1894, cols. 458–463, s.v. aedilis (W. Kubitschek).

208. *Corinth* VIII.2, pp. 62–66, 77–79, 85, 107–108, nos. 80, 81, 93, 104b, 132; *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 79, 87, 121–122, nos. 171, 195, 308, pls. 15, 17, 25.

209. *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 58, no. 127a, pl. 13.

suggestion that the Peloponnesian League was responsible for some of the "international" roads in the Peloponnese, in order to facilitate the movements of its army.[210] This may have been particularly true for the roads leading from Phlious to Sikyon, which were so important for Sparta. In other cases, however, such as the road to Titane, or the mountainous road to the southwest (R11), the initiative was clearly taken by the Sikyonian state.

Technical Characteristics of Roads

Some of the road traces that I have presented reflect not only laborious effort but high engineering skills. We have seen the impressive rock-cut section of Elliniko, as deep as 1.7 m and several meters long (Fig. 3.74), or the one at Saitaiika of Velo carved out of compact conglomerate stone (Fig. 3.24). Wheel-ruts in sloping ground could go as deep as 0.3–0.4 m, as at Melisiklias of Kryoneri and Prophetes Elias of Manna. In leveled surfaces, for example at Agios Georgios of Souli or at Panagia Giouroutsi of Velo, the grooves are more shallow. The deeper wheel-ruts in slopes were partly man-made and partly produced by the higher friction created here by the braking wheels.[211] In addition, the distance between the grooves had to be accurately calculated and related to the horizontal inclination of the wagon, if any existed. The average gauge (from measurements at six sites) was found to be ca. 1.45 m. The wheel-ruts at Bouzouliko were 1.40 m apart, but in both cases the grooves are not on the same plane, which explains the slightly smaller distance between them. The tilting of the cart in that section corresponded to a wide curve of the road, and obeyed the principle of balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces.[212] On unstable ground, such as the marly narrow ridges formed between the Asopos and the Helisson river gullys to the southwest of the Sikyonian plateau, and in much of the northwestern districts of Sikyonia, artificial terracing was required. The segment exposed at Xerokastelli (RS-24) shows that at least in some cases massive, steplike terracing was put in place over considerable distances. All of these examples show that the making of a road was a well-planned and accurately executed task.

Two ancient passages, one Greek and one Latin, referring, respectively, to the tools used for *hodopoiia* and the cutting of a rock for road purposes, have not received much attention in modern studies. The former text concerns the preparation of Cyrus the Younger on the eve of his great march from Sardis to Babylonia (Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.36). The king gave to the ἄρχοντες τῶν ὁδοποιῶν a list of the spearmen, archers, and slingers who would march in squads ahead of the wagons, "in case there was any need of road-building." The spearmen were to use πέλεκυν ξυλοκόπον, the archers σμινύην, and the slingers ἄμην. There is hardly any doubt that the πέλεκυς ξυλοκόπος was an ax for woodcutting, but the meaning of σμινύη is less certain: Daremberg and Saglio translate it as "la houe à deux fourchons" (I, 709a), and Liddell, Scott, and Jones as a "two-pronged hoe or mattock." I argue below that "mattock" must be the equivalent of the ἄμη, whereas most occurrences of the word σμινύη seem to fit the two-pronged hoe, an instrument used in agriculture.[213] The meaning of ἄμη is even more obscure: its use in various texts indicates that it probably designated more than one thing

210. See Pikoulas 1988, pp. 198–201; 1995, pp. 350–352; 2001.

211. On the braking system of a wagon when the descent was steep, see White 1984, p. 96; Pikoulas 1995, p. 21 and n. 34.

212. I have deliberately refrained from addressing the issue of a standard or varied gauge of rutted roads, because its proper discussion requires careful and comprehensive examination of all physical examples from at least mainland Greece and the Peloponnese; the need to establish a corpus of wheel-ruts made with careful measurements has been stressed by Pritchett (*SAGT* III, p. 177) and Pikoulas (1995, p. 22, n. 36).

213. Aristophanes, the closest source chronologically to Xenophon to use this word, mentions σμινύες in the context of ἀνορύττειν some pots (*Av.* 602) and κατασκάπτειν a roof (*Nub.* 1486).

in antiquity. Daremberg and Saglio are uncertain as to whether the word meant a "spade" or a "hoe" (IV, 279), but suggest that the term originally meant a pickax, and has lost this meaning since the Classical period (IV, 1361). In scholiasts and lexicographers the word is either translated vaguely, as a "digging instrument," or as a synonym to σκαφίον. Aristophanes uses the word in three different passages: in *Peace* 299, Trygaios urges everyone to rush to liberate Eirene ἄμας λαβόντας καὶ μοχλοὺς καὶ σχοινία; in line 426, it is Hermes who exhorts the men ταῖς ἄμαις . . . ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλκετε; in the *Birds* again οἱ χῆνες ὑποτύπτοντες ὥσπερ ταῖς ἄμαις ἐς τὰς λεκάνας ἐνέβαλλον [τὸν πηλόν] αὐτοῖς τοῖν ποδοῖν (1145–1146). All three passages seem to indicate an instrument used to push stones or dirt away, in other words a kind of mattock, rather than a pickax, shovel, or spade, as LSJ translates the term. But how were these instruments used for the purpose of *hodopoiia?* I believe that Xenophon lists them in their order of usage: with the πέλεκυν ξυλοκόπον the *hodopoioi* would cut the trees and bushes blocking the way of the wagons. Then, they would take the σμινύη and dig up the dirt or soften it with the forks of this tool, so that they could push the excessive or projecting dirt away and level off the ground with the ἄμη.[214]

An interesting detail of Xenophon's passage is that no hammers or chisels are mentioned, for however we translate the three tools used, none are synonymous with τύχος/τύκος, σφῦρα, or αἰχμή, tools explicitly used for carving rock. The absence of such tools can be explained by the fact that Cyrus intended to take the major route to Babylon, and the crew of road-makers was appointed ὅπως ἤν τι δέῃ ὁδοποιίας, in other words, just in case they were needed. Hannibal, on the contrary, was prepared for a difficult route when he decided to march against Rome. On the ridge of the Alps the Carthaginian leader ordered his soldiers to cut a road through the rock, their only possible pass. Livy describes the process:

> They felled some huge trees that grew near at hand, and lopping off their branches, made an enormous pile of logs. This they set on fire, as soon as the wind blew fresh enough to make it burn, and pouring vinegar *(acetum)* over the glowing rocks, caused them to crumble. After thus heating the crag with fire, they opened a way in it with iron tools, and relieved the steepness of the slope with zig zags of an easy gradient, so that not only the baggage animals but even the elephants could be led down.[215]

The story may be somewhat exaggerated, and some scholars have doubted the efficiency of heat and vinegar in dissolving rocks, but their combination certainly must have eased the task.[216] Perhaps it was manual labor, here as elsewhere, that played the major role in cutting through the rock. Pick marks are visible on the sides of the long and deep rock-cut section along the road from Orneai to Mantineia at Portes.[217] I observed chisel marks on the side of the wheel-rut at Spelantoni above Stylia. Most of the deep wheel-ruts were chiseled, but the passage of the wheel smoothed the groove and rubbed out the marks. In fact, the carving of two parallel grooves saved the workmen time and energy, for they were rarely required to smooth down the surface between the ruts. The section of the road at

214. Stephen Miller suggested to me an alternative interpretation based on his understanding of σμινύη as a large "hoe" and of ἄμη as a "shovel" (and resembling a goose foot); accordingly, the soldiers in charge of road construction would have dug the earth with the σμινύη, and then shoveled it with the ἄμη. I consider both possibilities equally attractive.

215. Livy 21.37.2–3, trans. B. O. Foster, Cambridge, Mass., 1926.

216. See Sage 1922; the author argues for the plausibility of Livy's story.

217. See Pikoulas 1990–1991b, pp. 280–281; 1995, pp. 104–109, with bibliography.

Prophetes Elias of Manna, with its bulky, unfinished ground between the grooves, illustrates the point. The unimpeded journey of the wagons was possible thanks to the high clearance of their carriage.[218]

Dating

I have purposefully left until the end the issue of dating the Sikyonian roads, for the reason that, with one exception, the physical evidence is not helpful. Main arteries, such as the ones connecting Corinth to Achaia, possibly Sikyon to the Argolid via the Nemea River, and Sikyon to Stymphalos and Arkadia, must go back to the Mycenaean period. During the excavations for the construction of the highway connecting Corinth to Patras in 1966, a Late Bronze Age road was discovered at Cheliotomylos, almost parallel to the Archaic and Classical road that went through the North Cemetery of Corinth. The dating of this early road was established by pottery retrieved from its undisturbed section.[219] Starting in the Early Archaic period, roads connecting the poleis of the northeastern Peloponnese—Corinth, Sikyon, Phlious, Argos, Stymphalos, and Pellene—became more numerous and acquired more importance. The refoundation of the city of Sikyon by Demetrios, and in particular its adherence to the Achaian League in the 3rd century, would have initiated further road building and repairing activity. I would be hesitant to date any of the roads I have discussed to the Roman period, for two reasons: first, because Roman legions, often associated with road making, were not stationed in, or moving through, the *provincia Achaia;*[220] and second, because there is no firm evidence for an imperial ἐπιδημία to Sikyon, which could have provided the occasion for construction or repair of a road.[221] The one exception is the road to Achaia, which was part of a project of land centuriation of the Corinthian colony, and which extended beyond Corinthian frontiers, and possibly beyond the western Sikyonian frontiers as well. This is not the place to discuss the ramifications of this for the importance and influence of Corinth within the province of Achaia. Romano associates the application of a grid pattern over the coastal plain, part of which was the road to Achaia, with the *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis* of Vespasian's time.[222] The surviving portion of a bridge over the Asopos suggests a later date for this road, but the extant bridge may have replaced an earlier one.

218. On the various kinds of Greek carts, wagons, and chariots—ἀπήναι, κάρρα, ἅμαξαι, ἅρματα, ζεύγη, with two (δίτροχος) or four wheels (τετράτροχος)—see Crouwel 1992, esp. pp. 77–98.

219. Charitonidis 1968, pp. 122–123; the pottery dates from the LH IIIA2 period.

220. On the role played by the Roman army in road building in the provinces of the empire, see Chevallier 1976, pp. 84–85.

221. The three emperors who came to the northern Peloponnese, namely Nero, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, visited Corinth but their presence in Sikyon is as yet unattested (Chevallier 1988, pp. 180–182, 190–192, 194–196). For the connection between the imperial *adventus* and road building, see Halfmann 1986, pp. 85–89.

222. Romano 2003, pp. 291–293.

Defenses

The roads presented in the previous chapter assured communication between Sikyon and its neighboring states. The various kinds of fortifications examined in this chapter were aimed at protecting the city-state and its territory against threats from its neighbors and other forces beyond its boundaries. Fortifications include the walls of the city, and the forts and towers of the countryside. The last type, that is the towers, are the most problematic as far as their function is concerned. The scholarly debate over this issue has a long history and has produced an extensive publication record.[1] The subject is complicated because there are different kinds of towers: round and square, compartmented and not, small and large. When these towers are built on top of conspicuous hills and mountains there is little doubt that they served as lookouts, and the majority of single towers discussed in this chapter fall into this category. The purpose of installations in low-lying areas, with a limited view at least from ground level, is more ambiguous. Were these part of the defensive network of the city-state, or massive private towers of residential or other, nonmilitary, purpose? Answers must be sought on a case-by-case basis. Excavations of towers would advance our efforts to understand their nature, but these have been carried out in only a handful of towers in Greece.

1. Among the dozens of studies of towers, both articles and monographs, I would single out the following: Hasebroek 1922; Lord 1938, pp. 526–527; 1939, pp. 82–83; Hammond 1954, pp. 108–111; Young 1956, pp. 131–143; Nowicka 1975, pp. 9–11, 31–35, 84, 141; Lawrence 1979, pp. 187–197; Adam 1982, pp. 71–76; Munn 1982; Ober 1982; Fracchia 1985; Osborne 1986, pp. 167–175; 1987, pp. 63–70; Pikoulas 1990–1991a; Camp 1991; Pritchett 1991, pp. 352–358; Lohmann 1992, pp. 39–40; Morris 2001, pp. 339–343; Morris and Papadopoulos 2005 (with extensive bibliography). There is a definite trend in recent studies to "demilitarize" many of these mighty installations, by assigning them a residential or other purpose. Morris and Papadopoulos (2005) go as far as to suggest that many of these stone towers were meant to confine slaves. Their theory is supported by no ancient sources, but this is not surprising as very few ancient sources talk about towers and their uses. It is true that there are many towers in areas with intensive agricultural and mining activities, such as Attica and Thasos. As the authors are well aware, however, the areas with perhaps the greatest slave populations in Greece, namely, the southern Peloponnese and Chios, have no towers, and this seriously undermines their argument. Furthermore, the elaborate and expensive construction techniques of many of these towers hardly fits with a purpose as mundane as a slave prison. It is clear that those who put up these towers sought to obtain visibility from the upper stories over a certain area. In other words, even towers located in valleys allowed for the surveillance of the surrounding area, clearly for protective purposes. Given that storage facilities are often found in these towers, particularly on the lower floors, I would suggest that at least some of them were occupied by property overseers and used for the storage of agricultural produce, while at the same time acting as symbols of power and wealth of their owners.

Particularly relevant to this chapter is the case of towers and larger complexes lying along ancient roads, such as the so-called pyramids of the Argolid and the Sikyonian complex of Elliniko, which I describe below. I argue that many of the installations that are located in close proximity to important interstate roads were built to accommodate the *peripoloi,* whose duty was to patrol the countryside.[2] There are occasional references in ancient literature to *peripolia,* literally "patrol houses," and *phylakteria*, or guard-posts, in the countryside, both of considerable size.[3] It is possible that some of these imposing structures built alongside important roads were the bases of operation for the *peripoloi* and the *phylakes* of the countryside. The abundance of household ware and agricultural implements found in and around some of them does not exclude a military function, for several reasons: (1) such items were regularly used by soldiers, (2) the structures could have served on occasion as refuge points for the surrounding population, and (3) some of the structures were reoccupied in later periods.[4]

I begin this chapter by discussing the fortifications of the city itself in the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Medieval, and Ottoman periods. I then describe the forts and independent towers of the *chora* in geographical order, moving generally from east to west. In this section, I also include the forts of Epieikia and Dera, which are mentioned in literature but remain unidentified. Next, I explain how I understand the defensive system of Sikyonia to have worked in antiquity. Finally, I present the post-antique defensive installations of the countryside.

FORTIFICATIONS OF SIKYON

The Archaic and Classical City

Arnold Lawrence, who has examined a large number of fortified cities of the ancient world, argues that "in the fourth century an unwalled city was an anomaly in the more civilized parts of Greece."[5] Sikyon was certainly not an exception, judging from references to the walls of the Classical city in ancient literature. The first such notice is found in Diodoros in relation to the invasion of Sikyonia by Perikles in 454 B.C. The Athenian general, having defeated the Sikyonians in the plain and killed many as they fled, laid siege to the city. He made unsuccessful assaults on the walls, fleeing when a Lakedaimonian contingent came to the support of the besieged:

> . . . ὁ Περικλῆς νικήσας καὶ πολλοὺς κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἀνελὼν κατέκλεισεν αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν. Προσβολὰς δὲ ποιούμενος

2. On the *peripoloi,* see the comprehensive discussion offered by Pelekidis (1962, pp. 35–47).

3. Thucydides (3.99), for example, describes the capture by the Athenians of a Lokrian *peripolion,* located on the border of Lokroi and Rhegion in southern Italy. In another passage (6.45) we read that the Syracusans, expecting an Athenian attack, "would send garrisons to the *peripolia* in the countryside." Aristotle (*Pol.* 1331b14–19) reminds his fellow citizens that the magistrates of the *chora* should always have *phylakteria* and mess-rooms for the protection of the countryside.

4. Particularly in Late Roman and Middle Byzantine times; examples of this are the Argive "blockhouses" excavated by Lord (1941) and the recently excavated Hellenistic tower of Pyrgouthi in the Berbati valley (Hjohlman, Penttinen, and Wells 2005).

5. Lawrence 1979, p. 121.

> τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειλάντων βοήθειαν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις, ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Σικυῶνος.[6]

From this passage it is clear that the walls surrounding the city were substantial and sufficient for resisting assaults.

We encounter the Sikyonian walls again in the context of the Corinthian War. Xenophon states that, from the time the war ended onward, neither the Confederates nor the Spartans employed large armies, but were content to send out garrisons to guard the walls of Corinth and Sikyon, respectively: φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν ἐς Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Σικυῶνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη (*Hell.* 4.4.14). When the Athenian Iphikrates marched against Sikyon in 391 B.C., the Sikyonian forces were drawn up in front of the walls, and having killed about five hundred of the enemy fled to the city:

> οἱ Σικυώνιοι παραταξάμενοι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπέβαλον περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.[7]

Toward the end of the century (303 B.C.), Demetrios Poliorketes caught the city's Ptolemaic garrison by surprise and entered the walls. After the garrison fled to the acropolis, the Macedonian general took possession of the city and occupied the area between the houses and the acropolis:

> τῆς δὲ τῶν Σικυωνίων πόλεως φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν, ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Φίλιππος, νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενος [Demetrios] ἀπροσδοκήτως παρεισέπεσεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους. εἶτα οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τῆς πόλεως κυριεύσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς ἄκρας κατεῖχε.[8]

Having moved the population up to the acropolis, Demetrios razed to the ground the part of the city adjacent to the harbor, since its site was completely insecure:

> ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοὺς Σικυωνίους εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετοικίσας τὸ μὲν τῷ λιμένι συνάπτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατέσκαψε, ἀνοχύρου παντελῶς ὄντος τοῦ τόπου. . . .[9]

Polyainos gives a fuller version of the capture of the city. In his *Strategemata* (4.7.3), he relates how Demetrios prepared a triple attack: he ordered that his mercenaries rush against the gate to Pellene, and that his navy show up in the harbors, while he marched with his hoplites from Kenchreai and attacked the city from the east:

> Δημήτριος ἀδοκήτως προσπεσεῖν τῇ Σικυῶνι βουλόμενος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κεγχρέας κἀκεῖ διέτριβεν ἡμέραις πλείοσι προσέχων ἡδοναῖς καὶ τρυφαῖς. ὀπηνίκα δὲ πόρρῳ τῆς ὑπονοίας ἐγένοντο Σικυώνιοι, τὸ μὲν ξενικὸν μετὰ Διοδώρου νυκτὸς ἔταξε προσβαλεῖν κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Πελλήνην πόλιν πύλας, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὁπλιτικὸν αὐτὸς ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε πανταχόθεν τὰς προσβολὰς ποησάμενος τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτησεν.

6. Diod. Sic. 11.88.2. The Sikyonian defeat in the plain by Perikles is also recorded by Thucydides (1.111.2) and Plutarch (*Per.* 19), but these two authors do not mention the subsequent siege of the city.

7. Diod. Sic. 14.91.3.

8. Diod. Sic. 20.102.2.

9. Diod. Sic. 20.102.2. By ἀνοχύρου here, Diodoros means that the site was not a natural stronghold, rather than it was "unwalled"; in the opposite case, it would conflict with his previous reference to the *teichos* of the city.

Whereas the first three passages quoted above simply support the existence of fortifications around the city during the 5th and early 4th centuries, the last two tell us more. Diodoros's account of Demetrios's destruction of the lower city contains valuable information on the extent of the πόλις vis-à-vis its λιμήν and its ἄκρα. That the harbor was adjacent (σύναπτον) to the city is explicitly stated, although the spatial relation of the city to the acropolis is less clearly defined. From the relevant sentence, one could interpret that the site "between the houses and the acropolis" was part of the city, in other words, that the city extended from the harbor to the eastern foot of the acropolis.

Traces of walls stretching from the foot of the hill toward the sea were reported by Pouqueville, Leake, and Wyse. Pouqueville, ascending toward the plateau from Kiato, identified "les soubassements d'une espèce de longs murs qui unissaient probablement Sicyone à la ville basse fondée par Démétrius [*sic*]."[10] Leake, descending from the plateau, recorded the following:

> On the descent [from Vasiliko to Moulki] I observe some remains of the ancient walls of the city; there are some others near Mulki, and they are traceable also at intervals towards the sea, showing clearly that the whole place, a distance of more than 2 miles from the northern point of the Acropolis, was at some period connected by walls with the hill Vasilika.[11]

Some 30 years later, Wyse saw spurs of the same wall extending in a straight line:

> An insignificant stream was passed, supposed to be the Helisson; and, as we proceeded [toward Sikyon], fragments of masonry above ground became here and there observable. I was assured on good authority, that similar remains can be traced the whole way down to the sea; and, the straight line they lie in from Sicyon affords proof sufficient of their having formed a portion of the old wall of connection between the city and its harbour, which last was situated at two miles from the Akropolis.[12]

All three travelers described the traces of the walls at the northwestern side of the plain, running parallel to the Helisson River, from Moulki toward the western part of Kiato. I was not able to find these traces, and I doubt that they survive anywhere above surface level today. The most plausible explanation for their disappearance is intensive cultivation of the plain by mechanical means, along with the expansion of the town of Kiato, whose population has increased more than tenfold in the last hundred years. It is unfortunate that the travelers who saw the wall segments were not more specific about their masonry. I can see two possibilities: either the reported traces belonged to a barrier wall, ancient or Medieval in date, or they were indeed the remains of one of the two parallel walls that stretched from the hill to the gulf and encompassed the Classical city in the plain.

As for the first possibility, barrier walls are known from the Classical, Late Antique, and Medieval periods in Greece.[13] In the case of Sikyon, there is no reference to a barrier wall in the Classical period, and, I might add, no obvious need to build one along the Helisson River. The historical record

10. Pouqueville 1826, pp. 432–433.
11. Leake 1830, p. 382.
12. Wyse 1865, p. 298.
13. For ancient barrier walls, see Lawrence 1979, pp. 167–172.

shows that the majority of incursions into the northern Peloponnese and army movements along the coast were directed westward from the Isthmus of Corinth, in which case a barrier wall along the western side of Sikyon would have been of no use. Reference to construction of a barrier wall at this site is equally missing in Late Antique and Medieval testimonia. It was clearly not part of the Justinianic building program; otherwise Procopius, in his elegy to the imperial *aedificia,* would not have failed to mention it.[14] During the Frankish occupation, the construction, repair, and ownership of the castle of Vasilika—first by Guillaume II of Villehardouin and later by the Florentine Acciaiuoli—are attested, but no reference is made to the construction of walls reaching to the sea. The first half of the 15th century was characterized by the Ottoman invasions of the Peloponnese. Chalkokondyles describes the siege and surrender of the acropolis in 1446 to Murat II, who thereafter marched to Achaia. There is no reference here or elsewhere to a barrier wall across the plain, and since the city had in the meantime moved down to the plain and the Ottomans had moved west from the Isthmus, the construction of such a barrier wall on the Helisson side would have been useless.[15]

Regarding the other possibility, that the spurs of the wall seen by the early travelers were the remains of one of two parallel walls flanking the Classical city, there are two difficulties: (1) none of the travelers reported wall segments in the southeastern part of the plain, toward the Asopos River, and (2) there is no reference to the Μακρὰ τείχη of Sikyon in the ancient literature. One possible explanation for the absence of physical traces of the second wall is the total destruction by Demetrios of the section adjacent to the harbor. It must be noted here that no remains of the Long Walls of Corinth could be seen before excavations, and that the excavations there revealed only a short segment of one (western) side, whereas the other (eastern) side was traced for over 250 meters.[16] The lack of literary references can be explained by the fact that such walls, had they existed, would not have connected the city to the harbor, as in the case of Corinth and Athens, but would have been the walls of the city itself, stretching from the harbor in the northeast to the foot of the acropolis in the southwest. Thus, the references to the *teiche* of the polis may well be to the walls running parallel to the Asopos and Helisson rivers, part of which were visible in the early 19th century. In terms of defensive strategy, it makes more sense to assume that the city was connected to, rather than separated from, its acropolis, and we know that on one side it was adjacent to the harbor. The link between the acropolis and the lower city is best shown in the story of Euphron's deposition from power; when the tyrant, having fled the acropolis, managed to capture the city, he was aware that he could not hold onto it unless he could regain the acropolis from the Thebans: ἐπὶ ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν (Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.4). If we picture the walls of the city extending as far as the foot of the hill, we can better understand the plan contrived by Demetrios Poliorketes and reported by Polyainos: the city could be assaulted from three of its four sides, namely, the southeastern (toward Corinth), the northeastern (toward the harbor), and the northwestern (toward Pellene). Its southwestern side was inaccessible, being protected by the acropolis.

14. Procopius goes so far as to credit the emperor with projects in which he had only a small share; see above, p. 81.

15. For the passage of Chalkokondyles, see above, p. 88.

16. *Corinth* III.2, p. 85.

If the evidence, albeit scanty, favors the existence of parallel walls erected across the plain and flanking pre-Hellenistic Sikyon, more questions arise: How large was the intramural space? When were the walls built? Did the harbor have its own fortifications, separating it from the city? Again, answers to these questions can be only speculative, since we lack physical evidence and explicit textual references.

The size of the area within the walls depends upon the distance between the northwestern and southeastern walls of the city. We have seen that the northwestern wall ran close to the Helisson River. The position of the southeastern wall depends on whether it included the large cemetery of Chtiri, located on both sides of the road leading from the acropolis to the harbor. As I have already mentioned, this cemetery remains largely unpublished, but from brief excavation reports we know that it was in use as far back as the Late Archaic period.[17] Considering that in the majority of Greek cities the cemeteries lay outside the gates, it is reasonable to propose that the southeastern wall of the city was located to the west of the road to the harbor. In addition, Euphron's flight from the acropolis to the harbor at the appearance of Aineias could be taken as an indication that the road to the harbor did not pass through the city. How far to the west of this road the southeastern wall of Sikyon was built would be indicated by the extent of the cemetery in the Classical period, which unfortunately remains unknown. The distance between the two could not have been too great because part of the city was adjacent to the harbor, which extended to the southeast of the hill of Magoula. On the other hand, the excavations for the construction of the new railway to Patras did not reveal any traces of such a wall, which means that, had the wall existed, it would have run to the north of the northern end of the excavated strip.[18] On Map 5, I show a hypothetical course for the east wall of Sikyon that takes all of these factors into account. If the position of this southeastern wall is correct, the area between the walls was roughly 3 km in length and 1 km in width, or ca. 3 km^2.

We have seen that the earliest reference to these walls is made by Diodoros in relation to the Athenian raids under Perikles in 454 B.C. If we trust his version of the event, the date sets a terminus ante quem for the fortifications of the city. The increasing power of Athens would have certainly provided a need for adequate fortifications, here as in other Greek cities. As Frederick Winter observes, "during the Pentekontaetia, for one reason or another, all important cities of the Greek mainland were compelled to enlarge their circuits in order to include most of the lower city within the defences."[19] Winter considers this *Geländermauer* type of circuit "the most significant innovation of the Pentekontaetia," destined to last for more than a century.[20] The passage in Xenophon proves that the walls certainly existed by the time of the Corinthian War. The fortification enceinte of the neighboring city of Corinth is dated sometime between the Corinthian War and the Macedonian era, whereas the Long Walls are placed between the 450s and the Corinthian War.[21]

We come finally to the question of the defenses of the harbor. Two historical incidents show that possession of the harbor was achieved without simultaneous possession of the city.[22] When the Stymphalian Aineias

17. See below, pp. 283–284.

18. In 2010, excavations started along the sides of the "new" highway to Patras (which is closer to the acropolis than the railway excavations) for the construction of a new, much wider, highway. The excavations conducted directly north of the Asopos River have so far revealed no clear traces of a city wall.

19. Winter 1971, p. 56.

20. Winter 1971, p. 304.

21. For the date of the defenses of the lower town, see *Corinth* III.2, p. 82; on the date of the Long Walls, pp. 84 and 120. Williams (1982) argues that archaeological evidence supports the existence of a city wall in Corinth as early as the last quarter of the 7th century B.C. The Classical city walls of Corinth encompassed approximately 5.5 km^2, and over 12 km^2 when the area between the Long Walls is included (Romano and Schoenbrun 1993, p. 177).

22. On the basis of this literary evidence, Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 497) believes that the harbor had its own fortifications. In my view, the passages indicate merely that the city was independent from the harbor; no independent fortifications for the port need be proposed.

marched to the acropolis of Sikyon with his army (366 B.C.), Euphron in panic fled to the harbor and surrendered it to the Lakedaimonians. He excused himself for not being able to hand over the entire city, but just the port, of which alone he had secured possession: εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδυνάσθην ἐγώ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸν ὑμᾶς ἀπέστην. νῦν δ' οὗ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παραδέδωκα ὑμῖν.[23] In the next paragraph, Xenophon says that the tyrant, having received help from the Athenians and the Sikyonian populace, was able to take possession of the *asty* as well (*Hell.* 7.3.4). After the departure of Euphron, the Sikyonian citizens regained possession of their harbor with Arkadian help (*Hell.* 7.4.1).

The second incident is connected with one of the Theban invasions of the Peloponnese, and the successful attempt of Pammenes to capture the Sikyonian port by using a trick. When his disguised "merchant" ship anchored in the harbor, he and his soldiers attacked the city, causing a great turmoil. As the Sikyonians around the harbor hurried toward the noise to defend their city, the Theban hoplites disembarked from the ship and became masters of the port. The event is described by Polyainos:

> ὁ δὲ Παμμένης, ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἐφώρμει τῷ λιμένι καὶ ἦν ἑσπέρα, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει σὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν λιμένα πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον ὁρμήσαντες βοηθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο. ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου δὲ τοῦ στρογγύλου ἀποβάντες οἱ ὁπλῖται μηδενὸς κωλύοντος τὸν λιμένα κατέσχον.[24]

I believe that the literary evidence presented above argues strongly for the existence of a cross-wall separating the city from the harbor, but whether the harbor was also fortified or not is unknown. Needless to say, no signs of fortifications are visible today, but in the late 19th century Paganelis reported remains of an ancient wall on a terrace below the church of the Koimesis (Κοίμιση) of Kiato.[25] This church stood over 300 m inland from the artificial breakwater of Magoula, where the church of the Panagia stands now.[26] Thus, the location of the ἐρείπια ἀρχαίου τείχους, reported by Paganelis as being lower than the hill of Panagia, would be suitable as the site of a διατείχισμα separating the city from the harbor.

The Hellenistic and Roman City

We have commented on the strategic advantages of the Sikyonian plateau over the original city of Aigialeus, which led Demetrios to relocate the city. Perhaps the most important element of the new site was its defensibility (ὀχυρότης), which drew the attention of Aemilius Paulus, the victor of the Second Macedonian War, in the course of his sightseeing trip to Greece.[27]

23. Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.3.

24. *Strat.* 5.16.3. The event most likely took place during the second Theban invasion in 368 B.C. A shorter and slightly different version of this story is offered by Frontinus, who says that the Thebans occupied both harbor and town: "Thebanae naves et portum vacantem at urbem occupaverunt" (*Str.* 3.2.10). I would put more credit on the longer version by Polyainos.

25. Paganelis 1891, p. 350.

26. See below, p. 285.

27. Polyb. 30.10.4: ἐπισημηνάμενος δὲ [Aemilius] τοῦ Σικυῶνος τὴν ὀχυρότητα.

The acropolis was not fortified prior to the foundation of Demetrias, as can be shown by the extant remains of the walls and the lack of ancient references to *teiche* in the Classical period.

Literary Evidence

To begin with the ancient testimonia, there are two explicit references to the walls of the city of Demetrios. One is related to Nikostratos, the Achaian general at Sikyon during the Second Macedonian War. Livy says that the praetor did not dare to step out of the walls from fear of the forces of Philip V of Macedon that were raiding the territory.[28] Before that period, the walls of Sikyon feature prominently in the story of Aratos's adventurous return to Sikyon, which Plutarch relates in detail (*Arat.* 4–9).[29] A runaway came to Argos and informed the exiled Aratos that a spot along the walls where he climbed and fled the city (Sikyon) "was almost level on the inside, being attached to rocky and high ground, and that its exterior height was not so inaccessible by ladders":

> τοῦ τείχους καθ' ὃν ὑπερβὰς αὐτὸς ἐσώθη τόπον, ἐντὸς μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, προσπεφυκότα χωρίοις πετρώδεσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὕψος ὑπὸ κλιμάκων οὐ πάνυ ἀνέφικτον (*Arat.* 4.3).

At once Aratos sent men to check the information, and when they returned after measuring the wall, they announced that the nature of the place was "not impassable nor even difficult." The only difficulty was to approach this place secretly due to the presence of a nearby gardener with small but fierce dogs:

> τοῦ μὲν τείχους εἰληφότες μέτρα καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν ἀπαγγέλοντες οὐκ ἄπορον οὐδὲ χαλεπήν, τὸ δὲ λαθεῖν προσελθόντας ἐργῶδες εἶναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ κηπουροῦ τινος κυαρίων, μικρῶν μὲν, ἐκτόπως δὲ μαχίμων καὶ ἀπαρηγορήτων (*Arat.* 5.5).

Accordingly, Aratos had foldaway ladders made and loaded them on wagons. When he and his companions arrived in front of the walls, they safely planted their ladders and prepared to mount the walls, watching out for the early morning sentries that were making their rounds:

> οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσέμειξάν τε τῷ τείχει καὶ προσήρεισαν τὰς κλίμακας ἀσφαλῶς. ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων, ὁ τὴν ἐωθινὴν φυλακὴν παραδιδοὺς ἐφώδευε κώδωνι, καὶ φῶτα πολλὰ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν ἐπιπορευομένων. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ εἶχον αὐτοῦ πτήξαντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλιμάκων, τούτους μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔλαθον, ἄλλης δὲ φυλακῆς ἐναντίας ταύτῃ προσερχομένης εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον ἦλθον (*Arat.* 7.4–5).

Having successfully eluded the sentinels, the first group mounted to the top and occupied both sides of the gallery:

> ὡς δὲ κἀκείνην διέφυγον παρελθοῦσαν, εὐθὺς ἀνέβαινον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μνασίθεον καὶ Ἔκδηλον, καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ὁδοὺς τοῦ τείχους διαλαβόντες, . . . (*Arat.* 7.6).

28. Livy 33.14.6: "moenibus non excedebat."

29. Given the fact that the *Life of Aratos* was based on the autobiography of the statesman, Plutarch's account preserves an autoptic testimony.

Suddenly the big hunting dog of the tower, prompted by the barking of the gardener's dogs, began to growl in response, for "the distance from the garden to the wall and to the tower was not too great":

> ἦν δ' οὐ πολὺ διάστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ κήπου πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὸν πύργον, ἐν ᾧ κύων μέγας ἐφρούρει θηρατικός (*Arat.* 8.1).

Again luck was on Aratos's side, for the man from the tower (ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου), thinking that his dog had been excited by the lights of the τειχοφύλακες, did not suspect anything (*Arat.* 8.2). When everything seemed safe, Aratos mounted the wall after his accomplices and went up against the tyrant's house (*Arat.* 8.3–4).

This lively and picturesque story contains valuable information on the walls, regarding their size and upper structure, and the presence of at least one tower. In addition, it provides a few clues for determining where the assault is likely to have taken place. All this information will be used below in the analysis of the physical remains and the reconstruction of the fortifications of the city.

Observations by Early Travelers

Spurs of the fortification walls have been reported by the majority of the early travelers who visited Sikyon, as well as by Frazer and Skalet. Leake says that the remains "are still to be seen in many parts of the circumference of the hill of Vasilika, on the edge of the surrounding cliffs,"[30] and he drew the segments along the northern and southern sides of the plateau on his plan of the city. It is important to note that on Leake's plan the arrow that should be pointing north in reality points to the east (Fig. 4.1). Leake's failure to mark north correctly misleads readers, for every time he refers to the eastern or western side, he really means the northern or southern one. The same mistake occurs in the accounts of Rangabé (1857), Vischer (1857), and Clark (1858), and was reproduced in the Guides-Joanne (1891), Frazer's commentary (1913), and Skalet's monograph (1928). A notable exception is the map produced by the Expédition scientifique de Morée (1838),[31] reproduced by Aldenhoven (1841), where north is correctly shown.

Segments of wall appear prominently along the northern side of the plateau, above the Helisson River, on both the sketch by Leake and the map made by the Expédition. Rangabé saw these remains and described them as built with rectangular courses and dating to the time of Demetrios.[32] Vischer, after a heavy rain in October 1852, discerned substantial traces of a wall to the western (meaning northern) side of the plateau, above the Helisson.[33] Curtius describes the foundations for these walls as being 8 feet thick.[34] Finally, Frazer provides the most detailed report of all, based on his 1895 observations.[35] He spotted several traces of the fortification wall on the northern edge of the upper terrace (acropolis) and around the edge of the lower terrace (plateau of Vasiliko):

> On the western [in reality, northern] edge of the acropolis of Sicyon, above the glen of the Helisson, I found (15 October 1895) here and there remains of fortification-wall sufficient to prove that it originally ran all along this western [northern] face of the acropolis.

30. Leake 1830, p. 368.

31. *Expédition scientifique de Morée* 3, pl. 81.

32. Rangabé 1857, p. 432.

33. Vischer 1857, p. 277.

34. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 489.

35. Cf. Skalet (1928, pp. 4–5), who copies Frazer almost verbatim.

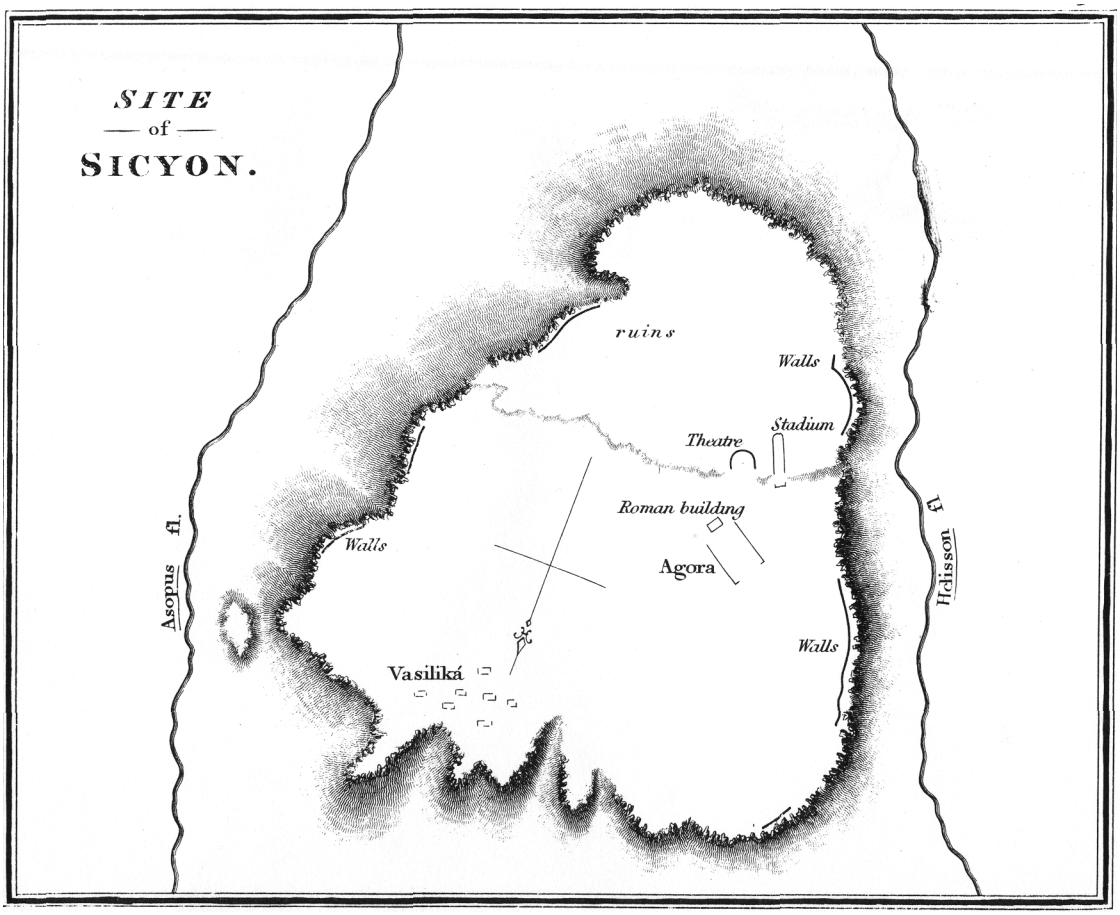


Figure 4.1. Plan of Sikyon drawn by Leake. The north arrow in fact points east. Leake 1830, pl. 4

The remains are slight, generally consisting of a single course of blocks extending for a few feet or yards, but in several places the wall is standing to a height of two or three courses for a short distance. The blocks are squared and laid in horizontal courses. In one place two parallel rows of blocks, being probably parts of the outer and inner faces of the wall, are preserved. To judge from the distance of these rows from each other the wall was about 9 feet thick. At the south-west [west] end of the plateau which formed the acropolis, above the glen of the Helisson, there seems to have been a gate. At least there is here a hollow leading down southward to the narrow ridge which connects the plateau with the hills; and on its west [north] side this passage is lined with an ancient wall two courses high. . . . On the eastern [southern] edge of the acropolis, above the glen of the Asopus, I found no vestige of a wall and no sign that a wall had ever existed. The reason is obvious. The tremendous white precipices on this side rendered fortification needless; whereas on the western [northern] edge of the plateau the slope to the glen of the Helisson, though long and steep, is not precipitous and might have been scaled by an enemy.

The northern [eastern] and lower plateau on which stood the city, as distinguished from the acropolis, of Sicyon, appears to have been surrounded on its outer edge by a fortification-wall, for I found

> some remains of it, mostly insignificant, on the western [northern], northern [eastern], and eastern [southern] edges of the plateau. Of these remains the most considerable are to be seen in a deep natural cleft or fissure in the edge of the plateau immediately to the west [north] of the village of Vasiliko. This fissure may be about 300 yards long. In the bottom of it are some small gardens with trees, and a road leads up it to the village. At the upper end of the fissure may be seen some massive pieces of ancient Greek masonry, perhaps the ruins of a gate. First there is a wall, some 20 feet or so long, running across the upper end of the fissure and abutting on the native rock at each end. It is built of large squared blocks laid in regular horizontal courses, of which seven are preserved. A few yards lower down the fissure is a piece of a similar wall about 11 paces long, extending at right angles to the former wall and standing in part to a height of seven courses. Still lower down the fissure I observed a few other remains of antiquity, such as squared blocks, a couple of drums of columns, fragments of houses built of thin flat bricks and mortar, two Roman graves cut out of the rock and lined with brickwork, and so on. Further to the north [east], in the line of the fissure, is an ancient burying-ground where, as I was informed, human bones have been found together with pottery and jewellery.[36]

Archaeological Remains

In the course of my survey, I was able to locate traces of the fortification wall in 14 places *(loci);* additional wall remains were revealed in four almost adjacent lots excavated by the Ministry of Culture on the northern side of the plateau.[37] I present the visible and excavated remains in topographical order starting from the eastern side of the plateau and proceeding clockwise (Map 6).

Locus 1. This wall segment consists of two courses, oriented east–west and extending 3.45 m (Figs. 4.2, 4.3). The wall turns north at a 90° angle at its western end. About 10 m further to the west, three courses of the wall are hidden behind the branches of a fig tree. Toward the east, the wall runs into the asphalt road ascending to Vasiliko. The blocks are set on their short sides *(erecta),* and their joints are masked with plaster.

Locus 2. Approximately 167 m to the southeast of the previous location, below the asphalt road, are three courses of a wall, oriented east–west; each course consists of three blocks set on their flat sides *(plana)* (Locus 2a; Fig. 4.4). At the western side, there is no indication that the wall continued further west in a straight line. The presence here of a small gully suggests that the wall may have been recessed slightly toward the north before turning westward at a higher level in order to join Locus 1, which is ca. 20 m higher in elevation. At the eastern end, the wall appears to turn to the north at a 90° angle, but the masonry of this projecting part is composed of tumbled and dislocated blocks. Approximately 40 m to the south, the wall can be followed for 4 m in a southerly direction (Locus 2b; Fig. 4.5). Four courses are visible, the lowest almost completely below the surface. The vertical faces of some of the blocks are badly worn because of the friability of the conglomerate stone, and I detected mortar in the joints.

36. Frazer 1913, vol. 5, pp. 546–547.

37. These rescue excavations took place in 1978–1979 and 1986; three of four wall sections have since been reburied. In addition, the intensive urban survey of 2004–2009 has recorded three more segments of the city wall.



Figure 4.2. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 1, looking southwest



Figure 4.3. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 1, looking east

Locus 3. The wall here, ca. 280 m southwest of Locus 2, runs from northeast to southwest, toward the road descending to the Asopos. It can be followed for 34.1 m, and is interrupted by a rectangular tower measuring 6.5 × 4 m (Fig. 4.6). In its present form, the tower and parts of the wall abutting its short sides display Medieval masonry, and were most likely built by the Franks in the 13th and 14th centuries.[38] However, foundations

38. See below, pp. 213–215.



Figure 4.4 *(top)*. **Walls of Sikyon: Locus 2a, looking southwest**

Figure 4.5 *(bottom)*. **Walls of Sikyon: Locus 2b, looking west**

of the Early Hellenistic wall found both to the northeast and particularly to the southwest of the tower make it clear that the Franks built on top of the extant ancient remains. Only one course of the ancient wall is visible on the surface today, ca. 0.7 m wide. Wall traces in this locus show that the southeastern projection of the plateau, which extends to the east of the wall, was not included in the fortifications of the city, in antiquity or in the Middle Ages. The establishment of the line of the wall toward the northeast is problematic, for here the terrain drops almost vertically toward the gully of Megali Vrysi, situated some 20 m below the northeastern edge of the wall. It is possible that the wall stopped before the sheer drop, but some ashlar blocks aligned a few meters to the west of the fountain could have been part of the wall (Fig. 4.7). Only excavation here could clarify the situation. Toward the southwest, the wall must have gradually ascended following the nature of the terrain.



Figure 4.6. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 3, looking northeast



Figure 4.7. Walls of Sikyon: ashlar blocks west of Megali Vrysi

Locus 4. Only one course of ashlar blocks was visible along the edge of the precipitous southern slope of the plateau above the Asopos valley, ca. 346 m southwest of Locus 3 (Fig. 4.8). The blocks are 0.75 m wide, and they follow a southwestern direction.[39]

Locus 5. The remains are located along the apex of the triangular plateau, on the northwestern slope of Pano Kokkinia (Πάνω Κοκκινιά). At Locus 5a, the wall can be followed at intervals for some 20 m. At first it

39. During the intensive urban survey of 2004–2009, two more segments of the city wall were found along the southern side of the plateau, to the west of Locus 4. They both show one course of ashlar masonry and appear on Map 6 as SP1 and SP45.



Figure 4.8 Walls of Sikyon: Locus 4, looking northeast

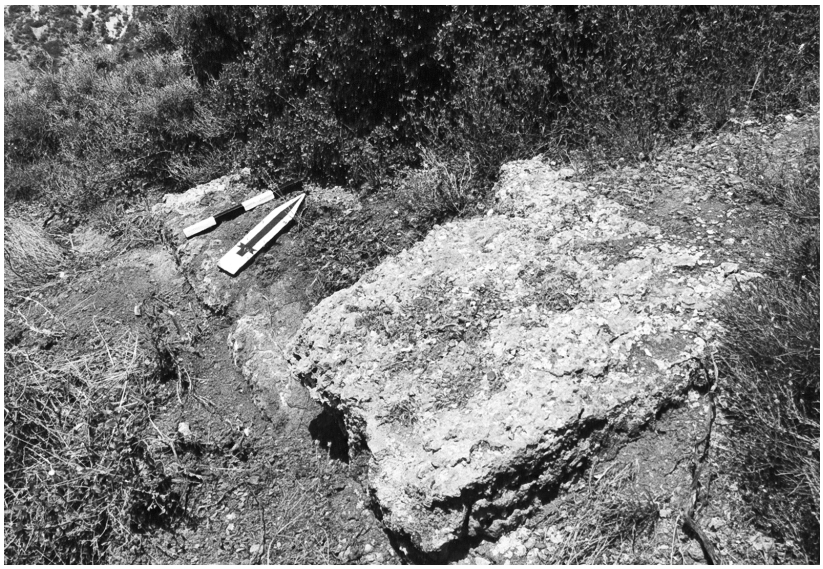


Figure 4.9. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 5a, looking northwest

moves northward, and then drops ca. 2 m and continues to the northwest (Fig. 4.9). In two places the blocks have been knocked off, and in one of these rubble masonry is visible near the ashlar blocks.[40] A second section (Locus 5b), ca. 10 m long and oriented east–west, is visible just to the south of the dirt road leading from Vasiliko to Titane (Fig. 4.10). This section preserves the inner row of ashlar masonry, 0.58 m wide, including a cross-block (header), 0.7 m long. The outer face of the wall, which must have been set lower on the slope, has apparently collapsed. It is in this area that Frazer saw the ancient wall standing two courses high.

Locus 6. Two ashlar blocks in situ were recorded ca. 580 m west of the previous location, above the gully of the Helisson River (Loci 6a and 6b). In addition, between Loci 5 and 6, I recorded *membra disiecta* of the wall

40. The intensive survey of 2004–2009 has revealed the existence of an ancient gate in this area formed by a recess of the city wall.



Figure 4.10. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 5b, looking east; the inner row of the double-thick wall and the cross-block.

Figure 4.11. Walls of Sikyon: *membra disiecta* between Loci 5 and 6, looking north





Figure 4.12. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 6c, looking southeast; foundations of the wall exposed by a bulldozer.

in three spots (Fig. 4.11). Recently, the upper surface of four rectangular blocks was exposed by a bulldozer (Locus 6c; Fig. 4.12). This segment of the wall, which lay ca. 2.5 m below ground, is 0.79 m wide, and less than 4 m long. It follows a northeastern course, toward the path that descends to the Helisson River. Most likely it represents the outer side of the fortifications, set a little lower than the edge of the plateau.

Locus 7. The wall is preserved in three spots, ca. 256 m north-northeast of the previous location. At Locus 7a, we may have both faces of the wall, ca. 2.7 m wide, with an inner fill ca. 1.2 m wide. Locus 7b is 9.9 m long, oriented east–west, and preserves two courses of stones, the upper of which is 0.63 m wide (Fig. 4.13). The third section (Locus 7c), which has an east–west orientation and can be traced over a length of 50 m, also shows both inner and outer faces for a total width of 2.1 m (Fig. 4.14). We recorded scattered blocks from the wall in several places between Loci 6 and 8 (Fig. 4.15).

Locus 8. The wall is preserved in two places, just north of the Stadium, following a southwest–northeast line. The first short section (Locus 8a), 1.7 m long, shows a single line of ashlar blocks, 0.8 m wide (Fig. 4.16). Locus 8b shows the vertical cutting in the rock, ca. 20 m long, for the bedding of the exterior face of the wall, but the actual masonry is preserved in situ only to a length of 3.3 m (Fig. 4.17). *Membra disiecta* from the wall can be seen in several places to the northeast of the stadium, between Loci 8 and 9.

Locus 9. The visible stretch of the wall, ca. 238 m northeast of the previous location and 10 m in length, shows both inner and outer faces, with an overall width of 3.2 m (Fig. 4.18). In addition, a few ashlar blocks have been pushed to the edge of the plateau by a bulldozer, and undoubtedly many more were thrown down to the gully of the Helisson (Fig. 4.19). Dimensions of the scattered blocks average 1 (L.) × 0.8 (W.) × 0.4 m (Th.). In a few places, I discerned traces of later masonry on top of the ashlar.



Figure 4.13. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 7b, looking west



Figure 4.14. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 7c, looking southwest



Figure 4.15. Walls of Sikyon: the northern edge of the plateau (Loci 6–8), looking northeast



Figure 4.16. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 8a, looking northeast



Figure 4.17. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 8b, looking north; *katatome* for the lateral bedding of the wall in the foreground, followed by a short segment of the inner row (where the meter stick and north arrow are located).

Locus 10. This is the so-called Efstathopoulos lot (Θωμάς Ευσταθόπουλος), at the northeastern corner of the plateau, ca. 925 m northeast of the previous location. The wall was excavated by the 4th Ephoreia between December 13, 1978, and January 16, 1979.[41] It follows a south-southeastern orientation and is visible in two segments (shown as a single line on Map 6). The northern segment, 4 m long, shows four courses in perfect isodomic masonry ca. 1.65 m high (Fig. 4.20). The southern excavated segment is approximately 60 m long, and it presents in some places two and in others three courses of ashlar, 1.35 m in maximum height. At 6.2 m south of its northern extremity the wall turns to the southeast at an oblique angle (145°), continues for 2 m, and turns again in order to resume its south-southeastern course (Figs. 4.21, 4.22). Thirty-seven meters to the south there is an opening in the line of the wall, 4.6 m wide, which is flanked by two arms projecting from the wall at right angles (Fig. 4.23). The northern arm is 2.1 m long and the southern 1.85 m long, while the thickness of the blocks in each arm is 0.75 m and 0.82 m, respectively; no cross-wall is visible between these two arms, nor was one found during the excavation. The main wall was uncovered for a length of 19.2 m south of the opening and within the Efstathopoulos lot, and it is also discernible (but not excavated) in the lot adjacent to the south. The average thickness of the

41. Notebook K13 of the 4th (now 37th) Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.





Figure 4.18 ***(top)*****. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 9, looking east; the outer face of the wall**

Figure 4.19 ***(bottom)*****. Walls of Sikyon: displaced blocks at Locus 9, looking northeast**

wall is 0.6 m, and many of the blocks are clearly reused, bearing T-shaped and swallowtail clamps and moldings (Fig. 4.24); an unfluted column drum lying in front of the wall most likely comes from its superstructure.

The two parallel projections must belong to the sides of a rectangular tower whose facade is missing, probably robbed out in recent centuries. In the area to the east of the wall, the Ephoreia has excavated six graves carved in the bedrock and covered with either terracotta or stone slabs. One of these graves had a preserved stele, with two rosettes symmetrically carved on the upper part and an inscription in the middle reading ΙΠΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ. Two of the graves contained plain oinochoai, while the rest apparently lacked terracotta offerings (ἀκτέριστοι). The graves remain unpublished,



Figure 4.20. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 10, looking west; northern end of the excavated wall at the Efstathopoulos plot. Notice the perfect isodomic masonry.



Figure 4.21. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 10, looking southeast; turn at oblique angle.



Figure 4.22. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 10, looking southeast; section of wall between oblique turn and possible tower.



Figure 4.23. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 10, looking south; remains of a tower?



Figure 4.24. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 10, looking southeast; reused blocks in the masonry of the wall.



Figure 4.25. Cist grave illegally dug at Locus 10

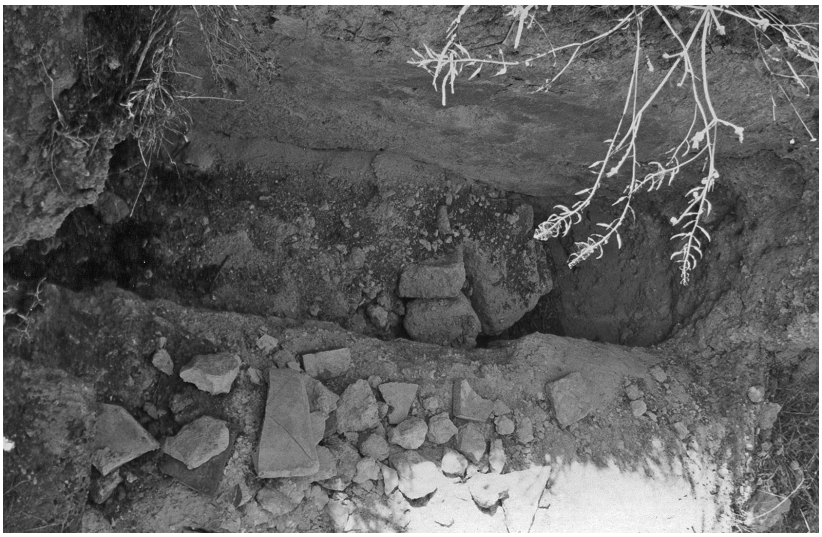


Figure 4.26. Pit grave illegally dug at Locus 10

and therefore no chronological indications are available at present.[42] In October 1997 I photographed in this area one cist grave and one pit grave that illicit diggers had opened and looted (Figs. 4.25, 4.26).

Locus 11. Ca. 217 m southeast of the previous location, in the area of Agia Eirene, I observed the northwest end of the wall that was excavated by the 4th Ephoreia in the adjacent Vanikiotis field (Κωνσταντίνος Βανικιώτης) during the period from October 30 to November 9, 1978. The wall, exposed over a length of ca. 40 m, showed the typical isodomic masonry and a width of 0.7 m. It was reburied after excavation.

Locus 12. On the northern side of the gully of Agia Eirene, ca. 234 m south of Locus 11, I observed a single block apparently in situ, amid other dispersed blocks of the wall following the contour of the gully (Fig. 4.27). To the west of Locus 12, along the same northern side of the gully and near the junction with the plateau, the 4th Ephoreia undertook excavations in two fields, of Tsiftsis (Αθανάσιος Τσιφτσής) and Apostolopoulos (Σπύρος Αποστολόπουλος). Both trenches were subsequently filled with earth.

42. The excavator reported the inscription and the contents of the grave in the notebook (K13), which I consulted.



Figure 4.27. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 12, looking west; the path ascending to the plateau from Mikri Vrysi is visible in the upper left corner of the photograph.

Records were kept only from the latter excavation, carried out between July 28 and July 30, 1986. The excavated stretch of the isodomic wall was 4.4 m long, 0.6 m wide, and 0.9 m high. Within the same lot two more walls were uncovered during the excavation: one was made of small and large rubble, and had a north–south orientation; the second was compact, and was followed for several meters in an east–west direction (Fig. 4.28). The first of these walls was clearly built at a later time, most likely in the Medieval period. Part of the latter wall has a groove, 0.1 m wide and 0.1–0.2 m deep, running along the middle of its surface. The trenches dug on both sides of the wall down to bedrock revealed two superimposed notches on the southern (exterior) side of the wall (Fig. 4.29), and a fragmentary Hellenistic pot at the bottom of the northern (interior) side. Both observations are important with regard to the masonry and date of the wall but the excavation notebook (K13) does not explain the spatial relationship between this wall and the isodomic wall excavated in the same lot.

Loci 13 and 14. In Locus 13, along the northern side of the gully of Mikri Vrysi, we observed a single block in situ, ca. 220 m southeast of the previous location. At the western end of the gully, near the church of Agia Anna, an east–west segment of the wall was exposed over a length of 5.5 m during the digging of a ditch (Locus 14; Fig. 4.30). Two courses of the ashlar masonry are visible, but most of the blocks are either broken or badly worn. Figure 4.30 was taken in the fall of 1997, and since then the ditch has been covered with dirt. There is little doubt that the gully of Mikri Vrysi is the 300-yard-long "fissure" mentioned by Frazer "immediately to the west [north] of the village." Across the upper end of the "fissure," Frazer recorded a segment of the fortification wall in typical isodomic masonry, ca. 6 m long and preserved to a height of seven courses. The purpose of this cross-wall was to block the natural opening to the plateau, and it was most likely oriented north to south. Frazer saw an even longer section of the wall further down the "fissure," ca. 9 m long and seven courses high.

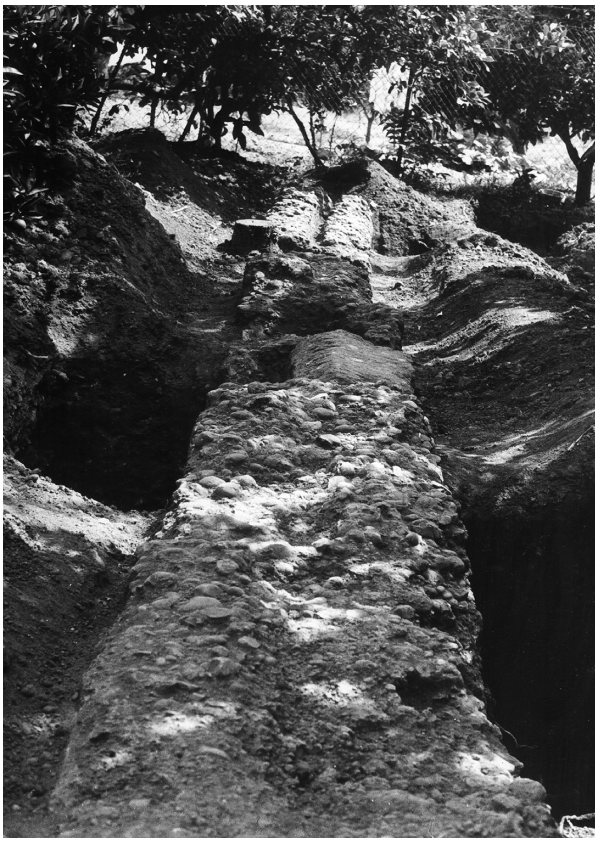




Figure 4.28 *(left)*. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 12; the excavated section in the Apostolopoulos field. Note the groove that runs along of the surface of the furthest wall segment.
Photo courtesy 37th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities



Figure 4.29 *(right)*. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 12; excavation of the wall down to bedrock in the Apostolopoulos field. The two superimposed notches are visible on the right.
Photo courtesy 37th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities

Figure 4.30. Walls of Sikyon: Locus 14, looking east

This wall extended at right angles to the cross-wall, much like the east–west section that I observed and photographed in the fall of 1997. I have not been able to identify the wall across the western end of the gully nor the segments below it that were seen by Frazer. Both have been buried and to some degree eradicated by the construction of a basketball field. The distance between this last section and Locus 1 is 468 m.

Proposed Course and Construction Methods

With only some 200 m of wall segments observed out of a total circumference of approximately 9 km, the line of the Sikyonian fortification wall cannot be defined with absolute accuracy. A basic question is whether the wall ran around the entire cliff edge, or existed only in the more vulnerable spots, taking advantage of the steep and inaccessible terrain. For example, the southern slope of the plateau is characterized not only by its steepness but also by its loose soil, and thus a wall may not have been necessary in this locale. It is clear that a continuous wall stretched along the entire eastern side (facing toward the gulf). In addition, the discovery of wall segments at Loci 4 and 5, precisely above the steep southern and western slopes, strongly argues for the existence of the enceinte around the entire plateau and refutes Frazer's opinion that there was no wall around the southern (his eastern) edge of the "acropolis."[43] The testimonies of the early travelers and the drawing by Leake provide additional support for this argument. The prominent remains above the Helisson River, marked on both Leake's map and that of the Expédition scientifique de Morée, are no longer visible. In their place, two houses now stand, planted deeply into the hillside. Judging from the extant remains, the line of the fortification wall, with its many bays and projections, seems to have followed the nature of the terrain. It follows right and oblique angles, turns inward in the bays (as at Mikri Vrysi, for example), and extends upward when necessary. Along the eastern side, the preserved wall reaches an elevation of ca. 100 masl, whereas along the northern and western sides it runs above the 200 masl contour line.

Of particular significance for the design of the wall is the segment recorded during the 2006 season of the intensive urban survey (SP45 on Map 6). This single row of stone blocks runs in a northwest–southeast direction, parallel to the edge of the plateau but set in some 20 m. The inset shows that, at least in some areas featuring precipitous slopes, the builders of the wall took into consideration the erosion factor and the danger of collapse. In all other areas, judging from the extant remains, the outer face of the wall was erected on the slope below the edge of the plateau, which could partly explain its later burial or collapse. The method of construction can best be observed at the longest section of the wall in Locus 10. Here the builders used the natural escarpment along the edge of the plateau, which in Locus 10 reaches over 3 m in height. They cut the escarpment vertically, so that they could then "dress" it with ashlar blocks and erect the wall a little higher than the upper surface of the plateau. In other words, the wall builders included the escarpment within the wall itself (Fig. 4.31). This method presented three advantages: (1) it made use of the natural drop in order to erect a solid and high exterior face; (2) it allowed more straight segments than would have been possible by simply following the edge of the plateau; and (3) the excess rocky surface quarried away during

43. Further segments of the wall discovered in the course of the intensive urban survey, particularly between Loci 4 and 5 (at SP1 and SP45), leave virtually no doubt that the wall ran around the entire plateau.

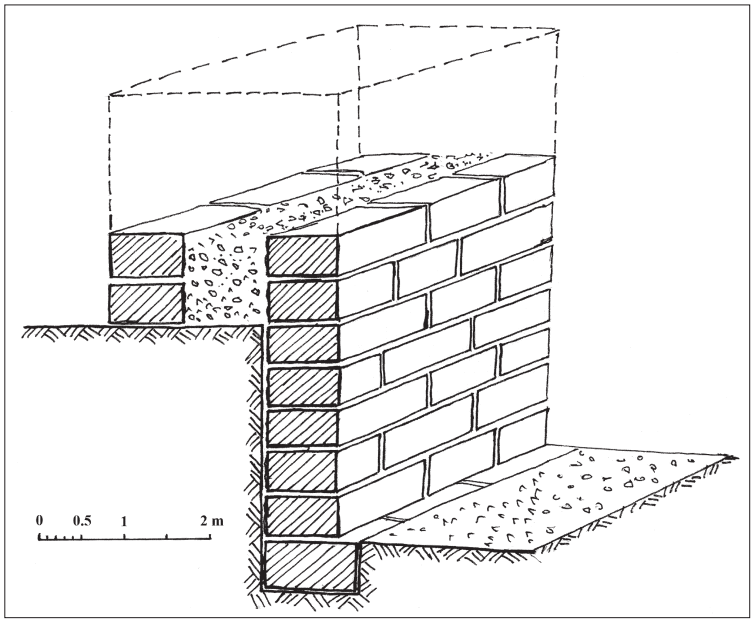


Figure 4.31. Schematic reconstruction of a section of the wall along the edge of the plateau. Drawing T. Rigopoulos

the operation must have provided the very material used to build the wall. We can now understand Plutarch's reference to the acropolis wall being higher on the exterior than the interior side. At least in one place its interior height was almost level with the rocky ground, and this was the spot chosen by Aratos and his fellow exiles in order to breach the citadel by means of ladders. Plutarch also mentions one *pyrgos,* not far from the place where Aratos entered the city. The Medieval tower at the southeastern corner of the plateau has probably superseded an ancient one, to judge from the line of the ancient wall against its two sides (Locus 3). It is not too arbitrary to consider this the *pyrgos* attested in literature, since the area to the southwest allows space for a garden, which we know existed not far from the tower. There probably was a second rectangular tower on the eastern side of the citadel, but only its two sides were found (Locus 10).

No fewer than four gates must have opened into the eastern wall of the city. I place the northernmost near Agia Eirene (Gate 1), opening onto the road descending to the Helisson through Moulki (Fig. 4.32). A second gate (Gate 2) must have stood to the west of the gully of Mikri Vrysi, by the church of Agia Anna, and it was the ruins of this gate that Frazer recognized; it may have been the terminus of the road from Corinth that Pausanias took. A third gate (Gate 3) certainly existed below the church of Agia Trias, opening onto the straight road to the harbor. A fourth gate (Gate 4) at the southeastern corner of the plateau, by the church of Agioi Theodoroi, stood above the road to the Asopos valley in the direction of Phlious (Fig. 3.20). Between Agioi Theodoroi and Agia Trias, the tunnel of Panagia was probably an ancient passage below the wall to access the abundant water source of Megali Vrysi, located in the gully below (Fig. 3.14). There was no gate along the steep southern side of the plateau, but only near the northern extremity of the western short side, opening onto the road to Titane (Gate 5).[44] Finally, the northern side of the plateau probably had two gates (Gates 6 and 7), corresponding to the paths that descended to the Helisson River and continued in the direction of Stymphalos (Figs. 4.33, 4.34).

44. The intensive urban survey of 2004–2009 has shown that the gate was not where the present dirt roads leaves the plateau, but ca. 50 m to the south; I have adjusted the map accordingly.



Figure 4.32. Sikyon: Gate 1, looking north; the photograph is taken from the possible location of the ancient gate.



Figure 4.33. Sikyon: Gate 6, looking southwest; the original, ancient, cut was deepened in recent times by mechanical means.



Figure 4.34. Sikyon: Gate 7, looking west; the depression represents the remains of the ancient road cut.

Overall, then, the fortification wall had as many as seven gates, but we know very little about their shape, save for Gates 2 and 5. In the case of Gate 2, Frazer's description and the segment that I observed allow us to reconstruct a Π-shaped course for the fortifications, with a gate opening onto the cross-wall. As for Gate 5, the wall segments observed during the recent intensive urban survey argue for a gate with an outer rectangular "court," ca. 8.8 m wide. Besides the gate above the Dripping Fountain (Paus. 2.7.4), Pausanias mentions a Sacred Gate (πύλην Ἱεράν; 2.11.1). The latter may have taken its epithet from the temples and shrines seen by Pausanias in its vicinity.[45] After his description of the Sacred Gate, Pausanias reports a sanctuary of Demeter on the lower slopes toward the plain: καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον, ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος (2.11.2). The sanctuary, which probably stood on the eastern slopes of the hill, has not yet been located, but it is very likely that Pausanias did not take the path along the Dripping Fountain this time, but the one to the south, which started below the church of Agia Trias. Accordingly, the gate that stood there (Gate 3) may have been the Ἱερὰ πύλη.

The wall is constructed in isodomic masonry, and the roughly picked ashlar blocks measure 0.7 to 1.35 m in length, 0.5 to 0.85 m in width, and 0.3 to 0.4 m in thickness, their average dimensions being 1 (L.) × 0.8 (W.) × 0.4 m (Th.). In most cases the blocks are set on their flat sides *(plana),* but they also occur positioned on their short sides *(erecta),* as in Locus 1 (Figs. 4.2, 4.3). In Loci 1 and 2, there are remains of plaster covering the joints, but I am not certain as to whether they belong to the original construction or were due to repairs and reuse of the wall in the Frankish period. I believe that a chemical analysis of the mortar here and its comparison with a sample from the Frankish tower could provide the answer.[46] Excavation of the wall down to its foundations in the Apostolopoulos field revealed two superimposed notches on the outer side, which were meant to increase the stability of the upper structure. However, the purpose of the groove running along the surface of a portion of the excavated wall is unclear. The fortifications were two courses thick, consisting of two parallel ashlar courses with rubble and earth fill, and perhaps compartmented by a series of internal cross-walls, following the standard method of wall construction for this period.[47] Perhaps the closest parallel to the fortifications of Sikyon are the fortifications of Demetrias in Thessaly, also founded by Demetrios Poliorketes in 294 B.C. The impressive walls of this capital city are constructed in isodomic masonry with a double thickness, 2.6 to 2.9 m wide.[48] In Sikyon, I have been able to observe both facings of the wall in only three places (Loci 7a, 7c, and 9); the rest show only one—usually the interior side, 0.6 to 0.8 m wide. The overall thickness of the fortifications in these three loci varies between 2.1 and 3.2 m, while Curtius and Frazer reported a thickness of 8 feet (2.45 m) and ca. 9 feet (2.7 m), respectively.[49] The wall was thick enough to accommodate a gallery running on top, which is mentioned by Plutarch as ὁδοὶ τοῦ τείχους (*Arat.* 7.6). Only the lower courses of the wall are now visible, but the passage in Plutarch describing Aratos's capture of the city alludes to its modest height, certainly reachable by ladders. In a few places I observed the bossed face of the wall blocks, which resemble the masonry of the palaistra complex excavated by Orlandos in the agora of the city. The material used for the wall, conglomerate stone, was locally extracted, and I observed traces of trenchlike quarrying near Locus 9

45. On which, see below, pp. 383–384.

46. Lime mortars were used in pre-Roman times mainly as lining material (Winter 1971, pp. 91–95). In a late-4th-century inscription from Athens referring to the fortification walls of the city and its harbor, the terms ἀλιφή, ἀλοιμός, and κονίασις describe the lining of both inner and outer sides of the wall with some kind of mortar (Maier 1959, vol. 1, pp. 53–54, no. 11, lines 85, 106–107). On the Archaic temple of Zeus at Nemea, lime mortar is used to bed and bind roof tiles (Miller 1980, p. 184, pl. 38:c).

47. Winter 1971, p. 135.

48. See Stählin 1924, pp. 72–73.

49. See above, pp. 189–190. In addition, Parsons, in the publication of the Long Walls of Corinth, refers to the cases of Eretria and seemingly of Sikyon as examples of compartmented walls, but he does not seem to have seen the walls of the latter, and so his description probably applies to the fortifications of Eretria alone: see *Corinth* III.2, p. 93, n. 2.



Figure 4.35. Sikyon: traces of quarrying at Locus 9, looking northeast

(Fig. 4.35). It is possible that only the lower courses of the wall were built of stone, and that the superstructure was of mud brick, as at Thessalian Demetrias. In this case, the wall would have been covered with a tile roof. Support for the existence of such a roof was found during the intensive survey of 2004–2009, when we consistently recorded a high number of roof tiles, particularly of the Lakonian type, along the edge of the plateau.

The coursed ashlar masonry of the wall commonly occurs after the mid-4th century B.C.[50] In the joint between the foundation blocks at Locus 1, I noticed a few pottery fragments including an amphora handle stamped with the letter A. This handle belongs to a "Corinthian" type B amphora, dated to the end of the 4th or early 3rd century B.C.[51] The foot of a kantharos, probably Early Hellenistic in date, was recovered from the foundation trench of the wall in the Apostolopoulos field.[52] It was discovered on the inner side of the fortification wall, where the context is likely to have remained undisturbed.[53] Many pottery fragments were found in the trenches dug along the walls and in different layers, but I had no access to the material. At any rate, the isodomic masonry and the reused blocks at Locus 10, presumably from buildings of the Classical period, as well as the available ceramic evidence, justify the association of the erection of the walls with the foundation of Demetrias in 303 B.C. At least part of the enceinte was rebuilt in some places and repaired in others during the period of Frankish domination, as will be shown below. During the last two centuries, the need for stones in building the houses of the growing village gave rise to the systematic looting of wall blocks, already noticed by Buchon in the early 1840s.[54] Similarly, the majority of the ancient inscriptions recovered from the site were built into houses of the village.[55]

50. Winter 1971, p. 91.

51. I thank Nancy Bookidis for examining the fragment.

52. No further description is provided in the notebook (K13) of the 4th Ephoreia.

53. As a rule, the stratigraphy on the inner face of a circuit wall is more reliable; see Tréziny 1992, p. 64.

54. Buchon 1843a, p. 546.

55. See Earle 1892.



Figure 4.36. Sikyon: Vischer's *diateichisma*, looking southeast

The water resources of the hill must have been taken into account by the builders of the city wall. Of the two fountains located on the eastern slope of the hill, the most copious one is the Megali Vrysi.[56] The tunnel of Panagia (Fig. 3.14) probably represents an underground passage toward this fountain, as I suggested earlier. At some time in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the need was felt for additional water supply, hence the construction of two aqueduct lines, which entered the city from the west (see Appendix III).

Before ending this section on the fortifications of the Hellenistic city, I should mention an alleged wall separating the city from the new acropolis. Scant remains of such a cross-wall were first reported by Vischer, and later by Skalet, who vaguely referred to "recent findings" proving its existence.[57] Both probably had in mind a wall that shows on the map of the Expédition scientifique de Morée and was recently exposed by fire, some 25 m to the south of the upper edge of the theater (Fig. 4.36). This wall, 33 m long and 1.2 m wide, is oriented a few degrees off the east–west axis. At its eastern end it is cut by the modern dirt road to Pano Kokkinia and Paradeisi. In places, three courses of its double masonry of conglomerate blocks are apparent above the ground. The direction of the wall and its thickness preclude its being a cross-wall separating the acropolis from the city of Hellenistic times. It is best explained as a retaining wall that almost aligns with the northern wall of the palaistra complex. Some 40 m southeast of this wall, and along the cut of the dirt road to Paradeisi, another stretch of wall can be traced for a length of 16 m. Its northwest–southeast orientation follows the edge of Pano Kokkinia, but its masonry has deteriorated to such a degree that nothing more can be said on its nature. If this was part of a massive *diateichisma,* one would have expected to find it again along the 700 m face of Pano Kokkinia, and yet no other trace of it has been found or has ever been reported. What is now established beyond doubt, thanks to the study of literary passages, early travelers' accounts, recent excavations, and my own topographical survey, is the line and masonry of the fortification wall, which encircled the entire area of the newly founded city.

56. On these fountains, see above, pp. 108–109.

57. Vischer 1857, p. 276; Skalet 1928, p. 5.

Medieval and Ottoman Vasiliko

According to the "Book of the Conquests" the castle of Vasilika was built by Guillaume II de Villehardouin in the mid-13th century.[58] A century later, Vasilika was one of the fortresses of the *castellania* of Corinth conceded to Nicolas Acciaiuoli.[59] The Franks made extensive use of the Hellenistic walls of the city with the necessary repairs and additions, occasionally rebuilding. Traces of the Medieval fortifications can be seen today on the southeastern side, where there stands a prominent tower known locally as Boudroumi ("prison") (Locus 3; Figs. 4.37–4.39). The antiquarian interests of the early travelers made them oblivious to these imposing Frankish remains.[60] The tower projects from the line of the fortification wall, which is preserved for a considerable distance on either side, and in plan follows exactly that of its Hellenistic predecessor. Since its plan and dimensions have been already described, it remains to discuss the elevation.

The tower rises ca. 4.8 m above ground, and roughly eight courses are visible, topped by mostly rubble layers. The lowest two courses, consisting of ashlar blocks laid in a more or less orderly manner, seem to be Hellenistic, but were subsequently repaired, as shown by the smaller stones inserted in the joins and the irregular blocks on the southern side. From the third to the sixth course the isodomic system is totally upset by the use of various blocks of different dimensions, including a column drum. The course above (the seventh) shows large ashlar blocks of more or less the same height, although they do not extend to the northern and southern sides, where two rows of blocks are used instead. At the base of this course square plug holes were carved into the stone and mortar, and later left unplugged. Large ashlar blocks are built into the eighth course as well, and more plug holes are visible at this level. These two courses were probably built at the same time, employing material from an ancient building or buildings, including other parts of the Hellenistic wall itself. Above the eighth course we have mostly rubble and mortar, sometimes brought to course, with occasional larger blocks and a column drum again. This layer, about a meter thick, was probably crowned by flat stone blocks, one of which is still preserved on the northern side. The tower would certainly have continued upward, as plug holes visible in the highest preserved masonry suggest. The use of mortar is prevalent in the entire construction, with scattered brick fragments as well.

I can distinguish at least three phases of construction in the Boudroumi tower: the first includes the bottom Hellenistic courses and the four layers above them, the second the two layers of large ashlar blocks, and the final phase the rubble masonry on the top. I am not sure how much time separated the different phases of construction. Possible occasions for construction and repairs appear throughout the history of the 14th century and the second half of the 15th. We have seen, for example, that Nicolas undertook repairs on the wall of Acrocorinth after 1358; he may well have taken care of other fortifications in his *castellania* at this time.[61] The devastating earthquake of 1402 could also have necessitated repairs to the walls of Sikyon. Murat's imminent attack on Sikyon in 1446 would have been one more occasion for strengthening the existing fortifications, and Dodwell says that the castle was garrisoned by the Turks in 1654.[62] The

58. See above, p. 85; Bon (1969, p. 481) doubts the accuracy of the information, but with no convincing arguments.

59. See above, p. 86.

60. To the best of my knowledge, only Dodwell (1819, p. 295) devotes a sentence to these "strong modern walls."

61. See above, p. 86.

62. Dodwell 1819, p. 295, referring to a *Voyage au Levant* by Du Loir.



Figure 4.37. Vasiliko: the "Boudroumi" (north side)



Figure 4.38. Vasiliko: the "Boudroumi" (east side)



Figure 4.39. Vasiliko: the "Boudroumi" (south side)



Figure 4.40. Rottmann's *Sikyon–Korinth* (1834); Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung 21 368 Z. The complex of Boudroumi is visible at the southeastern edge of the plateau. Courtesy Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

general aspect of the Boudroumi tower totally agrees with the summary description of Frankish fortifications offered by Bon:

> Les maçonneries à mortier très abondant, étalé en forme d'enduit, ou en relief aux joints, sont postérieurs au début du XVe siècle. Les Francs se sont servis d'une maçonnerie faite soit des remplois antiques, soit de matériaux locaux de formes et de dimensions assez irrégulières, mêlés de fragments de tuiles ou de briques en quantité variable et disposés sans ordre.[63]

We have already referred to the Hellenistic segments of the fortification wall along the eastern side of the Sikyonian plateau and the difficulty of dating the plaster covering the joints of the ashlar. In 1986, the local Ephoreia uncovered at the northern side of the *rema* of Mikri Vrysi a wall made out of rubble stones, both small and large in size. The wall, which was found at almost surface level, runs in a north–south direction.[64] Given the location of the wall, it is fair to assume that it was part of the fortification of the entire eastern side of the Sikyonian plateau, although distinctive Medieval masonry has not been detected in the other (ancient) segments. It may be that these other segments needed few or no repairs in that period. We should also recall that the early travelers of the 18th and 19th centuries described these isodomic Hellenistic segments as being satisfactorily preserved. On the other hand, Rottmann in his 1834 watercolor shows the remains of the Boudroumi preserved much more extensively, both in height and surface, than they are today (Fig. 4.40). I would suggest that

63. Bon 1969, p. 683.

64. Notebook K13 (28–30/7/86): the lot belonged to Spiros Apostolopoulos. See the discussion of Locus 12, above.

this is the castle garrisoned by the Turks in 1654—in other words, that the fortifications of Vasiliko, at least in the 17th century, were limited to the southeastern edge of the plateau, facing Corinth. The poor remains of the walls today demonstrate the extent of the stone looting practiced at Vasiliko in the last centuries, recently complemented by the ravages of the bulldozer.

FORTIFICATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Evangelistria of Stimanga (Ancient Thyamia, DS-1)

I have already referred to Thyamia in Chapter 1, in my discussion of the borders separating Sikyon from Phlious. This *chorion* is mentioned by Xenophon in the context of military operations at Phlious in 367 B.C. The Phliasians were being blockaded by the Argives and the Sikyonians, the former fortifying "the Trikaranon above the Heraion," the latter Thyamia at their borders:

> οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων ἐπιτετειχικότων [ἐν] τῷ Φλειοῦντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.[65]

The Argives probably fortified the peak of Prophetes Elias to the southeast of the Phliasian acropolis, but the exact site of the Heraion is still unknown.[66] The identification of Thyamia with the highest peak of Trikaranon (formerly called Spiria, and now Evangelistria, elev. 806 masl) was first made by Ludwig Ross and has been unanimously accepted since. In addition, Ross found a very fragmentary inscription at the southern slope of Evangelistria, at a site called Kamari. In lines 3 and 4 of the inscription, Ross restored the words [ὑπ]ὲρ Θυα[μί]αν, and interpreted Kamari as the site of Thyamia.[67] As shown by Fränkel, though, Ross's reading was wrong and the word Thyamia cannot be restored in the surviving text.[68] More recent chance findings in the fields around Kamari[69] and systematic data collected by our survey have revealed the existence of a Middle Byzantine and Frankish settlement in this area (HS-25). Ross recorded sherds and tiles from the summit, as well as the foundations of a circular tower, but neither he nor any other traveler saw remains of a *teichos*.[70] Wall remains were first seen at the northwest corner of the summit by A. G. Russell, who described them as "roughly-squared conglomerate blocks."[71] The *teichos* was more fully exposed in 1972 by the opening of a country road around the peak. Two adjacent sections of it can be seen today on the northwestern side of Evangelistria, together stretching for a length of ca. 39 m (Figs. 4.41, 4.42). One preserves two and the other three rows of conglomerate blocks, with a maximum visible height of 1.2 m.[72] The wall can be followed amid prickly oaks and pine trees toward the west, but it is not clear how much of its original perimeter of some 400 m is still preserved (Fig. 4.43). The masonry is polygonal, not roughly-squared conglomerate as described by Russell, and the average thickness of the blocks is 0.75 m. The polygonal

65. Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1.

66. See *SAGT* II, pp. 103–106.

67. Ross 1841, pp. 42–43.

68. *IG* IV 438; Fränkel prefers to read instead: [ὥσπ]ερ οὐδ[εὶς τῶν ἄλλων], ἀν[α]θ[η]σ-.

69. See Daux 1956, p. 256; Charitonidis 1968, p. 124.

70. Ross 1841, p. 41; on the round tower, see below, p. 262.

71. Russell 1924, p. 42.

72. Pharaklas (1971, app. II, p. 4) says that the wall at the northwestern side is preserved to a maximum height of 1.70 m; it is possible that four courses stood then, the uppermost having since collapsed.





Figure 4.41 *(top)*. **Evangelistria of Stimanga (DS-1): segment one of the fortification wall, looking southwest**

Figure 4.42 *(bottom)*. **Evangelistria of Stimanga (DS-1): segment two of the fortification wall, looking southwest**

style of masonry was probably adopted because of time pressure and the composition of the rock, which caused it to split into irregular shapes.[73]

Thyamia was the name reserved for the peak of Trikaranon, which was the boundary, or close to the boundary line, between Sikyon and Phlious. When the Sikyonians set out to fortify it, they were met with strong opposition from the Phliasians, who complained to the Athenian general Chares that their neighbors intended to "fortify a *chorion* upon our borders" and urged him to take action. Indeed, Chares led the Phliasian forces against Thyamia, which they captured by storm (Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.20–23). The fortification of the summit continued for some time (7.4.1), until the Phliasians abandoned it after the signing of the peace treaty with the Corinthians and the Thebans later that year (365 B.C.): οἱ μὲν δὴ Φλειάσιοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ ξύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας (7.4.11). Xenophon does not tell us whether the Sikyonians regained possession of the fort or not.

73. See Lawrence 1979, p. 235.



Figure 4.43. Evangelistria of Stimanga (DS-1): additional remains of the fortification wall, looking west

If Thyamia was indeed the dividing area between the two states, neither state had exclusive rights to it, and the fort would have been abandoned toward the end of the same year. Alternatively, the peak may have been located within the borders of Sikyon, in which case the Sikyonians would have occupied it from the mid-4th century onward. In the first chapter I opted for the former possibility.

Pharaklas argues for continuous use of the site on the basis of sherds ranging from the Early Helladic to the Byzantine periods, and presumes the existence of a settlement there in antiquity. There is no ancient reference to Thyamia as a town or village, either of Phlious or Sikyon.[74] In my visits to the site, I found few Classical sherds, but Stephen Miller in the summer of 1973 saw large quantities of pottery from the second half of the 4th century B.C.[75] The sherds may well be explained by the existence of a fort, in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages. To quote Louis Robert, in his discussion of the word *chorion,* "une forteresse ne vit pas strictement isolée sur elle-même; une petite population est nécessaire à sa subsistance et des habitants de la région viennent facilement mettre leurs demeures sous sa protection."[76] Column fragments and other marble pieces observed by Ross in the ruined church of the Evangelismos (Εὐαγγελισμοῦ) could have belonged to an Early or Middle Byzantine church on the same spot.[77]

Titane (DS-2)

The site of Titane was identified by Ross in 1840 with the hill of Agios Tryphon, on the eastern slopes of Vesiza and above the Asopos valley (590 masl). From Pausanias we learn that Titane was the seat of an Asklepieion, but the religious buildings he mentions have never been identified. The most conspicuous remains on the site consist of the fortification wall around the western side of the hill, described by Ross, Curtius, Rangabé, and at greater length by Meyer.[78] In addition, a lower stretch of wall was observed to the northwest of the hill, interpreted by Rangabé, Meyer, and Roux as the remains of the fortifications of the "lower city." In Chapter 6,

74. E. Meyer calls it a "castellum": *RE* XI², 1936, col. 656, s.v. Thyamia.

75. S. G. Miller (pers. comm.).

76. Robert 1970, p. 589.

77. The hypothesis cannot be checked today because the *membra* reported by Ross seem to have disappeared.

78. Ross 1840, pp. 26–27; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 501; Rangabé 1857, pp. 406–407; Meyer 1939, pp. 13–14; cf. Roux 1958, pp. 158–159.

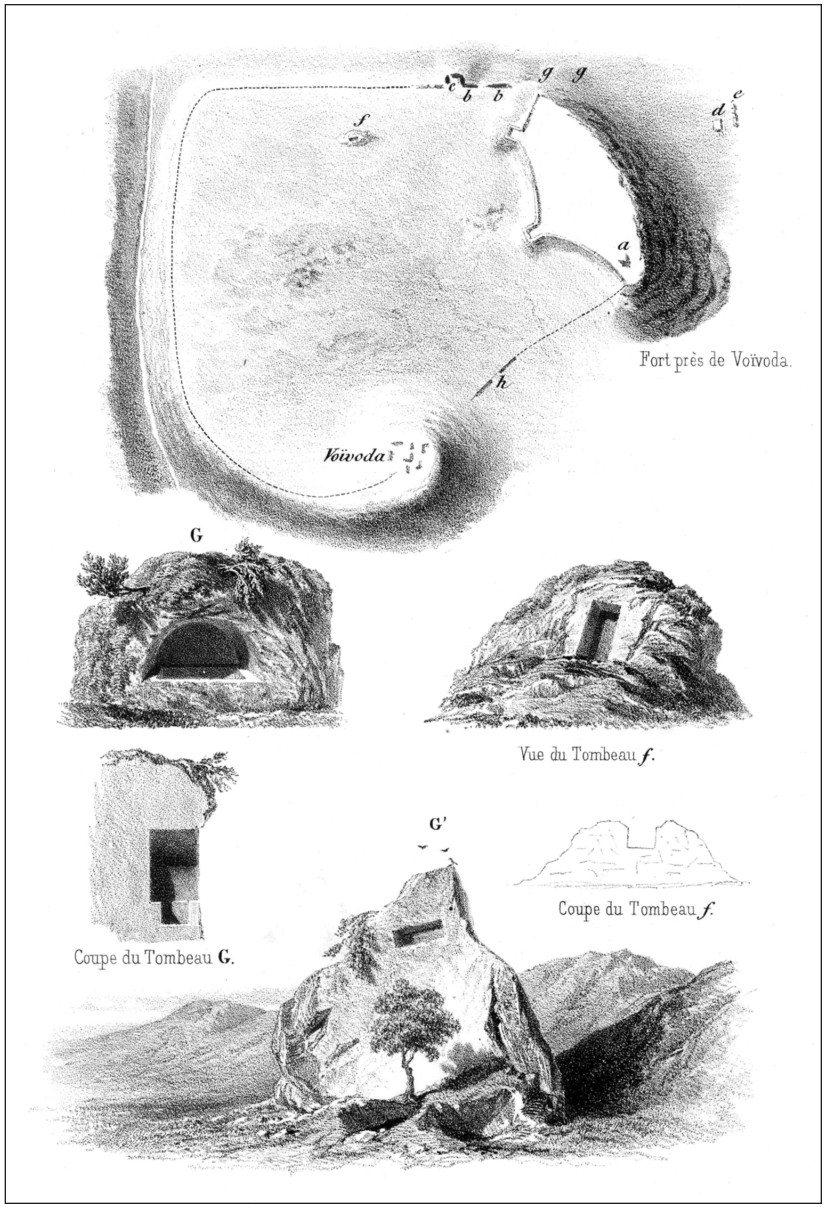


Figure 4.44. Plan of the site of Titane (Voivoda) by Rangabé.
Rangabé 1857, pl. XIV

I argue that there is no evidence for calling Titane a "town," and that it was simply an important extraurban sanctuary of Sikyonia surrounded by a small settlement. I identify the lower wall as part of the peribolos of Asklepios mentioned by Pausanias, and I maintain that the fortifications of the hill constituted not a fortified "acropolis," but an independent fort.[79] The trace of the peribolos probably coincides with the dotted line in the plan of Rangabé, reproduced here as Figure 4.44. The traces of the fortification around the western side of the hill are more accurately represented in the plan accompanying the text of Meyer (see Fig. 6.7, below). However, the scale of Meyer's plan (1:2,000) is too small to represent these traces in any detail. I provide a new state plan of the hill of Agios Tryphon, at a scale of 1:1,000, based on 146 measurements with a laser theodolite (Fig. 4.45).

The wall girds the western side of the hill and is strengthened by two projecting towers (Fig. 4.46).[80] The curtain to the southeast of the southern

79. See below, pp. 389–397.

80. Ross's rough sketch (1840, p. 26) mistakenly represents three towers at the southwestern side of the hill.

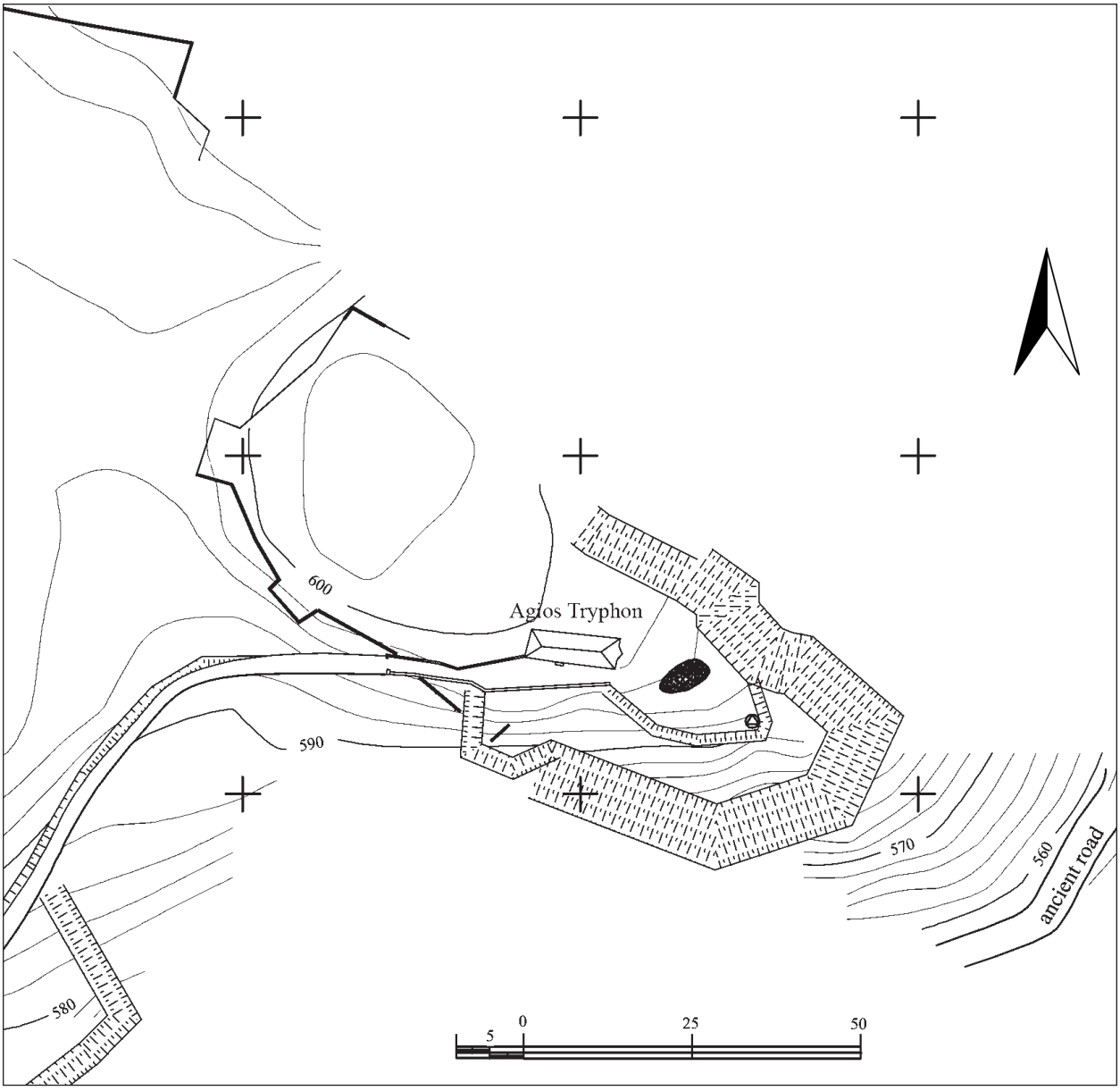


Figure 4.45. Titane (DS-2): plan of the fort; thick black line = ancient wall, thin black line = modern wall.

tower is approximately 25 m long, and extends beyond the present entrance to the terrace of Agios Tryphon (Figs. 4.47, 4.48). The curtain between the towers is 16.5 m long, while the wall along the northwestern side of the hill is 35 m long; this latter wall section was rebuilt in recent centuries and is represented on the plan by a thinner line. The slight outward curvature of the wall between the towers, shown on both Meyer's plan (Fig. 6.7) and the new state plan (Fig. 4.45), is probably due to the pressure exerted from the earth behind. The northern end of the northwestern (modern) section shows a few of the ancient courses, as Meyer correctly observed, which proves that the ancient wall extended to this side as well, and that the material was looted in subsequent periods.[81] It is likely that the wall continued along the northeastern side of the hill, where a section of the modern wall is now visible. On the other hand, the precipitous sides to the east and south of the church seem to have been left unwalled. Thus,

81. I observed a number of conglomerate blocks built into houses of the village.



Figure 4.46. Titane (DS-2): the hill of Agios Tryphon, looking east

the area defined by the eastern and southern steep sides and the wall to the west and the north is close to 2,000 m^2. The visible ancient wall is some 73 m long, but its original perimeter must have been between 110 and 150 m, the latter if we include the northeastern side of the hill.[82] The entrance to the fort probably coincides with the present entrance to the church, at the southwestern corner of the hill, but there is no trace of an ancient gate preserved today or reported by earlier visitors. In addition, locals told me of a subterranean passage, now blocked, leading from the hill to the terrace to the west.[83]

The towers built at the corners of the wall are roughly rectangular and planted at oblique angles in relation to the curtains. The southern tower measures 3.7 (southern side) × 6.7 (western side) × 2.15 m (northern side), the northern one 6.1 × 8.4 × 4.2 m. The former has incorporated part of the natural rock, the surface of which was leveled for the bedding of the stones (Fig. 4.49). Seven almost isodomic courses of trapezoidal blocks are preserved today, and their total maximum height comes to 4.25 m. An equal number of courses survive at the northern tower, also in trapezoidal masonry (Fig. 4.50). The conglomerate blocks are ca. 0.6 m high and 1.7 m long. Stretcher blocks in the curtain between the towers are 1.5 m thick, and this may represent the original thickness of the fortifications. The corner blocks in both towers have drafted margins in order to facilitate their vertical alignment during construction. I observed a few ⌊-shaped or hooking blocks in the masonry, which served to reinforce the masonry against horizontal or vertical movement. A few holes in the structure were filled with plugs, some of which are still in situ.

The curtain between the towers consists of loose trapezoidal blocks mixed with rubble and pieces of mortar (Figs. 4.51, 4.52). As Meyer and Roux correctly pointed out, the masonry betrays later repairs of the fortifications, most likely in the Middle Ages.[84] In addition, dry rubble is

82. Meyer (1939, p. 16) estimated the original perimeter as 200 m, and the area of the hill as 0.25 hectares, the equivalent of 2,500 m^2. Both figures are exaggerated.

83. I am particularly indebted to Ioannis Boulougouras, a retired agrarian policeman of Titane, for this information.

84. Meyer 1939, p. 13; Roux 1958, p. 159.



Figure 4.47. Titane (DS-2): the southern tower and southeastern side of the wall



Figure 4.48. Titane (DS-2): the southeastern side of the wall, looking southeast



Figure 4.49 *(top)*. **Titane (DS-2): the southern tower, looking southeast. Note the adaptation of the lower courses to the bedrock, and the drafted margins of the corner blocks.**

Figure 4.50 *(bottom)*. **Titane (DS-2): the northern tower, looking east**

set along the top of the enclosure at the western and southwestern sides, while, as I have already pointed out, it makes up the entire northwestern side. It is unlikely that this masonry was part of the Medieval repairs; probably it was part of a supporting wall for the terrace of Agios Tryphon and the surrounding cemetery built in recent centuries. The conglomerate used for the erection of the fort was of local origin, and traces of quarrying are visible to the west of the hill and to the east of the church of Agios Tryphon (Fig. 4.53). Meyer saw the cuttings to the east of the church and



Figure 4.51. Titane (DS-2): parts of the curtain and the northern tower, looking east. Note that the northern end of the curtain does not bond with the tower.

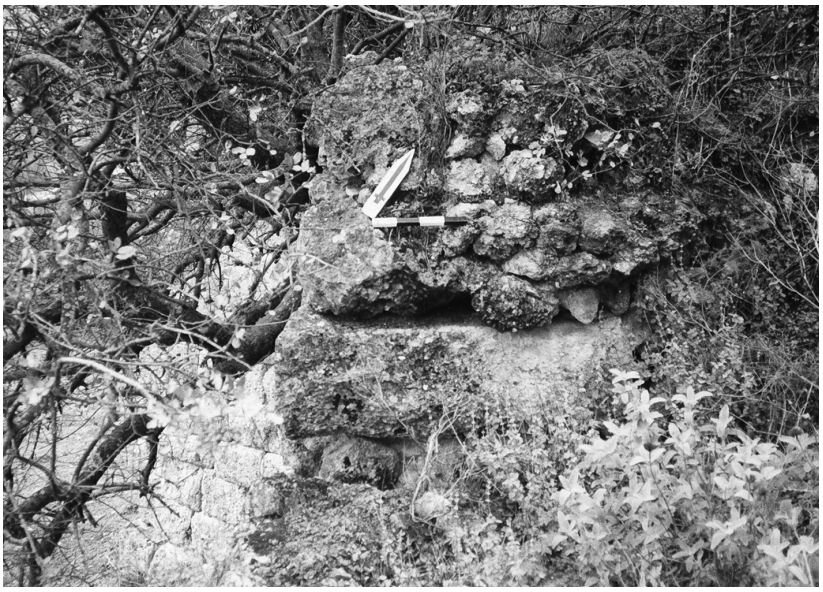


Figure 4.52. Titane (DS-2): detail of the masonry of the curtain between the towers. Note the inner layer of rubble and mortar.

interpreted them as chiseled surfaces for the foundations of the wall on this side.[85] This is very unlikely, not only because there was no need for fortifying this side, but also because the cuttings do not extend along the entire eastern edge of the cliff.

The function of the fort, as outlined in Chapter 1, was to guard the Sikyonian borders toward Phlious. From it, one is able to see the Asopos valley and Thyamia (DS-1) to the east, the Phliasian basin to the south, Kokkinovrachos (DS-4) to the west, and the fort of Gonoussa (DS-3) and the tower of Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi (DS-12) to the north. In

85. Meyer 1939, pp. 13–14.



Figure 4.53. Titane (DS-2): quarried surface to the east of the church of Agios Tryphon

Chapter 6 I argue for placing the sanctuary of Athena on the top of the hill, where the church of Agios Tryphon now stands. The coexistence of a sacred space and a fort is by no means unique in ancient Greece, as the example of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion demonstrates. Closer to Sikyon, in the western part of the Stymphalian basin, the hill of Agios Konstantinos was surrounded by a polygonal fortification wall and topped by a Doric temple.[86] In the case of Titane, the sanctuary of Athena must have certainly predated the erection of the fort, since it was an essential part of the Asklepieion. On the basis of the masonry, Meyer and Roux considered the fortification wall to be Hellenistic, but did not justify their argument further.[87] The drafted margins of the towers point to a date from the late 4th century B.C. onward.[88] It is impossible to relate the erection of the fort to specific historical events or circumstances, since we are by no means sufficiently informed on the relations between Sikyon and the states to the south, Phlious and Arkadia. The construction of border forts from the late 4th century to the Roman era is attested for other cities of Greece, and agrees with the military strategy of the time for keeping the enemy outside a city's territory.[89] The Spartan menace, which was strongly felt in the second half of the 3rd century with the sweeping campaign of Kleomenes, would have underlined the importance of the forts guarding the southern Sikyonian borders.

86. *SAGT* VI, p. 15.

87. Meyer 1939, p. 14; Roux 1958, p. 159.

88. Corner drafting was becoming customary by the middle of the 4th century: Lawrence 1979, pp. 241–242.

89. See Winter 1971, pp. 324–325; Hanson 1983, pp. 74–85; Ober 1985, pp. 72–80; 1991, pp. 189–190.



Figure 4.54. Titane (DS-2) and the Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3, indicated with an arrow), looking west

Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3)

This fort sits atop a rocky projection between the villages of Gonoussa (to the north) and Titane (to the south), about 1160 m north of the latter (Fig. 4.54). The existence of a small fort on this site, locally known as Kastro (Κάστρο), was first mentioned by Leake, and later described by Ross, Curtius, and Rangabé.[90] Rangabé also provided a sketch of the fort (Fig. 4.55). Pharaklas includes the fort, along with a rough drawing, in his site catalogue.[91] As both sketches and the corresponding descriptions are inaccurate and incomplete, we mapped the fort in December 1997 with the help of a laser theodolite (80 measurements taken) (Fig. 4.56). The noncanonical enclosure is composed of three walls with a tower built at the northwestern corner, and an independent square tower a few meters to the northwest of the enclosure. The drawing by Rangabé shows the corner tower to the southeast, and the independent square tower to the south. I suspect that the drawing is oriented upside down, with the arrow to the north in reality pointing to the south. Even then, however, Rangabé's sketch remains very different from our plan: the western wall is not represented at all, whereas a small rectangular tower appears along the northern (his southern) wall, to the east (his west) of the natural rock. Regardless of the orientation of his drawing, a tower at this place is very difficult to imagine today, because both western and eastern sides of the rocky promontory are precipitous. Pharaklas, on the other hand, shows only the northern wall of the fort and the independent tower, which he drew along the western side of the promontory, and offers a rather incomprehensible description of the remains.

The northern wall of the fort is approximately 28 m long, and turns at a 15° angle to the east of the corner (Fig. 4.57). The tower at the northwestern corner, erected on elevated ground in relation to the rest of the wall, shows

90. Leake 1830, p. 354 (he did not see the place); Ross 1840, p. 26; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500; Rangabé 1857, pp. 409–410.

91. Pharaklas 1971, site 141 in app. II, pp. 14–15, fig. 46.

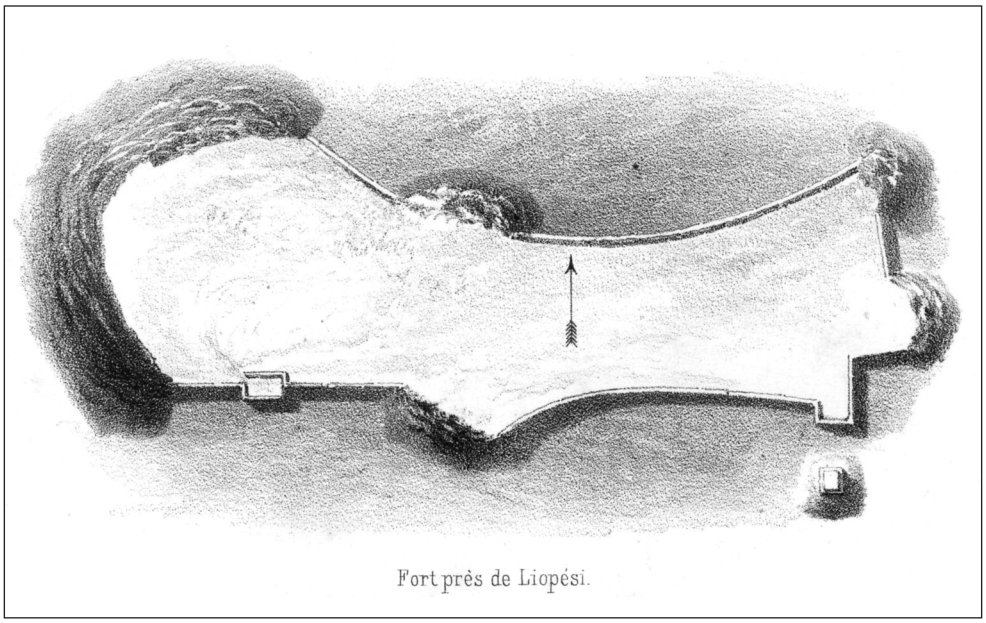


Figure 4.55. Plan of the fort of Gonoussa (Liopesi) by Rangabé. The north arrow is likely pointing south.
Rangabé 1857, pl. XIII

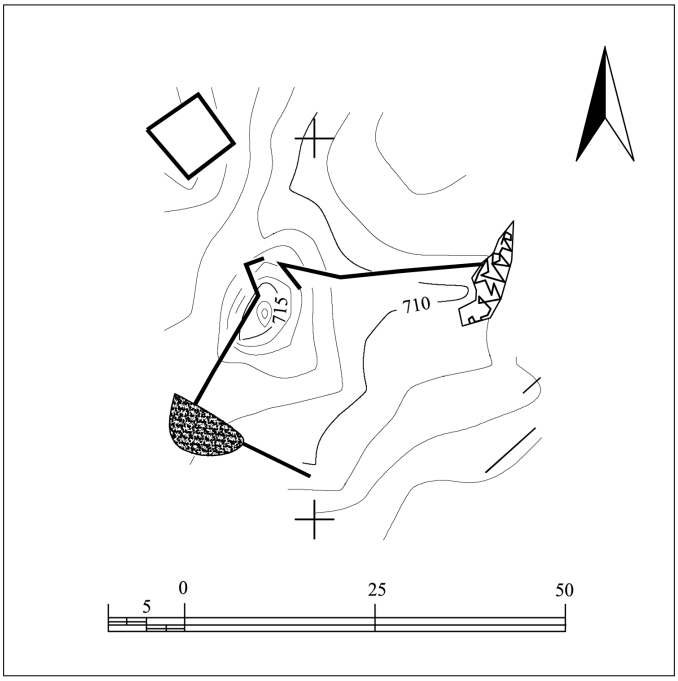


Figure 4.56. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): plan of the fort

clearly two of its sides (the western and part of the northern), and most likely part of its eastern side, but I did not see a wall separating it from the interior of the fort to the south (Fig. 4.58). Pharaklas shows the corner tower as being a complete rectangle, which is clearly not the case. Even if there was a southern side to the tower, its eastern side is neither parallel to the western one nor perpendicular to the rest of the wall. The western wall of the fort joins the tower at an obtuse angle and its southwestern end meets a rocky outcrop (Fig. 4.59). From the eastern side of this outcrop,



Figure 4.57. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): the northern wall, looking east



Figure 4.58. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): the corner tower, looking east

the wall continues in a southeasterly direction, which I was able to follow for 10 m (Fig. 4.60). The thick prickly oaks prohibited me from examining the rest of it. I observed segments of walls on the southeastern side of the enclosure (marked on the plan with a thinner line), but the remains were too sparse for me to decide whether they belonged to artificial terraces created for cultivation of cereals in recent centuries, or were part of the southeastern wall of the fort. The rocky promontory extends further to the south and southeast before it drops steeply; therefore, fortifications on this side, theoretically at least, could have been dispensed with.

The location of the entrance to the fort is unclear. Today the only side easily approachable is the north. Along this side, there is a gap in the masonry on the northern side of the corner tower, but the surviving blocks on either side of the opening are not enough to prove the existence of a



Figure 4.59. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): the western wall, looking north



Figure 4.60. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): the southwestern wall, looking east

gate here. In the absence of any alternative location for the gate, however, I would tentatively place it here.[92] Ross, who visited the fort in 1840, implies that the entrance was precisely at the northwestern corner.[93] On the opposite end of the northern side, the rock outcrop on which the wall ends has a hole through it, large enough for one person (Fig. 4.61). Pharaklas calls it a δίοδος, and Lawrence, who devotes a sentence to the fortress and includes it in his gazetteer, a "gateway tunnel."[94] It is not clear whether the hole is indeed an artificial tunnel, used as a postern, or was simply produced by the natural split of the rock and the subsequent removal of the debris. Yannis Pikoulas, who visited the site with me in the summer of 1997, believes that the opening is a natural formation.

The wall shows in some places three, in others four or five, courses to a maximum height of 2 m. It is 1.6 m wide, and consists of two parallel faces of

92. Lawrence (1979, p. 469) writes that two small towers flank the lost entrance, which is a mistake since the second tower stands apart from the fort.

93. Ross 1840, p. 26: "Vingt pas en avant de l'entrée [to the fort] est située le soubassement d'une tour isolée."

94. Pharaklas 1971, app. II, p. 14, fig. 46; Lawrence 1979, pp. 247–248, pl. 23. In the subtitle of the plate, Lawrence calls the wall "western," perhaps misled by Pharaklas's drawing.



Figure 4.61. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): the opening through the rock and the eastern end of the northern wall, looking south

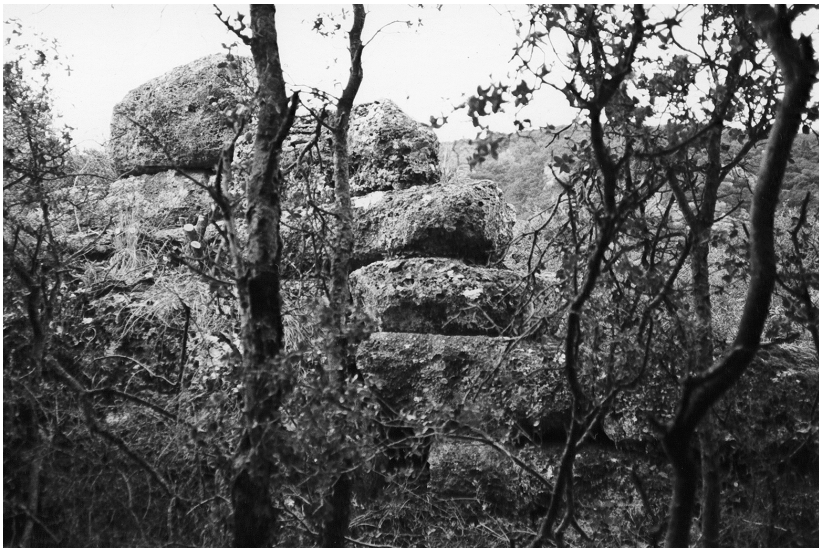


Figure 4.62. Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3): the southeastern side of the independent tower, looking west

irregular trapezoidal blocks with an earth and rubble filling.[95] Although the construction is rather casual, with no traces of drafting or wedges to fill the gaps between the courses, there are headers and hooking blocks (L-shaped blocks) to bond the masonry together. The material used is conglomerate, undoubtedly extracted from the vicinity. The same style of masonry can be seen in the tower 13 m northwest of the enclosure. This tower, erected on a small hill, measures 8 × 8 m. Its best-preserved side is the southeastern, where six courses of large stones still stand, to a height of ca. 2 m (Fig. 4.62). This is the height reported by the early travelers as well, indicating that this tower has suffered little since the early 19th century. The wall of the tower consists of an inner and an outer row of stones, and its thickness reaches 1.5 m. The process of the gradual collapse of the stones over time is well explained by Winter:[96] once the highest courses of the walls collapse and the loose fill between the two faces settles, the lower courses collapse in turn, as there is nothing to hold them in place.

95. Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500) describes mortar in the filling, but I did not detect any.

96. Winter 1971, pp. 70–71, n. 3.

The size of the area included within the fort is uncertain because the line of a southern wall is not obvious. However, considering the limited surface of the outcrop, the area could hardly exceed 2,000 m^2. All the early visitors to the site noticed a conspicuous lack of ancient foundations within the fort. I was able to find a very small number of plain sherds, one conical loomweight broadly dated to the Classical period, and some tile fragments. The latter could come from the roofing of wooden barracks for the garrison stationed in the fort. In addition, a few meters south of the northeastern corner of the fort, a rock-cut arrangement is preserved, which I interpreted as part of an olive-press installation.[97]

The primary purpose of the fort must have been the protection of the people inhabiting the surrounding area, and especially the important settlement of Gourkioni, located some 350 m below it (HS-59). The date of the erection of the fort in relation to the fortifications of Titane is not known. The complete absence of drafting here could be taken as an indicator of an earlier date, in the first half of the 4th century, if it is not entirely attributed to the cheapness of construction.[98] Finally, the location of the independent tower side by side with the fort needs explanation, since both offer virtually the same view toward Titane to the south and the tower of Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi to the north. I suggest that the tower was built first and, having been considered inadequate, was then supplemented by the small fort soon thereafter, given the similarity in their masonry. One possibility is that in the early 4th century B.C. visual communication between the Sikyonian frontiers toward Phlious and Sikyon itself was effected by the towers of Gonoussa and Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi, and that later in this century or in the early 3rd century the defensive scheme was consolidated with the erection of the forts at Gonoussa and Titane.

Four Towers above the Left Bank of the Asopos

The existence of a round tower (DS-12) on the pointed hill of Prophetes Elias and to the west of the village of Paradeisi was reported by Ross and Curtius, while Gell mistook the peak for the site of Titane.[99] Ross, like Curtius, describes a tower 2 m in height and 6.8 m in diameter:

> Car sur la petite plateforme que forme le sommet, il n'y a pas une trace d'antiquité, à l'exception de la ruine d'une tour hellénique ronde, de 22 pieds de diamètre, bâtie de gros blocs de pierre, et qui existe encore jusqu' à la hauteur d'environ deux mètres. C'est un de ces beffrois ou échauguettes (σκοπή), qu'on trouve si fréquemment dans les îles de l'Archipel, et que les Grecs d'aujourd'hui appellent *vigla.* La ruine de la tour a été consacrée, par les moines du couvent voisin de Léchova, au prophète Elie, d'où le sommet a tiré son nom.[100]

Curtius's account is slightly more informative as to the precise location and masonry of the tower:

> Südwestlich erhebt sich über Paradisi der steile Gipfelberg mit der Kapelle des heiligen Elias, der auf seiner kleinen Felskuppe die bis sieben Fuss Höhe erhaltene Ruine eines runden Wartthurmes trägt; es ist ein Quaderbau von zwei und zwanzig Fuss Durchmesser.[101]

97. See above, pp. 41–43.

98. Lawrence (1979, p. 469) argues that the site is "so overlooked that it must have been chosen before effective catapults came into use," in other words, before the mid-4th century. This argument, however, is flawed: the site is overlooked by someone traveling along the modern (higher) road, but the ancient road passed below it.

99. Ross 1840, p. 25; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500; Gell 1817, p. 17. Cf. Guides-Joanne 1891, p. 394.

100. Ross 1840, p. 25.

101. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500.



Figure 4.63. Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi (DS-12): the remains of the tower, looking north. The other half of the tower lies underneath the bema of the church.

In 1890 a new church was built on the site, which must have replaced the one seen by Curtius.[102] Outside the apse of the church, I discerned the outline of a single row of conglomerate foundations, each block measuring 0.85 m in length and 0.55 m in width (Fig. 4.63). The blocks, which are visible at ground level, trace less than half a circle, the rest lying beneath the church. There is hardly any doubt that these foundations belong to the once-imposing round watchtower, which was almost entirely dismantled for the construction of the church. It is worth noting that senior inhabitants of Paradeisi seem to have no memory of this tower. To the east of the apse lies a discarded block (L. 1.12, W. 0.8, Th. 0.6 m), presumably from the tower, and I also found a handful of plain pottery and fragments of tiles, one belonging to a Corinthian cover tile. The paucity of ancient material is due to the construction of the church and the recent landscaping of the summit by mechanical means. Its strategic location can hardly be exaggerated: even from ground level (807 masl) one can see the fort of Gonoussa and Titane to the south, the Asopos valley and Thyamia to the southeast, the Sikyonian plateau and the coastal plain to the northeast, and the tower at Splithari of Souli (DS-15) and the small fort of Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5) to the north. In other words, the tower served a pivotal function in the defensive web of the state.

Another tower (DS-13) stood ca. 900 m to the west-northwest of Prophetes Elias, on one of the peaks along the Konstantithi range. The

102. The date of the erection of the church is inscribed on the bell.



Figure 4.64. Ano Bathiza of Kryoneri (DS-14): the eastern side of the tower, looking northeast

site of the tower was shown to me by two shepherds from Kryoneri, Sotiris Lepesiotis and Konstantinos Zarkos, who described it as square, approximately 4 m on a side. Today, the structure has been entirely removed by illegal excavators; only two scattered dressed blocks and a small number of roof tiles betray its existence. As far as I can tell, the only advantage of this tower over the tower of Prophetes Elias is the view that it offers over the road to Titane (R10).

At Ano Bathiza (Μπάθιζα), some 2 km east of Prophetes Elias, and closer to the Asopos valley, I recorded the remains of a third tower amid olive trees and prickly oaks (DS-14). This tower, 9.4 × 8.7 m, is preserved best on its eastern side, which consists of five courses of trapezoidal blocks, 2.1 m of visible height (Fig. 4.64). The height of the courses varies, and thus they do not regularly keep the same horizontal level. The blocks, 0.6–0.8 m wide, are of locally quarried conglomerate stone. On the southern and western sides, the bedrock is incorporated within the masonry. This free-standing tower clearly had a watch/signal function since it offered a broad view of the Asopos valley and the Trikaranon range beyond, from the peak of Evangelistria to Lakka of Ellinochori and the plateau of Sikyon.

Closer to the Sikyonian plateau, in the area of Ladas (Λαδάς), inhabitants of Vasiliko remember the existence of yet another ancient tower (AS-5). Christos Kakavakis, a former secretary of the community of Vasiliko and owner of fields in the vicinity, led me to the site, but no traces of the tower could be discerned. The site literally hangs above the Asopos valley, on a small projection of the ridge to the south of Xerokastelli (elev. 195 masl). Olive trees are planted in the area today, except at the spot where the tower stood. There, only a few tile fragments survive; presumably the stones from the masonry of the tower were removed by a bulldozer and thrown down to the bed of the Asopos. Guards stationed in this tower would have been able to inspect the traffic along the Asopos valley.



Figure 4.65. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4, indicated with an arrow) as seen from Titane, looking west-southwest

Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4)

The hill of Kokkinovrachos rises to the southwest of Titane, between the mountain ranges of Vesiza and Gavrias, and is part of the district of the modern village of Bozika (Fig. 4.65). The hill shows three peaks aligned more or less east–west, the middle one being the highest (1,009 masl). It is this peak that was chosen in antiquity for the erection of the fort. The only previous mention of this fort in literature is by Ioannis Peppas in his treatment of the Medieval Corinthia. He describes a continuous northern wall interrupted by four identical towers, and a square structure on the summit that he interpreted as an altar or temple.[103] My survey revealed the existence of the enceinte along three sides of the hill, and of six dissimilar towers at irregular intervals. I provide a plan of the site based on 114 laser theodolite measurements (Fig. 4.66).

There are two visible wall segments along the western side, which do not meet but leave a gap ca. 5 m wide. One segment, 39 m long, girds the southwestern side of the hill. It is strengthened by a small tower (2.6 × 2.4 × 3 m; Figs. 4.67, 4.68), and incorporates a large rock. The second segment, further to the west, includes a larger tower at its southern end (4.5 × 6 × 4 m), and is built ca. 4 m lower than the northern end of the previous segment (Fig. 4.69). This lower segment extends 24 m in a northern direction up to the northwest corner tower (Fig. 4.70). The latter is planted obliquely in relation to the western and northern curtains and shows a very long face (7 m) in relation to its sides (ca. 3 m). From here, the northern side of the enclosure, approximately 120 m long, runs eastward along the 1,000 m contour line (Fig. 4.71). Two towers are built at the points where the line of

103. Peppas 1993, pp. 178–179, fig. 39.

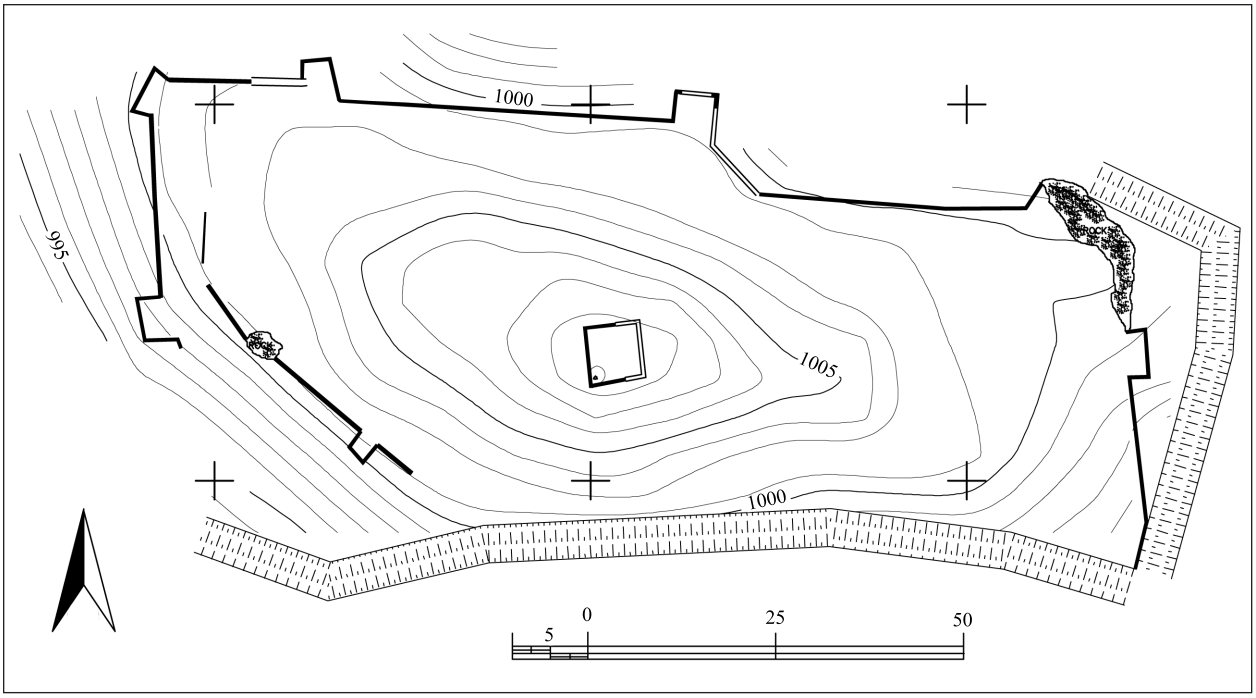


Figure 4.66. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): plan of the fort

the wall recedes, following the terrain (Figs. 4.72, 4.73). The northeastern corner of the fort is formed by a massive rock outcrop. A tower (2.7 × 7 × 2.5 m) is built next to the southern side of this outcrop, the only tower along the eastern side of the enclosure (Fig. 4.74). The wall continues 25 m to the south up to the precipitous southern side of the hill (Fig. 4.75). No wall is preserved along this side, which has greatly suffered from rock collapse. Either it was thought unnecessary to build a wall along this steep side, or the wall existed and has since fallen down the slope.

The square tower of the summit, founded 10 m higher than the fortification wall, preserves its western side, and part of the northern and southern sides (Figs. 4.76, 4.77). A single stone block apparently in situ at the northeastern corner of the tower helped me to establish its square plan, 8 m on a side.[104] These are also the dimensions of the square tower at the Kastro of Gonoussa. The area within the whole enclosure is 5,580 m^2. The entrance to the fort was probably on the western side, flanked by the two wall segments. The position of the tower in the outer wall, to the left of one entering the fort, goes against the normal practice of placing the tower to the right of the gate, which would have allowed the defenders to fire down on the invaders' exposed right flank. As Winter explains, however, in some cases where the gateway consisted of two overlapping arms of wall, the tower was placed at the end of the outer arm and to the left of the gate.[105] Within the tower, I found a few Corinthian pan tiles and some Lakonian tiles of smaller size, perhaps indicating that the roof was repaired at some point.

The fortification enceinte shows in some places one, and in others two courses of irregular trapezoidal stones, to a height of 1.0–1.2 m. It

104. The same dimensions are given by Peppas.

105. Winter 1971, p. 154.

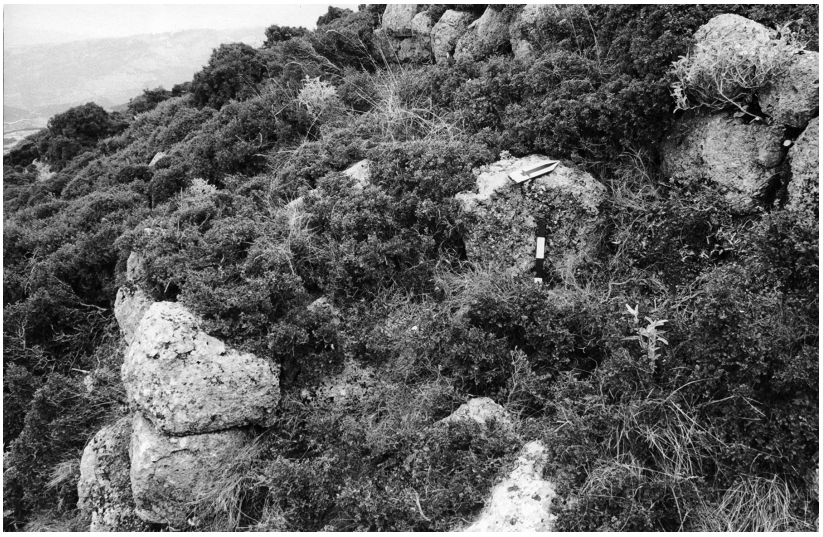


Figure 4.67. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): tower of the south-western wall, looking northwest

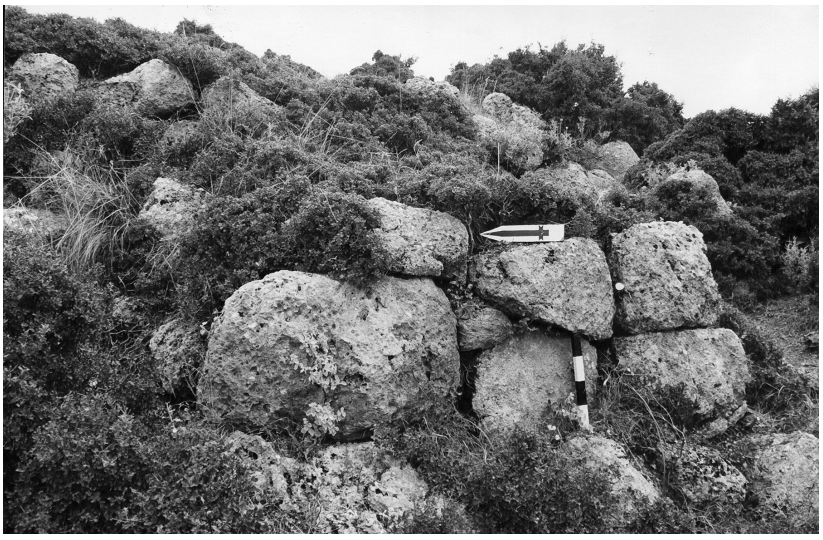


Figure 4.68. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): the southwest tower, looking east. The continuation of the wall is visible in the background.

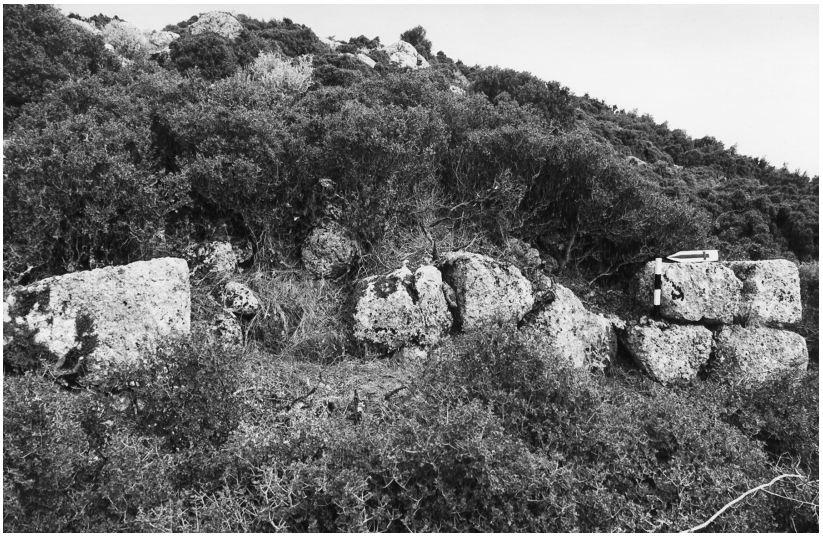


Figure 4.69. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): front of the tower on the western side of the fort, looking east





Figure 4.70 *(left)*. **Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): segment of the western wall, looking south. A tower is visible at the far end of the curtain.**

Figure 4.71 *(right)*. **Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): segment of the northern wall, looking east**

consists of a double wall, 2.2–2.3 m thick (Fig. 4.78). The parallel rows of conglomerate stones are built ca. 1.3 m apart, and the space between them is filled with rubble and earth. The building material was quarried from the hill itself, and possible traces of quarrying are visible around the western peak of Kokkinovrachos. The double line of masonry is also adopted in the construction of the tower, the thickness of which comes to 1.2 m.

The importance of the fort can be deduced by its position. The tower offers excellent views toward Stymphalos to the southwest, Phlious to the southeast, and Titane and Thyamia (indeed, as far as Acrocorinth) to the east. One can hardly find a more suitable location along Sikyon's frontiers for monitoring both of its neighboring states to the south. It is for this reason that the fort was built on the middle peak of Kokkinovrachos; the right (eastern) peak (998 masl) allows no view of Stymphalos, whereas from the left (western) peak (998 masl) one cannot see Phlious. The existence of water in the vicinity must have been a further consideration for the choice of the site: there are two abundant springs north and northwest of the fort, by the church of Agia Trias and at Anavara (Αναβάρα), respectively, which would have provided the garrison with water. Besides coarse pottery from large vessels, I found only a very few fine black-glazed sherds and obsidian flakes, which are insufficient to establish the date of the erection and occupation of the fort. In addition, locals from the village of Bozika reported finding many iron arrowheads around the tower. The 4th century B.C.,

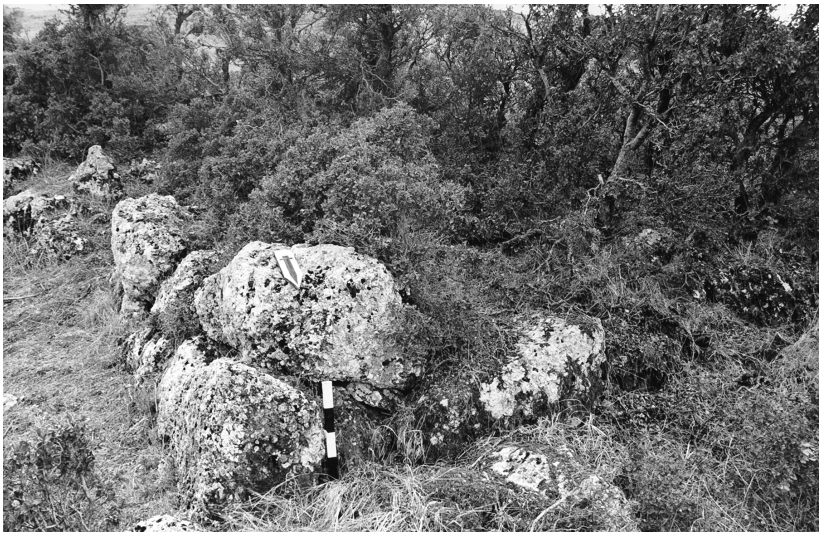


Figure 4.72. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): western tower along the northern side, looking south



Figure 4.73. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): curtain wall and eastern tower along the northern side, looking east



Figure 4.74. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): the tower along the eastern side, looking northwest



Figure 4.75. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): segment of the eastern wall, looking southwest



Figure 4.76. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): the southwestern corner of the tower on the summit of the hill, looking northeast. Note the elevation marker set up by the Hellenic Army Geographical Service.



Figure 4.77. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): the northwestern corner of the tower on the summit of the hill, looking east



Figure 4.78. Kokkinovrachos of Bozika (DS-4): double line of the fortification wall, along the western side of the hill

with the widespread policy of erecting forts near the borders of a city's territory and the rise of the Arkadian Confederation, provides appropriate circumstances for the construction of this ample and solid fortress.

Defenses in the Plain of Kaisari

When Curtius passed by the *kampos* of Kaisari on his way to Stymphalos, he observed nothing of archaeological interest. Yet, remains of fortifications exist in three places along the plain, all to the west and above the road from Stymphalos to Sikyon (R9). According to Peppas, the peak of Goulas (Γουλάς) at the southern end of the plain (820 masl) was crowned by a round "tower," 18 m in diameter, made entirely of rubble in the Middle Ages (DS-6).[106] Recently, a bulldozer was driven right to the summit of the hill, scattering the rubble masonry. Yet, on the northeastern slope of Goulas I observed a short section of a single course of trapezoidal blocks, each measuring 0.5 m high by 0.5 m long (Fig. 4.79). The wall probably continued around the peak, but I could not see any other portion of it, only a few scattered conglomerate blocks, one measuring 0.44 (L.) × 0.36 (W.) × 0.23 m (Th.). The plain pottery that I found on the site seems to be Corinthian of the Classical period, but a closer dating is not possible. Likewise, the pan tiles that I found (numerous Lakonian and one Corinthian) can be only broadly dated between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. The fortification of this hill was of considerable importance in antiquity as it stood directly north of the narrow pass to the Stymphalian basin, and at the exit of the natural pass from Asprokampos to the *kampos* (R12b).

Some 1,750 m northeast of Goulas rises, ca. 20 m higher than the road surface, a low moundlike hill locally known as Tsakouthi (Τσακούθι) (DS-16). The hill descends smoothly toward the road, now located 100 m to the east, and is topped by a round tower (Fig. 4.80). Despite the conspicuousness of the site, the tower is not reported in modern literature, save a short reference in Conze's handwritten notebook from December 10, 1857.[107] We mapped the remains, together with a small section of the

106. Peppas 1993, pp. 183–184; see below, pp. 265–266.

107. Reported in *RE* VII², 1931, col. 445, s.v. Stymphalos (F. Bölte).



Figure 4.79. Goulas of Kaisari (DS-6): trapezoidal masonry on the northeastern side of the hill



Figure 4.80. Tsakouthi of Kaisari (DS-16): view of the hill from the road, looking west

road, in December 1997 (Fig. 4.81, based on 27 measurements). The tower is 8.3 m in diameter, and preserves two stone courses to a height of 1.2 m (Fig. 4.82). The wall is 1.3 m thick, and consists of two rows of stones set 0.15–0.20 m apart, with earth packing in between (Fig. 4.83). The entrance, from the northwest, is 1 m wide and preserves both orthostates (Fig. 4.84). The masonry, in conglomerate stone, is mostly trapezoidal with a few polygonal blocks. The stones of the upper course show drafting around the edges but the remainder of their surface was left rough and bulky, giving a rustic style to the whole construction. Inside the tower there must have been some permanent installation, because there is a block set perpendicularly to the inner face of the tower wall. Unfortunately, the center of the tower has been disturbed by illicit digging and its interior arrangement is very damaged.

Very few blocks from the tower were found in the surrounding area, and these come mostly from its collapsed northeastern side. Thus, I believe

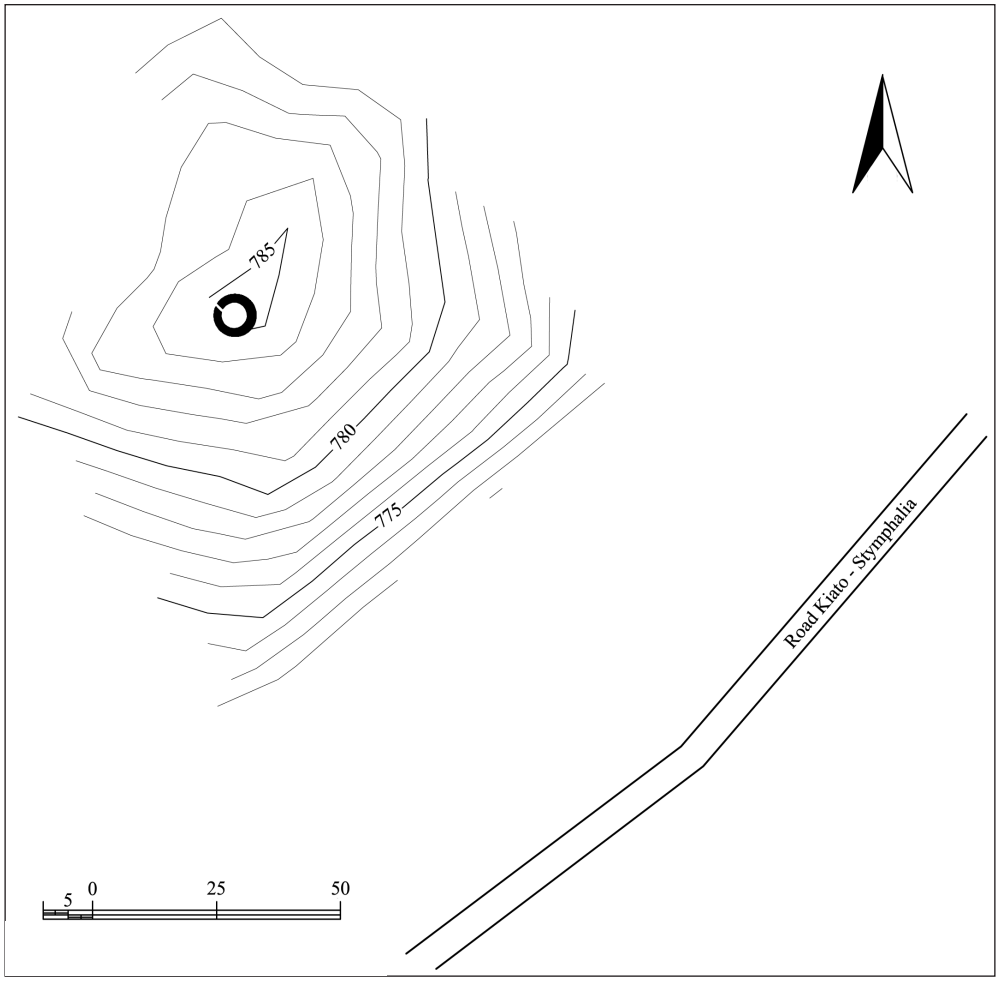


Figure 4.81. Tsakouthi of Kaisari (DS-16): plan of the tower and the road to Stymphalos

that only its two lower courses were made of stone, while the upper structure was built in a more perishable material, most likely mud brick. The latter would have had the advantage of absorbing artillery blows, which would have been a threat to the tower given its close proximity to the road. Likewise, the bumpy outer surface of the blocks of the second course would have better resisted assault by a catapult. Judging by the thickness of the walls, the tower certainly had more than one story, but its original height cannot be accurately established. The best-preserved towers in mainland Greece stand up to five stories high, and vary in height between 10 and 15 m.[108] According to John Young, the original height of a tower may be calculated by multiplying its diameter by 2 or 2.5.[109] However, the use of this and similar general formulas for the reconstruction of all towers is risky.[110] Pikoulas proposes an average of 10 m as the original height of most towers, and no monument is likely to have exceeded 15 m.[111] Considering the thickness of the walls of the Tsakouthi tower, as well as its large diameter, an original height of ca. 12 m and three stories may be legitimately reconstructed. The conical shape of the tower is suggested by the inward incline of the extant courses, visible in Figure 4.82 and present in other round towers as well.[112] Lakonian pan tiles and a Corinthian cover tile from the roof of the structure lie within it. I also observed a small number

108. For example, the towers at Vathychoria in the Megarid, or of Mazi in Attica; for measurements and extensive bibliography, see Thielemans 1994, pp. 128–132.

109. Young 1956, p. 135.

110. For a critical survey of the relevant scholarship, see Thielemans 1994, pp. 140–146.

111. Pikoulas 1995, p. 330.

112. For example, the Dema tower, on which see Thielemans 1994, p. 133.



Figure 4.82. Tsakouthi of Kaisari (DS-16): southwestern side of the tower



Figure 4.83. Tsakouthi of Kaisari (DS-16): detail of the wall construction



Figure 4.84. Tsakouthi of Kaisari (DS-16): the entrance on the northwestern side of the tower

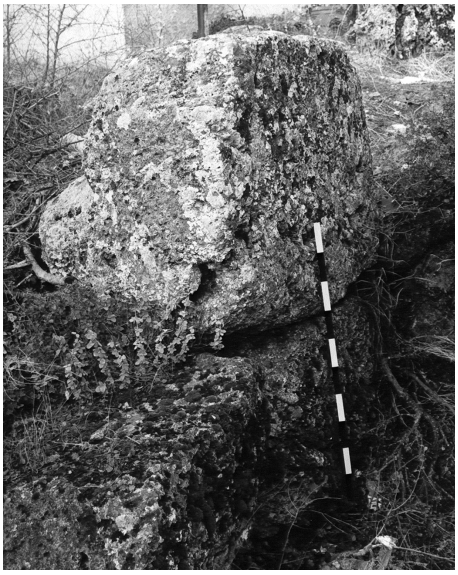




Figure 4.85. Agios Vlasios of Kaisari (DS-9): remains of the fortification wall on the east side

Figure 4.86. Agios Vlasios of Kaisari (DS-9): segment of the fortification wall on the west side. Post-antique rubble sits atop the ancient foundations.

of plain sherds, including a few fragments of a thin-walled bowl datable to either the Late Classical or the Early Hellenistic period. The drafting also points to a post-5th-century date, like that of the majority of independent towers in mainland Greece.[113] Through the Tsakouthi tower, the fort of Goulas (DS-6) to the southwest communicated with the tower of Thekriza (DS-10) at the northeastern edge of the valley.

On the slope above Tsakouthi, an ancient wall girds the eastern, southern, and western edges of the terrace of Agios Vlasios (Άγιος Βλάσιος)—the old cemetery of the village of Kaisari (ca. 925 masl) (DS-9). The wall is best preserved along the east side, where two courses are visible, 1.6 m high (Fig. 4.85). The irregular trapezoidal wall is built with large limestone blocks of various dimensions, and it can be followed for a total length of ca. 40 m. In the early modern era, rubble was piled over the ancient foundations to create a wall around the cemetery (Fig. 4.86). On the much-disturbed terrace itself, I found no evidence allowing a closer dating of the wall. Given its location, and the absence of ancient habitation sites in the vicinity, I argue that the wall belonged to a fort of the Classical/Hellenistic period, which controlled the *kampos* and the road to Stymphalos.

The final defensive site of the Kaisari plain lies at its northern end. Here the summit of Thekriza hill offers panoramic views of the plain and the surrounding mountains. The site was chosen for the erection of a square tower, 9.5 m on a side, locally known as "Tzami" (Τζαμί) (DS-10). The structure was excavated in 1941 by Eustathios Stikas, who had expected to find a sanctuary on this hill.[114] The square tower, however, has no religious character. It was built in a single row of roughly square blocks, 0.97 m thick, and Stikas reported two courses, the euthynteria (leveling course), projecting just 0.10 m above ground, and a second course 0.52 m high (Fig. 4.87). Only part of one course is visible above ground surface today, but the exterior face of the western corner of the tower, exposed to a depth of many meters by a bulldozer, shows three courses of ashlar masonry (Figs. 4.88, 4.89). The purpose of the clandestine excavation on this side was to uncover an underground passage leading from the eastern inner

113. On the dating of most towers to between 400 and 200 B.C., see Pikoulas 1990–1991a, pp. 252–253; Osborne 1992, p. 46.

114. Stikas 1947.

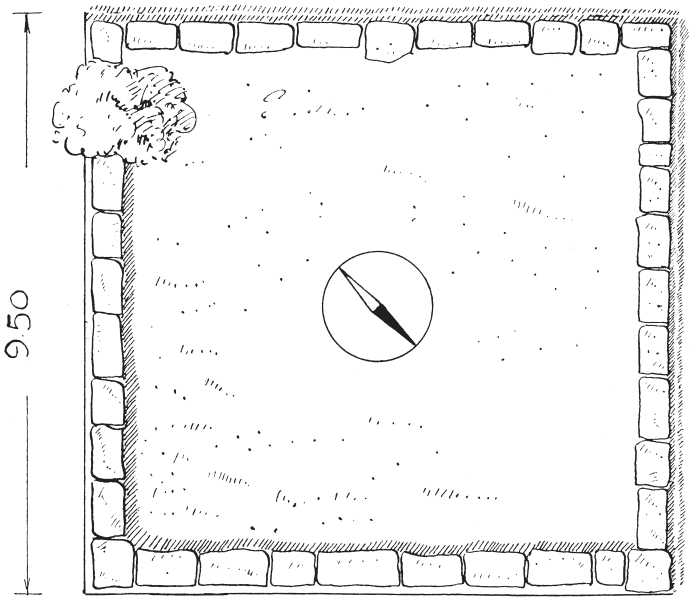


Figure 4.87. Thekriza of Kryoneri ("Tzami," DS-10): plan of the tower.
Stikas 1947, p. 61, fig. 1

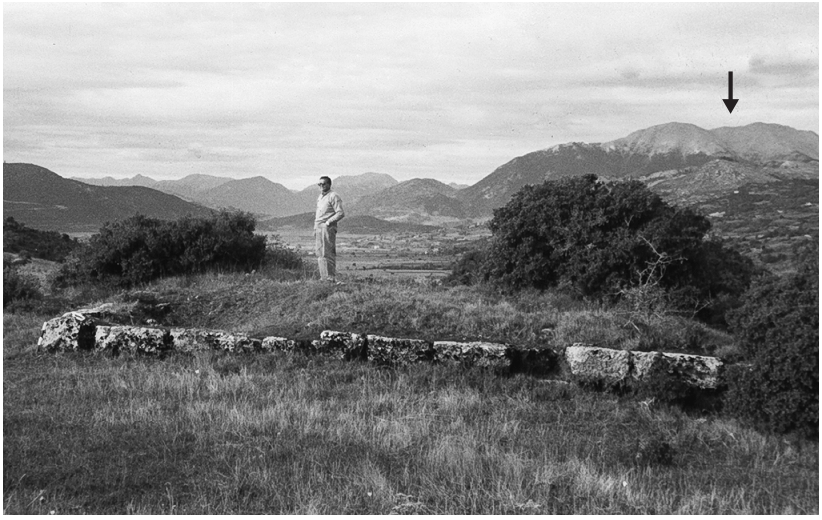


Figure 4.88. Thekriza of Kryoneri ("Tzami," DS-10): northeastern side of the tower with Mount Kyllene (indicated with an arrow) and the plain of Kaisari in the background



Figure 4.89. Thekriza of Kryoneri ("Tzami," DS-10): southwestern side of the tower

corner of the tower to a lower area to the west of it. This tunnel, a secret exit in times of emergency, had escaped Stikas's attention.

Stikas says nothing about the entrance to the tower, and does not show it along the perimeter of the surviving course. It is therefore possible that the entrance was at a higher level. The upper structure of the tower is once again a matter of conjecture; the absence of any ashlar blocks in the vicinity suggests that the upper courses may have been made of mud brick, as the round tower of Tsakouthi, or of wood. The neighboring forest of Moungostos would have provided abundant material for a wooden superstructure. The pottery evidence from within the tower is very scant and does not allow precise chronological conclusions. I found in total only four plain sherds, which I could not date with any degree of accuracy. However, the large settlement that existed on the hill of Thekriza (HS-54), less than 100 m northeast of the tower, dates from the Classical period. The tower was vital for the defense of the southwestern section of the Sikyonian territory. It overlooked the entire plain to the north and the road from Stymphalos, and could visually communicate with the small fort of Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5) to the northeast, and the watch/signal tower of Splithari of Souli (DS-15) to the east. The importance of the tower is indicated by its large size, 90 m^2, which would have accommodated a sizable garrison. Examples of square towers from other parts of the Peloponnese average ca. 7 m on a side, and there are many that are even smaller.[115]

Central Sikyonia: Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5) and Splithari of Souli (DS-15)

The complex known as Elliniko (DS-5) stands on a low hill (450 masl) to the southeast of the village of Megali Valtsa. It was first reported by Skias in *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* with a very short commentary.[116] It was subsequently visited by Meyer, who described it with a fair amount of detail and drew a state plan (Fig. 4.90).[117] Pharaklas's description and rough drawing are rather disappointing.[118] When Meyer visited the site, the vegetation was low, presumably because it served as a grazing ground for the abundant herds of goats (Fig. 4.91); the site is considerably more overgrown today (Fig. 4.92). In addition, the former head of the community of Megali Valtsa, Anastasios Frangopoulos, managed to drive a bulldozer up to the western side of the enclosure, causing considerable damage on this side. Thus, any discussion of the complex must include reference to Meyer and his plan—with the important caveat, however, that his plan has an error in orientation, since his north arrow in fact points east. Meyer, like Leake a century earlier, was probably misled by the coastline on the horizon, which does not extend from east to west, but from southeast to northwest.

The only obvious structure today is a rectangular tower, which preserves three of its four sides (labeled "aufgehende Mauer" in Fig. 4.90). The southwestern side of the tower is 7.5 m long, and shows three courses above ground to a height of 1.22 m (Fig. 4.93). The northwestern side, 8.9 m long, is the best preserved, to a maximum visible height of 2.8 m corresponding to seven courses. In Meyer's time, eight courses were visible, reaching some 3.5 m high. Only 5.85 m of the northeastern side are preserved, with

115. See Pikoulas 1995, pp. 337–338.

116. Skias 1919, p. 47.

117. Meyer 1939, pp. 3–4.

118. Pharaklas 1971, site 1 in app. II, p. 1; the description by Pharaklas is too short to be a useful guide, and the orientation of his drawing is wrong, his north being in reality northeast (52°).

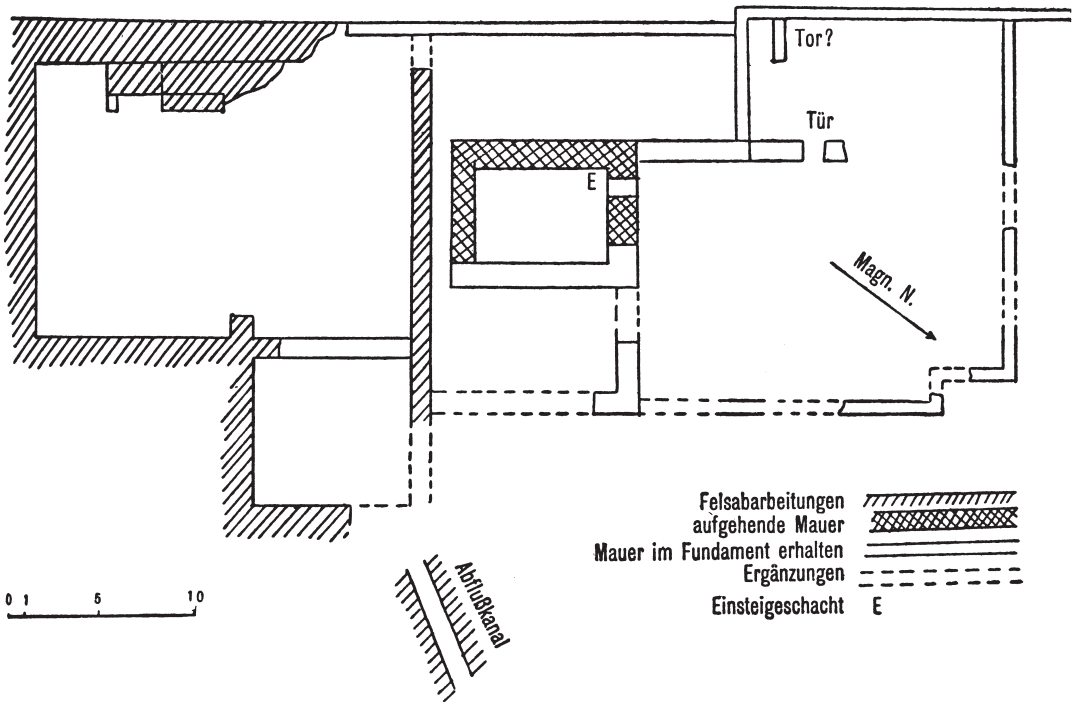


Figure 4.90. Plan of the redoubt at Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5). The north arrow in fact points east.
Meyer 1939, fig. 1

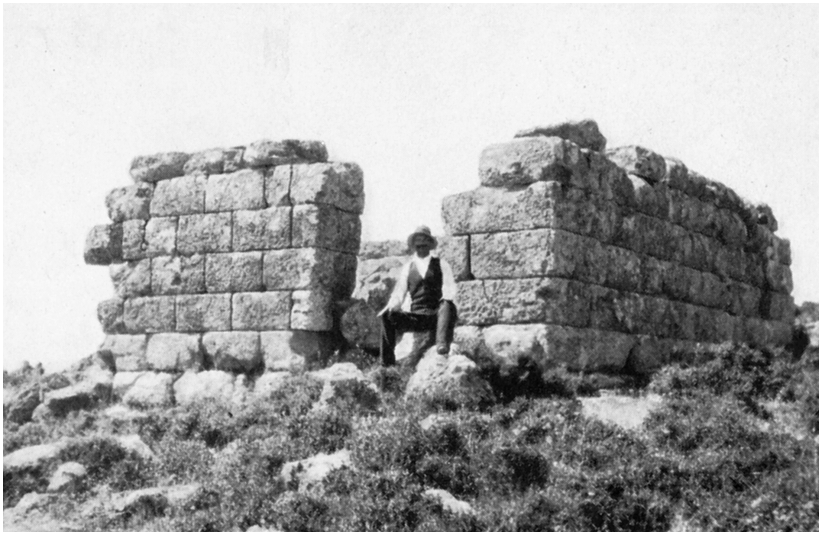


Figure 4.91. Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5): the tower in the late 1930s, looking southwest.
Meyer 1939, pl. 1

five courses 1.8 m high (only the upper part of the lowest course projects above ground) (Fig. 4.92). The southeastern side has disappeared entirely since the time of Meyer. The walls are built in perfect isodomic masonry, with the joints of every other course offset to correspond to the center of the ashlar blocks above and below. The thickness of each course is ca. 1 m, but their height varies from 0.42 to 0.37 m, as it gradually decreases from bottom up. The length of the individual blocks also decreases in the higher courses, from ca. 0.80 m to 0.77 m. The wall is normally one ashlar thick, but in scattered places it consists of two rows of ashlar, set tightly back to back, and always topped by a single block.



Figure 4.92. Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5): the tower in 1999, looking west



Figure 4.93. Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5): the tower, looking northeast

The entrance was in the northeastern wall, 1.55 m from the northern corner of the tower, and it is now blocked by fallen ashlar blocks (Fig. 4.94). The doorway is 1.14 m wide, and its orthostates are preserved to a height of three courses. The left and right sides of the orthostates, for one entering the tower, are smoothly dressed and have a projecting band that frames their outer edge. The band is 0.05 m thick and 0.30 m wide, and served as a stop to the door, which means that the door opened inward, as in the case of the tower of Limiko of Kastraki.[119] The lintel of the door is not preserved, but Meyer saw a piece of the threshold block lying inside the tower. The left (southeastern) orthostate shows a rectangular cutting (0.07 × 0.09 m) at the height of the third course, apparently for one end of the horizontal wooden bar securing the door. The opposite cutting is not visible because the corresponding stone is very weathered. The building material is local conglomerate, which does not favor the preservation of tool marks. Within the tower, I found pieces of Lakonian roof tiles. At the northwestern corner (probably meaning western), Skias reported

119. On this tower, see below, pp. 255–259.

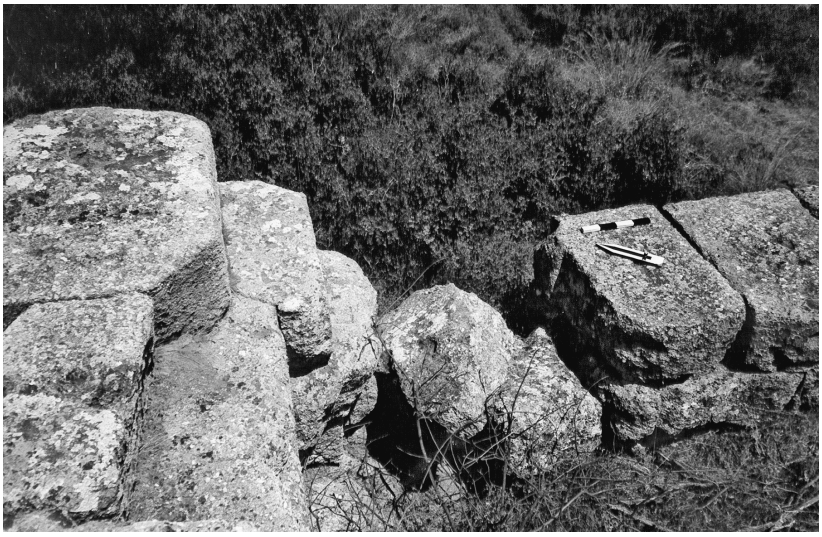


Figure 4.94. Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5): the door near the northern corner of the tower, looking east. Notice the projecting band on the orthostate that frames the door.

the existence of a man-made shaft, narrow and deep, that led to a system of radiating water channels.[120] Most likely these channels belong to the western aqueduct of Sikyon, which carried water from the springs of Se to the city of Demetrios. The guards living in the fort drew water from the aqueduct by using one of its inspection manholes.[121]

Meyer says that the tower is only the middle piece of a larger installation, which he represented in his plan. Walls to the northeast and southwest of the tower were also drawn by Pharaklas, but he does not provide any details of their construction. Today, the thick vegetation permits inspection of the area only to the southwest of the tower, where I can endorse the drawings of Meyer and Pharaklas. The southwestern side of the complex is indeed a rock-cut surface, but the visible part of the southwestern wall is built in ashlar masonry and is not a "Felsabarbeitung," as shown in Meyer's plan. Until the area is cleared of overgrowth, nothing more can be said on the form and extent of this installation. Meyer says that the portion visible in his time was 52 m long by 24 m wide. The solid and careful construction of the tower, in conjunction with its location, suggests a military rather than domestic function. Guards on the tower would have been able to see the Sikyonian plateau to the east, the tower of Splithari (DS-15) and the peak of Thyamia to the south, the tower of Prophetes Elias (DS-12) to the south-southwest, and Tzami (DS-10) to the west-southwest. In addition, this small fort directly overlooked the roads to Stymphalos (R9b) and the Sythas River (R11). The fine isodomic masonry, unique among the defensive installations of Sikyonia, is similar to the masonry employed in the walls of Sikyon. On the basis of this similarity, I would tentatively assign the construction of the fort to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

Splithari (DS-15) is a small round hill (ca. 520 masl) less than 1,500 m southwest of Elliniko, above the sloping area of Valathra and the gully of the Helisson. The existence of a tower on the site was brought to my attention by Vasileios Mytas, the secretary of the community of Souli. I visited the area in the fall of 1996 and located the tower amid pine trees and dense bushes. It was square in plan, 4.6 m on a side, and built of a single row of irregular trapezoidal blocks of conglomerate stone, 0.45–0.6 m thick

120. Skias 1919, p. 47. Cf. Meyer 1939, p. 5.

121. For more on these channels, see below, pp. 582–583.



Figure 4.95. Splithari of Souli (DS-15): the tower in the fall of 1996, looking east



Figure 4.96. Splithari of Souli (DS-15): the tower in the fall of 1996, looking north



Figure 4.97. Splithari of Souli (DS-15): the tower in the fall of 1996, looking west



Figure 4.98. Splithari of Souli (DS-15): remains of the tower in the summer of 1997, looking west; its masonry has been scattered by a bulldozer.



Figure 4.99. Splithari of Souli (DS-15): the site of the tower in the summer of 2001, looking west; the area has been cleared and blocks pushed to the edge of the hill.

(Figs. 4.95–4.97). Two courses of stones were visible, to a maximum height of 0.7 m, with the lower course likely the euthynteria. I could not find the entrance to the tower, as this may have been opened on the higher courses. From the spot, one has a unique view both of the Sikyonian plateau and the town of Kiato to the northeast, Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi (DS-12) and Evangelistria of Stimanga (DS-1) to the south, Tzami of Thekriza (DS-10) to the west, and Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5) to the north. The dimensions of this watch/signal tower roughly match the reported dimensions of the tower of Kanavi at Kryoneri (DS-13) and Prophetes Elias of Ellinochori (AS-6), suggesting that it was by no means unique in the *chora* of Sikyon. Unfortunately, this tower did not escape the fate of its peers. It was bulldozed away in the period between fall 1996 and summer 1997. Thus, when I went back to it with Ron Stroud in June 1997, we were able to see only a few scattered blocks from its masonry (Fig. 4.98), while four years later (2001) hardly any traces remained in situ (Fig. 4.99).



Figure 4.100. Pyrgouthi of Stylia (DS-7): remains of the fortification wall at the southwestern side of the hill, looking northeast

Western Sikyonia: The Hill of Pyrgouthi (DS-7)

The western district of Sikyonia as a whole has few fortifications to show. The badlands that dominate its northern portion are partly responsible, but the main reason must be that no major arteries cross this area. The only remains of a fort here were found on the low hill of Pyrgouthi (Πύργουθι, meaning "small castle"), below the village of Stylia (DS-7). The summit of the hill, rising to an elevation of 436 masl, offers a commanding view of the Sythas valley. Its southwestern side preserves a short segment of a wall made from irregular blocks that manifestly belong to the fortification of the summit (Fig. 4.100). In antiquity the wall must have circled the summit, but its stones have collapsed since. We encountered a number of these collapsed stones on the east and south sides of the hill, either discarded or reused in early modern agricultural terraces. The surface of the summit is so overgrown that we observed no artifacts. From its rather steep slopes, we retrieved a few black-glazed sherds, a stone tool, and one piece of terra sigillata. In addition, 200 m to the east of the summit we found a small settlement, with a predominant EH III phase, mixed with some LH III, Geometric, Classical, and Hellenistic material (HS-92). It is possible that the hill was a refuge for the prehistoric settlers, and was fortified sometime in the historical era to protect the farmers of the area and defend the western borders of the city-state.

Further to the southwest and closer to the sources of the Sythas River, the area known as Vourlies (Βουρλιές) towers over the Sythas gully from an elevation of 842 masl (SP-10). According to a resident of Manna who cultivates the terraced field with apple trees, a structure once stood on the spot, but was recently destroyed by mechanical means. On our visit to the site, we recorded two ashlar blocks of identical dimensions pushed along the field boundaries, as well as some Lakonian roof tiles with brown and red glaze, and a few plain sherds. Unfortunately, the farmer was not very informative as to the shape or size of the structure with which the two blocks were associated. Given the location, and its towering view over the Sythas gully and Pellene, I am tempted to ascribe the remains to a border watch/signal tower of Sikyonia.

The Phrourion of Epieikia and the Teichos of Dera

I mentioned Epieikia when I discussed the itinerary followed by the Spartan army and their allies prior to the battle of 394 B.C. in the Corinthian plain. According to Xenophon, the Lakedaimonians invaded the Corinthia by Epieikia (ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιείκειαν), and soon after were forced by the light troops of their opponents to descend toward the sea.[122] Two years later the Spartan general Praxitas fortified Epieikia out of friendship for his allies, meaning the Sikyonians: καὶ τειχίσας [Praxitas] Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα φρούριον εἴη πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἀπεχώρει.[123] Up until 392 B.C., Epieikia was not the name of a fort, but of a settlement or simply an area at the Sikyonian borders toward the Corinthia—in other words, above the left bank of the Nemea River. Since the name does not appear elsewhere in the ancient literature in connection with a settlement, town, or *kome,* I believe that it referred to a geographical area, much like Thyamia.[124] A border *phrourion,* in order to be effective, needs to have good visibility over the neighboring territory, and to stand on a defensible position in order to be protected from assaults. The location of Epieikia, on the heights above the coastal plain and west of the Nemea River, is also suggested by the course followed by the Spartan army in 394 B.C., along the foot of the hills.[125] Thus, I would place it in the vicinity of the church of Agia Paraskevi, along the low hill of Kokkinies (Κοκκινιές). My survey failed to locate traces of fortifications here, but the cultivation of vineyards may have obliterated architectural remains.

The fort was also sought by early travelers and scholars, but with no conclusive results. On the basis of ancient testimony, both Leake and Curtius argued for its location above the western bank of the Nemea River, but were unable to report physical traces.[126] Ross, having ridden for over an hour from Stimanga toward the plain, noticed on his right side, on one of the last terraces of the mountain, considerable "Hellenic" foundations, which he assigned to Epieikia rather than to the *teichos* of Dera:

> Je quittai Stimanga et déscendis, dans un peu plus d'une heure, dans la plaine, entre les débouchés des rivières Néméa et Asopos, où je remarquai à ma droite, sur une des dernières terraces de la montagne, un fondement hellénique assez considérable. C'est probablement Epieicia, bourg ou village de la Sicyonie, qui était situé sur les bords de la plaine, non loin du débouché de la rivière Néméa, et qui fut fortifié par le lacédémonien Praxitas. Car Gérae ou Dérae, autre petite forteresse de la Sicyonie, paraît avoir été plus près de l'Asopos et de la ville de Sicyon même.[127]

As explained in the previous chapter, Ross rode from Stimanga to Krinai along the Trikaranon ridge. I took the same route in the company of Panagiotis Dardanis, former field guard (ἀγροφύλαξ) of Stimanga, and after an hour's walk we arrived midway between Stimanga and Tarsina, but we could not find the foundations reported by Ross. Furthermore, older inhabitants of Tarsina had no memory of such ruins around their village, which was founded after Ross's visit. Earlier investigations by Oscar Broneer in the area of the village at Pritchett's request were also fruitless.[128] Ross probably did not visit the ruins; otherwise he would have given a

122. *Hell.* 4.2.14; for the whole passage, see above, p. 126. The preposition κατά + acc. may have more than one meaning (motion downward, opposition, purpose, proximity), but with the verb ἐμβαλεῖν it is used once more in the *Hellenika* in the sense of "circa": καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ Οἰὸν τῆς Σκιρίτιδος (6.5.25).

123. *Hell.* 4.4.13.

124. This view is shared by Gompf (1832, pp. 47–48), who assigned the name to a mountain above the Nemea River and within Sikyonian territory.

125. On which, see above, pp. 126–127.

126. Leake 1830, p. 373; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 504.

127. Ross 1840, p. 24.

128. Reported by Pritchett in *SAGT* II, pp. 80–81.

more detailed account. One of the last terraces above the plain, and to the east of the road descending from Stimanga, forms a low but conspicuous hill known as "Litharia tou Rakka" (Λιθάρια του Ράκα, literally, "stones of Rakas"). The site (SP-30) allegedly supplied local people with building material for decades. I was led to it by Photis Ioannou, a shepherd native to the village of Tarsina. The surface of the hill has been disturbed by modern landscaping, and a few parts are covered by prickly oaks. We were unable to find traces of fortifications, simply a ruin of a Byzantine church, as well as a tunnel exposed by a dredger on the summit of the hill. Yet the terrace is conspicuous from the road across the ravine, and it may indeed correspond to the site mentioned by Ross. The looting of stones since the visit of the traveler may account for the absence of his "Hellenic foundations."

Even if we identify the Λιθάρια του Ράκα with the terrace seen by Ross, the site is too far to the west to be Epieikia. James Wiseman argues that Epieikia must lie between Sikyon and Rachiani, and suggested what he calls "Kondita Station" to the east of the Nemea River as its possible location.[129] Aside from the fact that Wiseman did not find clear traces of fortifications on this site, it lies within Corinthian territory and could hardly have been a Sikyonian *phrourion.* In conclusion, I insist on the location of Epieikia along the Sikyonian borders, in the area of Agia Paraskevi, and hope that I will be able to submit physical evidence of the fort in the future.

The second fortress attested in the sources, the Δέρας τεῖχος, was captured in 368 B.C. by Dionysios and his Syracusan forces after his victory over the Sikyonians in the plain, and before he sailed off to Sicily:

> ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Σικυῶνα, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου πρώτη βοήθεια ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας.[130]

This information allows us to say only that the fortress was located between the Nemea River and the city of Sikyon, on the first terraces of the hills to the south of the plain.[131] If we are right in locating Epieikia near the Nemea River, then we must conjecture a more westward location for Dera.[132] The form of the *teichos* is also uncertain, since the term applied to a barrier wall as well as to the wall of a fortress.[133] No clear traces of fortifications have ever been reported between the Asopos and the Nemea rivers, and the foundations seen by Ross and assigned to Epieikia would more likely suit the site of Dera.

129. Wiseman 1978, p. 104. "Kondita Station" is probably a reference to the Kontina *rema,* south of the church of Agios Athanasios.

130. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.22.

131. A view shared by early students of Sikyonian topography: Gompf 1832, pp. 47–48; Bobrik 1839, p. 29; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 504; cf. Ross 1840, p. 24.

132. I take Δέρας as the genitive singular form depending on τεῖχος. Ross (1840, p. 24), Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 504), and Bursian (1872, p. 32) call it Derai (Δέραι), misled by a toponym in Messenia (mentioned by Pausanias, 4.15.4). Gompf (1832, p. 47) and Bobrik (1839, p. 29) consider Deras to be in the nominative case, which would be syntactically awkward.

133. See, e.g., Hdt. 7.208 (Thermopylai), Hdt. 8.71 (Isthmus of Corinth), and Thuc. 4.45.2 (Methana), among many others.



Figure 4.101. Limiko of Kastraki: the southern side of the tower, looking northwest



Figure 4.102. Limiko of Kastraki: the inner door of the tower, and the deep trench dug up by a dredger behind it, looking east

The Tower of Limiko near the Village of Kastraki

One additional tower lies just outside Sikyonia territory to the south. On the low but conspicuous hill of Limiko are the remains of a rectangular tower locally referred to as "Kastraki," which ultimately gave its name to the nearby village (formerly called Mazi; Fig. 4.101).[134] The western sector of the interior of the tower was excavated by Nikolaos Verdelis in 1956, and the results were briefly announced in the *Chronique* for that year.[135] I visited the site in the summers of 1996 and 1997 in order to reexamine the monument. Since the time of Verdelis's excavation, the field surrounding the tower has been deeply ploughed, but it is now uncultivated, and earth has been piled up against the southern and western walls of the tower, creating a sort of ramp. Inside the structure, the scoop of a dredger has recently dug a rectangular oblong trench along the southern wall, clearly deeper than the original floor of the tower (Fig. 4.102). I provide below a description

134. The tower is not in my Register of Sites because it lies beyond the ancient boundaries of Sikyonia.

135. Daux 1957, pp. 537–538.

of the structure and a discussion of its function and date. Measurements in brackets are those of Verdelis.

The tower is rectangular, 9 (E–W) × 11.8 m (N–S) [9.2 × 12 m], and built in coursed ashlar masonry, with occasional trapezoidal blocks set in the southern and northern sides (Figs. 4.103–4.105). As the excavator correctly observed, the stone used is conglomerate, extracted from the slopes of Gavrias. I observed traces of drafting along the margins of a few blocks, but not at the corners of the building. Four courses above ground level are preserved at the eastern side to a height of 1.8 m [1.9 m], and the double thickness of the walls equals 1.3 m [1.35 m]. The ashlar courses continue below the present ground level, as can be seen on the exposed inner face of the southern side (Fig. 4.106). Verdelis did not find the entrance to the tower, but tentatively placed it on the eastern side (perhaps meaning the western). In the interior, the only visible arrangement today is an elongated room along the southern side of the tower, which was the target of the dredger (Fig. 4.102). Along the northern side of the room, part of a wall is visible, 0.59 m thick, preserving two courses of stone blocks. Five courses of the same wall are visible beside the door frame on the room's western side (Fig. 4.106). Thus, the room was only 1.83 m in width, while its length can no longer be ascertained. Verdelis gives the dimensions of this interior room as 6.2 × 2.8 m. While I cannot account for the discrepancy in the room's width, Verdelis's reported length means that the room stretched from the door on the western side to the eastern wall of the tower.[136] Inside the room Verdelis found pieces of stucco from the coating of the walls, fragments of lamps, two Attic sherds, and pieces of an iron sword.

Perhaps the most interesting and best-preserved feature of the complex is the door frame on the room's western side (Fig. 4.106).[137] The distance between the door frame and the outer face of the western wall of the tower is 3 m. The stone orthostates and lintel of the door are still in place, the southern orthostate having been erected against the southern side of the tower. The single lintel block is 0.37 m thick [0.42 m], 1.60 m long [1.9 m], and 0.46 m wide [0.7 m]; it rests on the two orthostates, with which it aligns perfectly on both inner and outer faces. The underside of the lintel has a chiseled band on the inner side of the doorway, 0.28 m deep and 1.08 m wide, to provide a stop for the original door. The round socket for the door (τόρμος), 0.09 m in diameter, was cut at the left edge (seen from inside) of the chiseled soffit and was lined with a bronze insert (ληνός or ὄλμος), still preserved, measuring 0.077 (Diam.) × 0.005 (Th.) × 0.140 m (L.) (Fig. 4.107). The preservation of bronze or iron door pivots is relatively

136. The tower is also briefly described by Peppas (1993, pp. 181–182), whose measurements are slightly different from ours and those of Verdelis. Peppas did not see the northern wall of the room, and thought that the door was part of an east–west wall, dividing the interior in two parts. In addition, Peppas explains the ramps of earth against the two sides of the tower as the remains of an artificial mound (τύμβος) into which the tower was converted in Medieval times; according to Peppas, this mound would have served as a "counter-fort" to the lower fort of Gavrias. I can hardly follow his reasoning.

137. Verdelis reported a door "située à l'extremité Sud du mur Est," but probably meant "Ouest" instead of "Est."

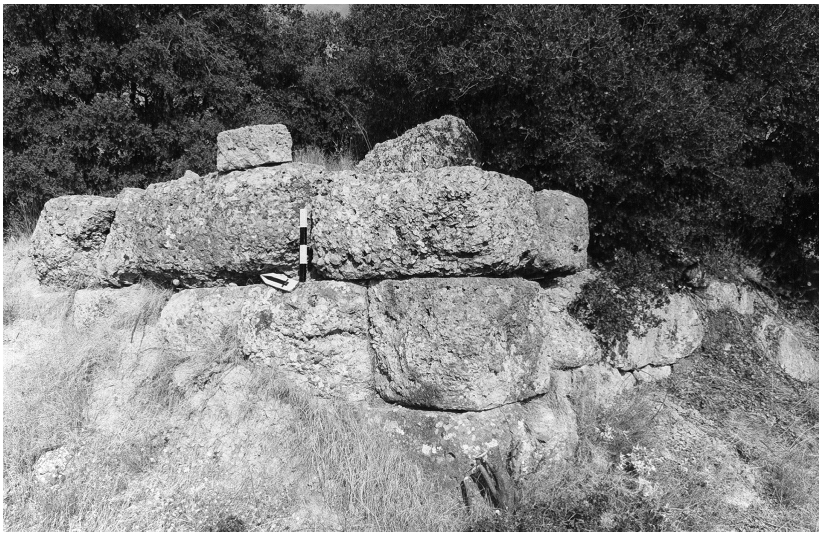


Figure 4.103. Limiko of Kastraki: the southwestern corner of the tower, looking northeast

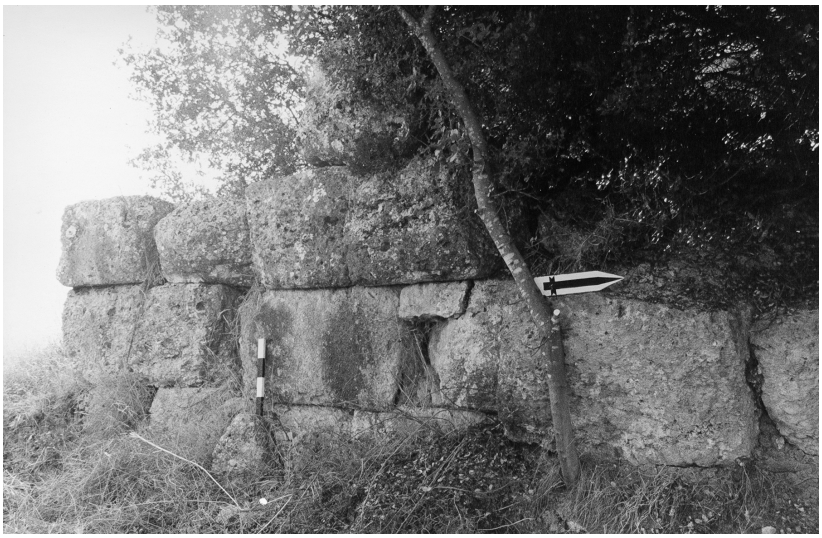


Figure 4.104. Limiko of Kastraki: part of the eastern side of the tower, looking west

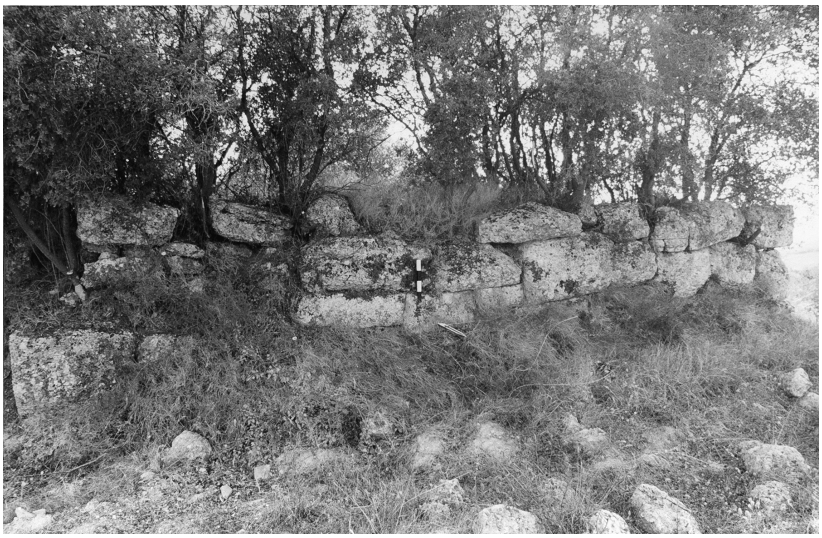


Figure 4.105. Limiko of Kastraki: the northern side of the tower, looking southwest



Figure 4.106. Limiko of Kastraki: the inner door of the tower, looking southwest. The lower courses of the southern side of the tower are visible to the left of the door.

rare, and I know of no other example from independent towers in the Greek countryside.[138] In roughly the middle of the rebated surface a deep trapezoidal socket (0.12 × 0.10 m and 0.14 m in depth), not aligned with the door socket but cut further out (toward the inner face of the lintel), would have received the upper end of the μοχλός, the vertical bar locking the door.[139] Both cuttings, the door socket and the bar socket, would have certainly been aligned with similar cuttings in the threshold, now buried. The orthostates, 0.43 m deep [0.34 m], 0.73 m wide [0.7 m], and 1.8 m high, were also chiseled on their inner face in order to align perfectly with the chiseled surface of the lintel (and possibly of the threshold), and in this way secure a tight seal for the door.[140] The door itself, being made out of wood, is not preserved, but we can easily conjecture its shape and its mechanism following the cuttings on the door frame. It was clearly a one-leaf door, 1.8 (H.) × 1.1 [1] (W.) × 0.04 m (Th.).[141] Judging from descriptions of doors in inscriptions, representations on vases, and surviving examples, we can safely picture the door in this tower as consisting of vertical boards nailed onto horizontal members (σανίδες and ζυγά). Verdelis reported finding a number of iron nails "dans la region de la porte," but one

138. An excellent description of a door with the associated iron fittings—the door of the "Dipylon above the Gates" in Athens—is provided by Thompson and Scranton (1943, pp. 352–356, figs. 54–58) and accompanied by good-quality photographs.

139. Winter (1971, pp. 255–265), in his discussion of the structural details of gates and posterns, omits entirely the existence of vertical, as opposed to horizontal, cross-bars. Yet, single-leaf gates and doors (on small-sized openings) would have been efficiently blocked by vertical cross-bars. Wide sockets for vertical timbers locking the gate have been observed at the Dipylon in Athens; see Thompson and Scranton 1943, p. 354.

140. In measuring the tower I was assisted by Yannis Pikoulas. There is a discrepancy between our measurements and those of Verdelis. I had thought that Verdelis might be describing a different door, perhaps on the other side of the room, but the photograph of the door published in *BCH* (Daux 1957, p. 538, fig. 26) leaves hardly any doubt that we are talking about the same door.

141. The thickness of the door is determined by the distance between the inner side of the bar socket and the edge of the chiseled soffit of the lintel, against which the door was shut.



Figure 4.107. Limiko of Kastraki: detail of the underside of the lintel showing the cylindrical bronze insert preserved intact. Note the trapezoidal socket for the vertical bar in the upper right corner of the photograph.

wonders if the word "clous" in the *BCH* report means both nails and studs. Perhaps two of these "clous de fer" were the vertical pins fitting into the bronze inserts.[142] The door leaf would swing on a bronze-plated wooden pivot (στροφεύς) attached to two sockets (cut into the soffit of the lintel and the threshold). There was one vertical wooden μοχλός in the center locking the door in place.

The reconstruction of the tower as a whole is more difficult. Judging from the *membra disiecta* in the surrounding field, we can safely restore a few more stone courses, but I cannot tell whether the uppermost structure of the tower was also built in stone or had mud-brick walls. The few terracotta tile fragments that I could find suggest that the tower had a Lakonian roof. The arrangement of the interior is also unclear, since the oblong room, accessible through the door to the west, may or may not have been the only room inside the tower, and probably there was an inner staircase leading to the upper story.[143] The purpose of the solidly guarded chamber, perhaps roofed with wooden boards, was to provide a safe resting place for the guard(s) on duty. Similar oblong spaces have been encountered in other compartmented towers in Greece, at Boiotia and Leukas.[144] A threshold from a door in the interior of a complex has been found in situ at Kephalovryso of Douka Vrysi in the Argolid.[145]

The purpose of our tower can be determined mainly by its location. It was a watch/signal tower standing above the road that led from Phlious to the northwest (R12). Even from its present height, it has a commanding view toward Phlious and the three peaks of Trikaranon to the east and southeast, and toward Kastraki, Titane, and Bozika to the north.[146] The tower was undoubtedly part of the defensive system of Phliasia. A 5th- or 4th-century B.C. date was suggested by Verdelis on the basis of the two Attic sherds. A black-glazed fragment of a 5th-century kotyle, which I found among the earth debris of the "ramp" against the western wall, favors a date in the late 5th century.

142. For an example of a vertical pin with its associated insert, see Thompson and Scranton 1943, p. 355, fig. 57.

143. The interior of four "compartment" towers of Boiotia was half hollow and half solid: Camp 1991, pp. 197–199, and fig. 7.

144. For Boiotian examples, see Camp 1991. The interior of Tower 4 at ancient Leukas was divided into three spaces, among which is an oblong one running across the entire width of the structure (Morris 2001, p. 313, fig. 34:C). Morris (2001, p. 312) argues that these spaces were "structural units supporting the lowest floor"; a bipartite division was attested in Towers 5 and 6, which also included a narrow and oblong space: Morris 2001, pp. 314–317.

145. Pikoulas 1995, p. 195.

146. Verdelis, or perhaps the anonymous translator of his report for *BCH*, calls it a "fortin militaire" (Daux 1957, p. 538), which is rather an exaggeration.

SUMMARY OF ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS

We have clear physical evidence for the existence of six Sikyonian forts: Thyamia (DS-1), Titane (DS-2), Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3), Kokkinovrachos (DS-4), Agios Vlasios (DS-9), and Elliniko (DS-5); and six independent towers: Ano Bathiza (DS-14), Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi (DS-12), Kastro of Gonoussa again (DS-3), Tsakouthi of Kaisari (DS-16), Tzami of Thekriza (DS-10), and Splithari (DS-15). This corpus does not represent the total number of forts and towers constructed in the Classical and Hellenistic periods in Sikyonia, since some have yet to be located, and others have mostly collapsed over the centuries or been seriously damaged and even destroyed in the last 30 years. The former group includes Epieikia and Dera, ironically the only Sikyonian forts mentioned in the ancient sources. To the second category belong the forts of Goulas (DS-6), Pyrgouthi (DS-7), and Prophetes Elias of Stimanga (DS-8), as well as the following towers: Agios Konstantinos (DS-11), Kanavi (DS-13), Prophetes Elias (AS-6) and Vardounia (AS-7) of Ellinochori, and Ladas (AS-5) to the southwest of the hill of Sikyon.

With the exception of Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (DS-5), the forts were built at or near the borders of the state (Fig. 4.108). Kokkinovrachos (DS-4) was in a central location, since the garrison in it could observe activities at both Phlious and Stymphalos. The forts of Titane (DS-2) and Gonoussa (DS-3), in addition to their role of border protection, provided shelter for the surrounding population in periods of danger, and allowed inspection of the "direct road" along the Asopos, achieved even more closely by the towers of Ano Bathiza (DS-14) and Ladas (AS-5). The small fort of Elliniko (DS-5), together with the extant towers of Tzami (DS-10) and Tsakouthi (DS-16) and the forts of Agios Vlasios (DS-9) and Goulas (DS-6), overlooked the road to Stymphalos and the Sikyonian borders with this state. The fort of Pyrgouthi (DS-7) and the possible tower at Vourlies (SP-10) protected the western border toward Pellene. The tower of Agios Konstantinos (DS-11), the reported fort of Prophetes Elias of Stimanga (DS-8), and the reported towers at Prophetes Elias and Vardounia of Ellinochori (AS-6, AS-7) stood above the road to Phlious. Finally, the round tower of Paradeisi (DS-12), the rectangular towers of Splithari (DS-15), Ano Bathiza (DS-14), and Prophetes Elias of Ellinochori (AS-6), and the reported tower of Kanavi (DS-13) likely served as posts for signal transmission between the city of Sikyon and its countryside.

According to the sources, a system of fire signaling was practiced in antiquity, usually expressed by the verb φρυκτωρέω and its related nouns.[147] The precise methods used are explained in detail by Polybios (10.43–47). One method utilized two water jars and operated on the water-clock principle. Torches were raised to indicate the moment when the water was to be released from the jars and when the flow was to be stopped. The level of the water in the jar, measured by a rod, was translated into standard messages. The second method, a later invention according to Polybios, allowed the transmission of any message since the torches were used to spell out words. A certain combination of torches raised on the left and

147. φρυκτωρός, φρυκτός, φρυκτωρία: see Thuc. 3.22.7–8, 3.80.2, and 8.102.1.

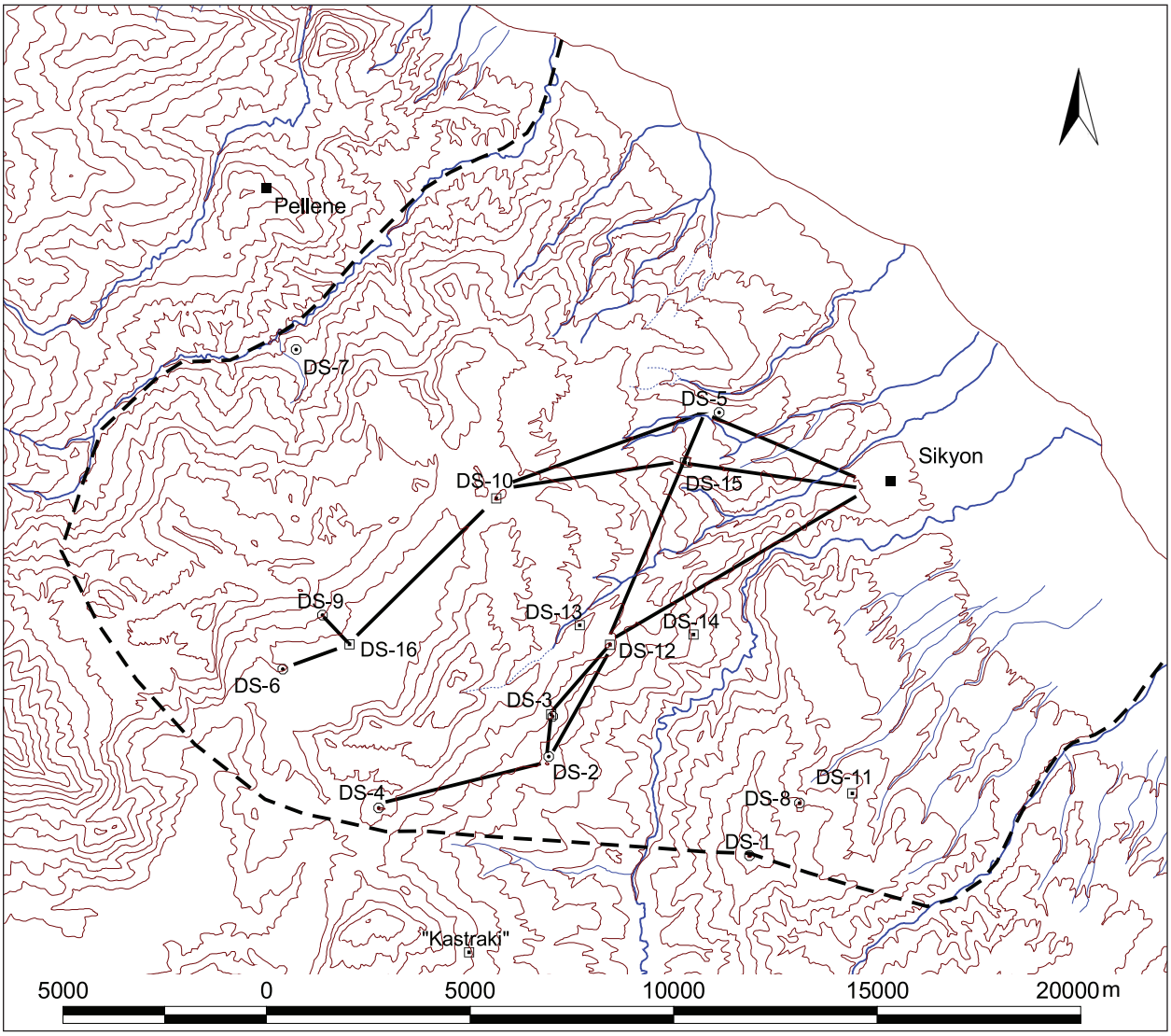


Figure 4.108. Ancient defensive structures in Sikyonia and their suggested lines of visual communication

the right indicated a specific letter. Visual communication among the various defensive installations and, ultimately, the city of Sikyon was a serious concern to their builders, as is illustrated on Figure 4.108. Kokkinovrachos (DS-4) communicates with Titane (DS-2), Titane with the Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3) and the tower of Paradeisi (DS-12), and Paradeisi with the Sikyonian plateau. From Goulas (DS-6) via Tsakouthi (DS-16) one could signal the tower at Tzami (DS-10), which was conspicuous from Elliniko (DS-5) and Splithari (DS-15). A similar system of communication must have been in use along the Trikaranon, involving Prophetes Elias of Stimanga (DS-8), Agios Konstantinos (DS-11), and some of the towers of Ellinochori, but here the physical traces are largely missing. Thyamia (DS-1) is visible from almost every raised point in the territory, but since I doubt the regular occupation of the fort by the Sikyonians, I do not believe that it was incorporated into the defensive network of the state. Thanks to this visual communication, messages could be expediently transmitted to the city from the fringes of its territory.

MEDIEVAL DEFENSES

In the Medieval period, what used to be Sikyonia was part of a much larger administrative and territorial unit, so it is not surprising that ancient fortifications outnumber Medieval defensive works within the boundaries of the ancient city-state. Occasionally these Medieval structures superseded ancient ones, so that through their examination we can gain a better understanding of the importance and influence of their Classical predecessors. The majority of these defensive installations are recorded and discussed by Peppas in his book on the Medieval Corinthia.[148]

A round tower once crowned the summit of Trikaranon, later known as Spyria and now Evangelistria (806 masl), on the east bank of the Asopos River (DS-1). Ross and later Curtius recorded the ruins of the "grosse Rundthurme," but both failed to give measurements or a close description of it.[149] They do report, however, the existence of Medieval remains in the vicinity of the tower, including glazed pottery fragments. According to Curtius, "Die Hochfläche wie der südliche Abhang sind mit Bruchstücken glänzender Ziegelsteine und anderen Trümmern bedeckt."[150] When Russell visited the site in the early 1920s, the Frankish tower had already been demolished and some of its stones were embedded in a wall surrounding the church of Evangelistria; today, a monument for the dead in the First and Second World Wars stands in its place.[151] The location of the tower, overlooking the Phliasian basin and Mount Polyphengo, the acropolis of Corinth, and the Asopos valley, was ideal. Mount Polyphengo, which rises to the south of the Phliasian basin, preserves the scant remains of a Frankish castle. The castle was captured by the Byzantines in the early 14th century, but recaptured by the Franks in the latter part of the century to become part of the *castellania* of Corinth.[152] It was indeed the southernmost Frankish stronghold toward Arkadia, which was controlled by the Byzantines from the early 14th century. Accordingly, the tower of Evangelistria would have allowed visual communication between Polyphengo and Acrocorinth, controlling the road along the Asopos valley, and thus warning the Corinthian

148. Peppas 1993, pp. 164–184. Peppas offers firsthand evidence for Medieval fortifications in the Corinthian countryside. His historical and archaeological interpretations, however, must be used with caution, since some of his "structures" cannot be found (unless they have disappeared in the course of the last two decades).

149. Ross 1841, p. 41; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 481. See also Guides-Joanne 1891, p. 394; Kordosis 1981, p. 186; Peppas 1993, pp. 165–166.

150. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 481.

151. Russell 1924, p. 42; cf. *SAGT* II, p. 107. Pharaklas (1971, app. II, p. 4), on the other hand, mentions the existence of a Frankish square tower on this spot. His statement is unique; such a structure is not preserved today, nor do inhabitants of the nearby village of Stimanga have any memory of it.

152. Bon 1969, pp. 482–483. It is unfortunate that Alcock's (1991, p. 430) brief summary of the history of Phlious includes a very poor discussion of the later history of the area. Contemporary sources contain abundant information on the important bishopric of Polyphengo, located at the southern end of the Phliasian valley. The castle of Agios Georgios (modern Nemea) appears in Venetian documents of the 14th century, while the chronicographers describe the Ottoman incursions upon the castle of Phlious (Φλιοῦνι) in the 15th century.



Figure 4.109. Karoumpalo of Bozika (DS-17): the Late Roman or Byzantine tower/fort, looking southwest

guards of any danger coming from the south. The Late Classical wall of the fort of Thyamia, which girds the peak of Trikaranon, bears no traces of Medieval repairs or additions and was most likely not used at the time.[153]

A structure on the opposite side of the Asopos, northwest of the village of Bozika and at an elevation of ca. 780 masl, would have had a similar function (DS-17; Fig. 4.109). One can see today a stretch of the northern wall including the northwestern corner of a rectangular enclosure. The wall is 1.25 m thick and 1.40 m high (preserved), and is built in a solid rubble and mortar masonry.[154] The structure overlooks an ancient (and Medieval) pass from Arkadia to Sikyonia through Agia Trias, Bozika, and Titane, and it can safely be identified as a tower or fort.[155] The date of the complex is much more difficult to establish, however, since this particular masonry was employed from the Roman to the Late Byzantine period.[156] Perhaps a future radiocarbon analysis of the mortar could help in this regard.[157] The plateau extending to the north of the tower yielded scanty remains of a small settlement of the Late Roman period (HS-80). In addition, a small hoard of 6th-century coins was found in the village of Bozika together with an Early Christian tomb and 14th-century graves.[158] These finds demonstrate the presence of a settlement here from the Early Byzantine

153. In addition, Peppas (1993, pp. 164–165) reports remains of a Medieval fort to the south of Evangelistria and north of the village of Koutsi, on a hill called Kastro. I visited the hill twice and repeatedly asked farmers from Koutsi, but I was not able to verify Peppas's description. It may be that the remains of a wall seen by Peppas have since been bulldozed, or that they are hidden in the dense thicket that crowns the summit today. Even so, their assignment to the Medieval period is questionable. Pharaklas (1973, app. II, p. 1) reported rubble masonry from Kastro and pottery fragments ranging from the Archaic to Roman periods. He found very few Byzantine sherds, and assumed the existence of a Phliasian fort here in the Classical period.

154. The building is briefly mentioned by Peppas (1993, p. 170).

155. On this pass, see above, pp. 134–136.

156. The difficulty of dating mortared towers is addressed by Langdon (1995, pp. 496–498).

157. Recently, a ^{14}C method was employed in order to date lime mortar samples: Cherf 1992.

158. The small excavation was undertaken by Pallas in the courtyard of the school: see Daux 1958, p. 702; Avramea 1983, p. 61.



Figure 4.110. Tampouri of Kastraki: view of the knoll, looking northeast; Evangelistria of Stimanga (DS-1, indicated with an arrow) is visible in the background.

period onward. It is possible that the tower or small fort to the northwest of the village was part of a network of Early Byzantine defensive structures built to protect against barbarian invasions.

To the southwest of the village of Bozika, and due west of the village of Kastraki, on a low hill known locally as Tampouri (literally "earthworks," 876 masl), I observed scattered rubble masonry that allegedly belongs to a small fort that once stood on the spot (Fig. 4.110).[159] According to locals from Kastraki, the foundations of the fort were visible until a few years ago, when they were destroyed by a bulldozer. In the corners, the fort had large stones, but the remainder of the wall was made of rubble. The fort stood directly above a major road leading from Stymphalia and possibly Pellene to the Phliasian valley, running along the northern foothills of Mount Gavrias.[160] Since from Tampouri one can see the summit of Evangelistria, the fort seems to have been part of the defensive structures along the Phliasian border, but its date of construction remains unknown.

Other defensive works can be seen on the flat summit of Mount Gavrias and along the backbone of Konstantithi hill, further to the north. The northwestern side of Gavrias (1,200 masl), which is the only accessible side of the mountain, is blocked by a long wall (Fig. 4.111).[161] It consists of rubble masonry with no mortar, while occasional larger blocks appear in its foundations. Its thickness exceeds 2 m and the fallen rubble of its masonry reaches a height of ca. 0.5 m. The site offers a panoramic view to Stymphalia (to the southwest), the mountain range separating the valley of Kaisari from Asopos (to the north), Evangelistria, Apesas, and Acrocorinth (to the east), and the Phliasian valley and Polyphengo (to the south). Dating dry rubble masonry is virtually impossible. Based on the location of the wall, Peppas believes that it was built by the Byzantines when they took Polyphengo in the early 14th century.[162] As is the case with the rest of the fortifications erected between the Corinthia and Arkadia, it is tempting

159. Coordinates: 374557/4195197. Tampouri rises immediately to the south of the Sikyonian border, therefore I do not list it in the Register of Sites. On the 1:50,000 map of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service ("Nemea" sheet), the hill is labeled "Arapiza" (Αράπιζα).

160. For this pass, see above, pp. 167–168.

161. The wall is not not in my Register of Sites because it too lies outside the borders of Sikyonia.

162. Peppas 1993, p. 181. Peppas (1993, p. 180) also describes a second fort at Gavrias, on the southeast slopes of the mountain and of a similar dry rubble masonry. I have not visited the site.



Figure 4.111. The rubble wall on the summit of Gavrias

to assign it to the 14th or the early 15th century, when the region was contested between the Franks and the Byzantines.

The same argument for dating cannot be made for a similar wall that I followed along the northern side of Konstantithi, to the south of and above the modern village of Kryoneri. The wall, which is hardly visible due to the vegetation, is made of dry rubble, 0.8–0.9 m thick, and runs in an almost north–south direction. On the summit of Konstantithi stood an ancient tower (DS-13), but the wall does not seem to be connected with it. To the west of the village of Bozika, along the northern slopes of Kokkinovrachos, I observed a third rubble wall, as sketchy in structure as the wall at Konstantithi.[163] It does not seem to be connected with the Classical fort crowning the summit of Kokkinovrachos (DS-4), and at this point I have no explanation to offer regarding its existence on this spot.

Further to the west, Peppas reported the existence of a large circular tower on the summit of Goulas, with an approximate diameter of 18 m, and built of small rubble stones (DS-6). Peppas associates this tower with the Frankish defensive line against Byzantine incursions from Arkadia in the 14th century.[164] As I have already mentioned, a bulldozer has dug through the summit of the hill, but a thick layer of rubble is still visible on the spot. A round tower of the dimensions that Peppas gives could hardly have been roofed, so we are dealing with either a tower of smaller diameter

163. These wall remains are not shown on Map 4.

164. Peppas 1993, pp. 183–184.



Figure 4.112. Magoula of Pasio (DS-18): the northwestern side of the tower

or a simple enclosure wall. The complex would have been ideally located to control movements along the valley of Kaisari toward Stymphalos. On the other hand, we were unable to find any traces of Medieval pottery on this site, only some ancient masonry and tiles. I therefore wonder if the rubble pile at Goulas come from an ancient stone cairn marking the southern boundaries of the state toward Stymphalos.

Unlike the case of Goulas, the structure erected on a low hill known as Magoula, southwest of the village of Pasio, is certainly a tower, 8.7 × 6.9 m (DS-18; Fig. 4.112). It is built with rubble and mortar and large corner blocks, and is preserved to a maximum visible height of 1.4 m. A few tile fragments can also be seen in the masonry, mixed with the rubble. The interior of the tower and its surrounding area are heavily overgrown, and this may explain why we found no tiles or pottery of the post-antique periods, only a few prehistoric sherds. I could not establish a date simply on the basis of the masonry.[165] In comparison to other rectangular towers from Boiotia and Attica, the dimensions of this tower are impressive.[166] It directly overlooks the main road leading from Corinth to Achaia, which was used from at least the Roman period to the early 20th century.[167]

The original castle of Xylokastro, to judge from its name, was presumably a wooden construction of which nothing remains today (AS-12). It was built on the hill just to the south of the modern town (ca. 280 masl), today appropriately called Kastro. Kastro overlooks the Sythas River (to the west) and the road parallel to it coming from Pellene (formerly Zougra), as well as the Corinthian (and Achaian) plain to the north. We do not know the precise boundaries between the Frankish baronies in the 14th century; consequently, we cannot be sure whether Xylokastro stood between the territories of Vostitza (Aigion) and Corinth.[168] We are also in the dark concerning the time of its erection, since our sources from the second half of the 15th century report it as being in ruins.[169] A secure terminus ante

165. See Lock 1986, p. 106: "The technique of building walls with roughly dressed masonry and tile slips was practised by the late Romans, the Byzantines, the Franks, the Venetians, and the Turks."

166. Cf. the numerical data in Langdon 1995 and Lock 1986.

167. On this road, see above, pp. 98–110.

168. It is generally assumed that the Corinthia during the Frankish period extended westward as far as the town of Akrata. The establishment of the western border is based on a letter sent by Pope Innocent III to the first Latin bishop of Corinth in 1212 and mentioning the *casalis* of *Crata* among the 13 villages under the jurisdiction of the Corinthian bishopric (Kordosis 1981, p. 32; Bon 1969, p. 479). We have seen, however, that later in this century the Frankish territories in the Peloponnese, including the *castellania* of Corinth, were reorganized (see above, p. 86).

169. See above, p. 89.

quem is the terrible earthquake that hit the area in 1402: the castle of "Xylokastro slid along with the mountain and quite a few people died."[170]

Xerokastelli, a steep conical hill rising immediately to the southwest of the Sikyonian plateau to an elevation of 337 masl, is listed among the lands possessed by Nicolas Acciaiuoli in 1365 (AS-9; Fig. 3.30).[171] We do not know if it has ever been fortified, although Peppas reports seeing a wall along the northern side of the flat summit, 2.5 m thick and built with small stones. The rubble wall was reinforced with a square watchtower, while on the surface of the hill Peppas saw foundations of buildings that he attributed to the garrison living there.[172] One needs to be very cautious with this account, since it is clear that the author understood the Medieval references to a Xerokastelli in the eastern Corinthia as pertaining to the Xerokastelli behind Sikyon.[173] In my visit, I did not see any trace of fortifications around the hill, nor any structures on top as described by Peppas.[174]

During the two hundred years of Frankish occupation, Vasilika became part of the *castellania* of Corinth, first under the Villehardouins and then under the Acciaiuoli. The castle of Sikyon was an important asset for the Franks, as the documents of that period show. Its walls were repaired perhaps twice, and the castle was part of the dealings between the occidental rulers and the Greek Despot of Mystras in the last decade of the 14th century. The long history of the Sikyonian walls, from the time of their erection soon after the refoundation of the city by Demetrios Poliorketes to the Ottoman occupation, is reflected in the remains of the Boudroumi tower at the southeastern corner of the plateau. Beyond the walls of the city, the extant defensive installations are definitely modest in size and masonry technique. Their location, though, often near ancient forts and roads, shows how the ancient way of structuring the landscape influenced subsequent generations. The round tower of Evangelistria, now destroyed, was set in the middle of the Classical fort of Thyamia. The tower or small fort to the north of Bozika overlooked an ancient road connecting the Vesiza range with the plain of Kaisari, and a rubble wall stretching along the northern slope of Kokkinovrachos may have also been related to that road. Finally, Tampouri stood above the route from Phlious to the plain of Kaisari.

170. The incident is vividly described by Zuane Contarini in a letter to his cousin: "un' altro castelo chiamado Chisilocastro e derupado tuto con la montagne, e morte asai persone" (Thiriet 1959, p. 6).

171. Longnon and Topping 1969, pp. 182 and 258.

172. Peppas 1993, pp. 166–167.

173. For the "true" Xerokastelli near Nauplion, on the slopes of Arachnaion, see Sphekopoulos 1968, pp. 106–107; Bon 1969, p. 485; Kordosis 1981, pp. 246–247. Kordosis clearly draws the distinction between the two Xerokastellia.

174. It is interesting that not even the cement column put up by the Hellenic Army Geographical Service stands on the summit any longer.

CHAPTER 5

Settlements: The City and Its Countryside

Ancient testimonia related to Sikyonian settlements are very few and are rarely explicit as to the nature, dates, and locations of these settlements. Excluding the city proper, we hear of no more than seven names, namely, Plataiai, Ephyra, Phoibia/Bouphia, Donoussa, Gonoussa, Titane, and Thyamia, while two more, Orneai and Koroneia, are vaguely assigned to the area between Sikyon and Corinth. I discuss all of these sites, except Titane, in the corresponding chronological sections of this chapter, each time following the presentation of the survey evidence.[1] Due to the vagueness of the ancient references, the identification of these agglomerations, whether *polismata, komai,* or simply place-names, with physical sites can be only tentative. The early travelers' efforts in this regard were inconclusive, but did provide us with valuable information on the location of a few sites. Meyer's "wanderings" in 1925 were confined to the western part of Sikyonia, in an area delimited by the Helisson and Sythas rivers, and the villages of Megali Valtsa and Zemeno.[2] Although his observations are rather sketchy, the information is still valuable as some of the described structures have since been damaged or have vanished completely. Pharaklas's survey in the late 1960s was a more ambitious project, because it addressed almost the entire Sikyonian territory, and recorded a fair number of sites. However, despite his efforts to be comprehensive and to provide the chronology, size, and function of the reported sites, Pharaklas's descriptions are often vague or inaccurate, and some areas were clearly left out, as we realized during our fieldwork. Finally, rescue excavations conducted by the Greek Ministry of Culture, especially during the construction of the highway from Corinth to Patras during the 1960s, yielded crucial information for the habitation of the plain that no surface survey would have revealed.

I described the methodology of our survey in the Introduction, where I also refer to the problems in identifying a settlement site. Artifact density was the basic criterion used in site identification, particularly in the case of nucleated sites. Yet, there are cases of settlements that had no nucleus, but consisted of houses sparsely built over a wider area. Identifying such sites is a challenging task for an intensive, let alone extensive, survey, and thus we were able to record only a handful of these settlements. Once a

1. On Titane, see below, pp. 389–398.

2. Meyer 1939, p. 1.

site was defined, the aim was to determine its extent, function, and dates of occupation. At the points where the artifact scatter dropped to insignificant amounts we took a GPS reading. At most sites we took at least four readings, often more, and recorded them on the survey record sheet. Then one team member held the GPS and circled the marked area in order to calculate in situ the area of the site. In a few cases, where we had very small clusters or were unable to measure the extent of the site, because it was overgrown and had no visibility, because it was graded to a considerable depth by bulldozers, or because it was fenced, we took only one reading.

The function of the site was determined based on the extent and type of artifact scatter. For large sites, measuring over 10,000 m^2, there is little question that they are hamlets, villages *(komai),* or even small towns *(polismata).* The problem arises with smaller clusters, between 1,000 and 8,000 m^2, and with the very small concentrations, under 1,000 m^2. Establishing a hierarchy of settlements based on artifact scatter is a subjective and much-debated issue.[3] The difficulty lies partly in the variations in settlement types in different periods and regions. In other words, a *kome* of Archaic Phlious is bound to be smaller than a deme of Classical Athens, which is in turn larger than a *chorion* of Byzantine Corinthia. The southern Argolid surveyors call sites of 10,000–50,000 m^2 "villages" or "hamlets," and the ones less than 20,000 m^2 in size "farmsteads" or "field buildings," acknowledging the difficulty in always distinguishing a hamlet from a farmstead.[4] The Methana surveyors called their sites of less than 2,000 m^2 "farmsteads," the ones up to 10,000 m^2 "hamlets," and sites of over 10,000 m^2 "villages."[5] The Lakonia surveyors considered their smallest sites, measuring up to 1,400 m^2, to be single farmsteads, their medium-sized sites of up to 3,000 m^2 "villas" or clusters of farmsteads, and their large sites, measuring up to 30,000 m^2, hamlets or small villages.[6] Artifact scatter on plowed fields depends on the kind of cultivation and the nature of the terrain, which condition the degree and method of plowing. Thus, in sites laid out on a slope, deep plowing and erosion cause extensive scattering of the material evidence. In other words, the size of a surface scatter cannot be the only criterion for the characterization of sites. An additional problem is that in the case of multiperiod sites, their present artifact scatter is the result of a cumulative process, which makes it almost impossible to estimate the size of these sites in each period.[7]

As I explained in the Introduction, the kind of material observed in situ was often the key to determining the nature of these sites—whether they represented single habitation sites, some kind of "farmstead," or nonhabitation activity areas. Taking into account the diffusion and kind of movable and immovable objects, typically tiles, pottery, loomweights, mortars, and

3. See Pettegrew 2001, p. 203.

4. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 248–252.

5. Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 37–38.

6. Cavanagh et al. 2002, pp. 161–163.

7. This is what the southern Argolid surveyors call a "process of later displacement," explaining that "successive components of a site are not exactly centered one over another": Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 252.

millstones, in many cases we were able to safely rule out alternatives and interpret our site as a "farmstead." By this modern term (the ancient Greeks used the generic term οἶκος, οἰκία, οἰκίον) we mean a country house where a single family lived off the land either permanently or seasonally. In cases where certainty was not possible, we still included the sites as generally "field buildings." We also included in the record the very small sites with moderate- to low-density scatters as "fieldhouses," considering that they may represent seasonal and ephemeral shacks. In addition, burial sites were also recorded, on the assumption that the world of the living must have lain nearby even though we were unsuccessful in locating it. Finally, some of the sites listed in the Register as "alleged sites" (AS) concern settlements, even though we found no material evidence on the spot.

Dating a site was often a puzzling task. Chronological problems with field survey data arise from the fact that the pottery, particularly plain body sherds, is often not diagnostic, or is at best broadly dated. An additional factor is that "the rate of ceramic change was not fast enough to produce many distinct short-lived type-fossils."[8] Thus, black-glazed body sherds or roof tiles with traces of glaze can be assigned to any period from the Archaic to the Middle Hellenistic. Vagueness, often confusion, in dating sites based on surface material is also due to the fact that the process of site formation is accumulative and not a single-phase operation. Surface finds offer no stratigraphic sequence; in fact, more often than not stratigraphy is overturned by the plowing of the land. Deep plowing, practiced in the majority of the area around Sikyon, can go as much as a meter below the surface. This means that what lies deeper than a meter is definitely less represented among the surface material. With these constraints in mind, in multiperiod sites our identification of predominant phases (designated by capital letters in the Register of Sites, Appendix I) can be only tentative. When certainty was beyond reach we decided to be cautious with dates, often assigning sites to broader time spans (e.g., "Archaic through Middle Hellenistic" or "Late Antique").

After surveying each site the record sheet was complete or almost complete. It included the date, the site's modern name (toponym), the elevation, the coordinates, a description of the landscape, information on the vegetation or cultivars present, visibility (on a scale from 0 to 5), alteration grade (by plowing, bulldozing, road construction, etc.), surface area, water source, structures in situ, architectural fragments (i.e., *membra disiecta*), tiles, pottery (density, kind, preservation), other material (terracotta, stone, metal, etc.), chronological phases, site function, other possible observations, photograph numbers, and bibliographical references where available. Data from the sheet were then entered into a computer using Access database and GIS applications. Using the ArcView program, we loaded the coordinates of each site onto the digitized map. In cases where we had taken four or more coordinates, the site was represented as a polygon with a precise area calculation. The resulting polygons were then edited to correspond to size or period (in other words, larger circles represent larger sites).[9] In cases where we recorded only one coordinate in the field, the sites appear on the map as half-filled circles.

8. Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 329. As a consequence of this, 75% of the sherds collected in northern Keos were dated no more closely than to a range of two ceramic periods.

9. For this purpose, I used a script that converts the polygons to circles placed at the exact center of the polygon. These circles retained all the information of the corresponding polygons, which allowed me to plot them according to size, period, etc.

PRESENTATION OF THE EVIDENCE

The total number of habitation sites for all periods is 148, but this is by no means an exhaustive inventory of Sikyonian settlements, even though previous surveys in the area (by Meyer and Pharaklas) had located no more than 24 of these sites. The value of our survey, then, lies not in the absolute data it provides, but rather in its relative, therefore comparative, data. Complete coverage is impossible for an extensive survey, when working with a small team for a limited period of time. However, the method that I followed for locating the majority of sites during the first stage of work should guarantee that not many large sites were missed. What we certainly missed are smaller sites, some of which leave barely visible traces on the surface. Only an intensive survey of selected limited areas can achieve this, and I intend to pursue this in the near future.

The Archaic and Classical acropolis, later to become the urban center, was not part of our extensive survey, since only an intensive survey of the entire plateau is pertinent there.[10] It was included, however, in my early topographical investigations, the results of which I will discuss here before presenting the evidence from the countryside.

SIKYON

The city of Sikyon was originally founded in the plain, stretching from the hill of the modern village of Vasiliko to the harbor, and it prospered there throughout the Archaic and Classical periods (Map 5). We do not know how far back in time the foundation of the polis goes, but it existed at least as early as the early 7th century B.C., before the rise of the tyranny.[11] We have virtually no archaeological remains from the Geometric period, mainly because most of the plain of Sikyon (the ancient "Asopeia") has never been systematically excavated, and the results of the excavation of the cemetery in the plain, which took place in the 1960s and 1970s, have yet to be published.[12] The city was destroyed in 303 B.C. by Demetrios Poliorketes, who refounded it on the prominent triangular plateau that rises to the south of the plain between the Asopos and Helisson rivers. My discussion will mainly address the layout of the Hellenistic and Roman city, as well as its earlier and later phases down to the early modern era.[13]

Mycenaean Remains and the Archaic/Classical City

Very little is known archaeologically about the location of "Aigialeia," perhaps to be identified with the "Aigialia" mentioned in Linear B tablets from Pylos.[14] The deep alluviations covering the plain, to which I referred in Chapter 1, make surface exploration virtually impossible. Only two areas showed traces of activity, in the form of discarded ashlar blocks, tiles, and pottery. The first, "Palaiochori," is located on a low terrace near the center of the plain, and belongs administratively to the village of Moulki. The second, "Merkouri," is closer to the Asopos and the upper reaches of the plain, and is part of the district of Vasiliko. Since 2002, the former site

10. We have now completed the intensive urban survey, carried out betwen 2004 and 2009, and are in the process of studying the material for publication. See our webpage: <http://extras.ha.uth.gr/sikyon>.

11. See Sakellariou 1989, p. 405. Prior to its existence as an independent city-state, Sikyon appears in the *Iliad* (2.572) among the dependencies of Mycenae; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 536.

12. Most recently, during the ongoing excavations (2010) for the widening of the highway to Patras along the upper reaches of the plain, Geometric cist graves have come to light. Some Geometric material has also been found amidst the Mycenaean burials at Palaiochori, in the course of the excavations for the new railway conducted during the early 2000s.

13. These aspects have not been addressed by previous scholars of Sikyonian topography: see *RE* II^2, 1923, cols. 2532–2535, s.v. Sikyon (G. Lippold); Skalet 1928, pp. 1–29; Pharaklas 1971, pp. 39–42, 48–52; Griffin 1982, pp. 6–15; see also the entry in *PECS,* pp. 839–840, s.v. Sikyon (R. S. Stroud).

14. See above, p. 60.



Figure 5.1. The southeastern spur of the Sikyonian plateau, looking east

has been the subject of extensive rescue excavations for the construction of the new railway. These excavations have exposed abundant Mycenaean material, and part of the Archaic and Classical necropolis. Prior to these operations, we knew of a LH IIIA–B cemetery some 1,800 m to the west of Palaiochori, on the foot of the acropolis, by the village of Moulki.[15] In addition, Hope Simpson and Dickinson reported MH and many LH IIIA–B sherds on the easternmost spur of the acropolis, where the elevation marker now stands (Fig. 5.1).[16] This spur was included in our intensive urban survey of 2004–2009; of the prehistoric material collected, which ranges from the Neolithic to the LH IIIC period, the Late Helladic period is the best represented. Perhaps the local legend that Pausanias refers to (2.5.6), namely, that the hill was the citadel of the city of Aigialeus, is not to be dismissed. The prehistoric, especially the Late Helladic, phase of Sikyon may still be largely unknown, but the growing material evidence points to the existence of a sizable community here during Mycenaean times. The specific area where Aigialeia and its Classical successor developed reveals the main concerns of its builders, both in Mycenaean and historical times: agriculture and defensibility. Indeed, the part of the plain between the Asopos and the Helisson rivers has always been considered the most fertile land of Vocha, which explains its appeal to its prehistoric settlers. The hill rising directly to the southwest of the plain met the needs of the early settlers for protection against raids and attacks. Secondary factors for the choice of setting include the immediate access to the main east–west land route as well as to the sea.

Rescue excavations carried out in the plain have enriched our knowledge of the Archaic and Classical phases of the city. In 1938, a mosaic floor of the early 5th century B.C. was uncovered in a vineyard by the church of Agios Konstantinos, to the east of Vasiliko.[17] Another mosaic floor, dated to the same period, was found "by the first turn of the road from Vasiliko to

15. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 69, no. A77; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 477, no. 45; Mountjoy 1999, p. 198.

16. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 69, no. A76; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 477, no. 44.

17. The date of the mosaic was proposed by Orlandos (1939, p. 123) on stylistic grounds.

Kiato, within the vineyard of Ch. Karampetsos."[18] More building remains came to light during the construction of the Corinth–Patras highway in the mid-1960s. In 1966, traces of Classical buildings, including mosaic fragments, extending along several hundred meters, were discovered near the 21 km marker of this highway, to the west of the Asopos.[19] A year later, a mosaic floor was found at Kokkinia, southeast of the Asopos River, and was also dated to the end of the 5th or early 4th century on stylistic grounds.[20] On the basis of these mosaics, Krystalli argued "avec certitude" that the Archaic and Classical city of Sikyon was situated in the plain, on both sides of the Asopos, and stretched for almost 3 km.[21] The extrapolation is surprising, for it is difficult to imagine a coherent and easily defensible city that would stretch 3 km in length and across a river, and would thus be partly separated from its natural acropolis. The most logical interpretation for the opulent mosaic floor that was found east of the Asopos is that it belonged to an extramural villa.[22] I suspect that the mosaic floors found in the higher part of the plain may also belong to mansions outside the city proper, for Diodoros (20.102.2) clearly alludes to an empty space between the houses of the Classical city and the foot of the acropolis. The city must have been further north and closer to the gulf, part of it being contiguous to the harbor as explicitly stated by Diodoros in the same paragraph: τὸ τῷ λιμένι σύναπτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως. Stone blocks from pre-Christian buildings have been found within the town of Kiato.[23]

The Hellenistic City

Kevin Lynch, in his now-classic book *The Image of the City,* distinguishes five types of elements in the perception of a city: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.[24] The paths are "the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves," an important element of a city's image since "people observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related." Edges are "linear breaks in continuity," that is, the boundaries between two kinds of areas, for example, the city walls. Districts are "recognizable as having some common, identifying character," for example,

18. Orlandos 1947, pp. 59–60: "παρὰ τὴν πρώτην καμπὴν τῆς ἀπὸ Σικυῶνος εἰς Κιάτον ἁμαξιτοῦ, ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος Χ. Καραμπέτσου."

19. Charitonidis 1968, p. 124.

20. At the 19 km marker of the highway from Corinth to Patras, and to the east of this highway. This floor is 2.5 km southeast of Χτῆρι, that is, beyond the Asopos River, between Velo and Krinai: Krystalli 1968, p. 165.

21. Krystalli-Votsi 1976, p. 575, endorsing Pharaklas's conclusion that Sikyon consisted of a group of *komai,* the harbor and the lower terrace of the acropolis being two of them (Pharaklas 1971, pp. 37–38). The hypothesis is completely unfounded, and a product of imagination. Passages in Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodoros prove that there was a geographically coherent city in the plain: see above, pp. 182–183. Sakellariou (1989, pp. 449–451) further elaborated on the notion of "villages" by suggesting that the polis-state of the 7th century replaced a state of federal demes, the latter founded during the Geometric period. Again, the theory is purely speculative, perhaps formed by analogy to the city of Corinth. It has been suggested that the city of Corinth was formed by synoecism in the Early Archaic period: Roebuck 1972.

22. It is possible that such villas belonged to rich landowners and were erected within their properties in the plain. Krystalli-Votsi (1976, p. 577) herself realized that the floor belonged to an *andron* of a rich and large house.

23. The blocks were found 400 m northwest of the Early Christian basilica: Pallas 1963, p. 83.

24. Lynch 1960, pp. 46–49.

the residential versus commercial or industrial quarters of a city, or versus the cemeteries. Nodes are "the intensive *foci* to and from which an observer is traveling," primarily physical junctions or simply concentration points, such as the squares, or the agoras and *fora,* of Graeco-Roman antiquity. As for landmarks, these are reference points, characteristic monuments of a city, which may vary greatly in scale. All of these elements are not acting independently, but "regularly overlap and pierce one another," for example, "districts are structured with nodes, defined by edges, penetrated by paths, and sprinkled with landmarks." The edges in this case are not the city walls, but could be major streets distinguishing one district from the next. Indeed, the determination of the five components depends on the scale of their perception: for example, if the city is conceived at a local scale then its nodes are the squares and the busy intersections; if conceived at a state or international level, then the whole city may become a node.

Thus, if we consider Sikyon at a state level, then the entire plateau is a node on which the country roads converged; this is how Pausanias conceived it when he came to the city sometime in the 150s or 160s A.D. Although the *periegetes* was not very explicit in describing his itinerary within Sikyonia, we can establish with a fair degree of certainty his radiating manner of moving within the state using the city as a node. Upon entering Sikyonian territory from Corinth, he directed himself to the city. Having described some of its monuments and lingered in the agora, he descended to the plain, came back to the city, set off again in the direction of Titane, returned to the city, left it for the third time in the direction of Pellene, and returned to it again, in order to leave the city and the state permanently by following the "direct road" to Phlious. His way of moving within Sikyonia agrees with the method he generally followed while touring Greece, as described by Fougères:

> The order in which Pausanias describes things can be called circular and radiating. The first dominates the general composition of this book. . . . In the regional description of his provinces it is the second method which prevails. Starting by the borders, he describes the routes which he follows until the principal city. . . . Upon arrival at the capital, he sums up the legends and the local histories, lists the monuments of the city taking the agora as center of his excursions, exactly as he takes the city itself as center of his courses in the interior of the state. Indeed, after having shown us the city, he resumes the description of the principal routes which radiate from it until the borders and leaves the state by one of these routes.[25]

The advantages of the site of the Archaic and Classical acropolis are nicely described by Diodoros (20.102.4):

> ὁ γὰρ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περίβολος ἐπίπεδος ὢν καὶ μέγας κρημνοῖς δυσπροσίτοις περιέχεται πανταχόθεν, ὥστε μηδαμῇ δύνασθαι μηχανὰς προσάγειν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ὑδάτων, ἐξ οὗ κηπείας δαψιλεῖς κατεσκεύασαν, ὥστε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν εἰρηνικὴν καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν πολέμου δόξαι καλῶς προεωρᾶσθαι.

25. Fougères 1898, pp. 138–139; the translation is mine. See also *SAGT* III, pp. 138–139.



Figure 5.2. Aerial view of the plateau in 1987. Photo courtesy Hellenic Army Geographical Service (no. 184488)

The triangular tableland of the Hellenistic city has a northeastern–southwestern orientation, with its apex to the southwest, and its base fronting the sea to the northeast (Map 6, Fig. 5.2). It is divided into two terraces, the higher (southwestern) one, locally called Pano Kokkinia (ἐπάνω Κοκκινιά), being smaller. This became the new acropolis of the city of Demetrios, whereas the old acropolis encompassed the entire plateau: Pausanias explicitly distinguishes the acropolis of his time, spreading above the theater, from the earlier one.[26] That the entire tableland was the early acropolis is made clear not only from the passage in Diodoros but from Pausanias as well, who, recapitulating the history of Sikyon, says the following: τὴν δὲ τοῦ Αἰγιαλέως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν Δημήτριος καθελὼν ὁ Ἀντιγόνου τῇ πάλαι ποτὲ ἀκροπόλει προσῴκισε τὴν νῦν πόλιν.[27] The traveler entered the city through one of its gates, walked along its streets, wandered around its districts, stopped in the agora, and contemplated its monuments. The edge of the city separating it from the countryside, that is, its fortification wall, has already been discussed (Chapter 4). Here, I would like to outline the other four components of the city's image, beginning with the streets.

26. Cf. τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει (2.7.5) and τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν (2.7.7).

27. Paus 2.7.1. Griffin (1982, p. 23) suggests that the early acropolis may have been limited to a small hill projecting at the southeastern side of the plateau, "and rather separate from the rest of the plateau." The suggestion is completely unsupported by ancient writers and by the topography of the area: no fortifications were ever reported or are now visible around the hill in question, and when a wall was built around the Hellenistic city this spur was left unfortified (see Map 6). In addition, this small hill is not naturally defensible because it is easily accessible from the plateau to the west. Pharaklas (1971, pp. 36–38, endorsed by Müller 1987, pp. 842–844) suggested the hill of Tsakriza, to the northwest of Sikyon and beyond the Helisson River, as the site of the Classical acropolis on the basis of pottery fragments found there. The author means the small Tsakriza of Moulki as opposed to Tsakriza of Souli, which is the long terrace that lies adjacent to the southwest (see HS-50). The suggestion is highly unlikely: (1) it contradicts the ancient authors, (2) it is hard to imagine a city separated from its acropolis by a river, and (3) material remains on Tsakriza of Moulki are scanty (which led us not to count it as a habitation site).

Streets

Although Pausanias gives an account of his itinerary within the city, it provides little information about the street layout, since we rarely know where he was coming from and where he was headed at any given moment.[28] Our most reliable guides in identifying some of the streets of the ancient city are the position of the gates discussed in Chapter 4, old maps and aerial photographs of the plateau combined with 19th-century travelers' descriptions, and the visible ancient monuments, both those that have been excavated and those that I mapped in the course of my topographical survey.[29] The existence of a grid system in Sikyon struck early travelers and scholars, and was drawn by the Expédition scientifique de Morée (Fig. 5.3).[30] Frazer confirms that the antiquities visible on ground surface, extending in straight lines from northeast to southwest, and from northwest to southeast, were so precisely placed "that it is clear that the city was built on a regular plan, with broad streets crossing each other at right angles."[31] Andrew Fossum, one of the earliest excavators in Sikyon on behalf of the American School, was a little more specific:

> The regular plan of the city can yet be followed in many places. Priene and Ephesus are good examples of the method in which the streets intersect each other at right angles and conform rigidly to a rectilinear system. At Sikyon all the ruins in the neighborhood of the theatre are built according to this rectilinear plan: one set of walls runs six degrees east of north and the other six degrees south of east, cutting the former at right angles.[32]

Some of the lines of ancient stones and walls that indicated the direction of the streets and were reported by travelers and the early excavators have now disappeared, but the excavated buildings in the agora, as well as the Roman bath complex, definitely conform to a grid system oriented slightly off the north–south and east–west axis.[33] Three main streets are immediately recognizable today (Streets 2–4; see Map 6). All three ran roughly parallel to each other, in an east–west direction. At least two of them (Streets 2 and 3) must represent avenues of the ancient city, as they connected gate areas and ran through and below the public center of the city. To these we should add a fourth one (Street 1), which led east from Gate 7.[34] Finally, Gate 1 opens onto a street running in a roughly north–south direction (Street 5), which can be easily identified on a 1945

28. On Pausanias in Sikyon, see Frazer 1913, vol. 3, pp. 43–69; Skalet 1928, pp. 8–26; Roux 1958, pp. 133–161; Papachatzis 1976, pp. 90–109; Griffin 1982, pp. 15–23.

29. During the intensive urban and geophysical surveys of 2004–2009, we discovered a large number of ancient city-streets and building blocks *(insulae),* allowing us to fully reconstruct the ancient city-grid. It was not possible to incorporate the data in this chapter, but we present them in Lolos and Gourley, forthcoming.

30. Aldenhoven 1841, p. 93; Ross 1841, pp. 46–47; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 489; Vischer 1857, p. 274; Wyse 1865, p. 304; Bursian 1872, pp. 28–29; Roux 1958, fig. 28. Aldenhoven and Roux reproduce the map of the Expédition scientifique de Morée.

31. Frazer 1913, vol. 3, p. 44.

32. Fossum 1905, p. 272. Notice that the orientation of the streets is almost north–south and not northeast–southwest as reported by Frazer, who was misled by Leake's orientation.

33. The theater and the stadium do not conform to the grid, nor are they parallel with the streets, as correctly pointed out by Fossum (1905, p. 272).

34. The intensive surface and geophysical surveys of 2004–2009 have confirmed the existence of all of these streets in antiquity, partly aligning with modern roads.



Figure 5.3. Plan of Sikyon drawn by the Expédition scientifique de Morée. *Expédition scientifique de Morée,* vol. 3, p. 40, pl. 81

aerial photograph and may be the descendant of an ancient cross-street. North–south cross-streets must have certainly existed, but they did not become part of daily life in the post-Roman era, as some of the east–west arteries did by leading from and to the exits of the plateau; consequently, they were abandoned and lost from sight. The same holds for the other east–west streets that crossed the plateau of the ancient city.[35]

Buildings and Monuments

The agora is the obvious focal element of the city, the node par excellence. Pausanias walked from the acropolis past the theater to the agora, and he set about to describe at some length the monuments in and around it: the temples of Dionysos and Artemis Limnaia, a sanctuary of Peitho, the house of the tyrant Kleon, which had been turned into a temple of the imperial cult, the heroon of Aratos, an altar of Poseidon, a bouleuterion, the stoa of Kleisthenes, a sanctuary of Apollo Lykios, a gymnasion, and a number of beautiful statues (2.7.7–8.2, 2.9.6–10.2). These were only some of the monuments standing in Pausanias's day, for others, such as the Roman baths or the stadium, were certainly in existence but are not mentioned by the traveler.[36]

The theater, on the slopes of the acropolis, was partly excavated by the American School in the last two decades of the 19th century.[37] Excavations in the agora started in 1920 under Alexandros Philadelpheus and continued in the 1930s and 1950s under Anastasios Orlandos. They revealed a palaistra complex, a temple, a square structure of unknown function at the northeastern corner of the temple, the bouleuterion, a long stoa, parts of two other stoas, and a Roman bath complex, which now serves as a museum (Fig. 5.4). The temple was tentatively identified as that of Artemis Limnaia, and the palaistra was associated with "the gymnasion of Kleinias" mentioned by Pausanias (2.10.7).[38] The palaistra complex, built (according to the excavator) in the Early Hellenistic period, was laid out on two levels, the upper one rebuilt in the Roman period (Fig. 5.5).[39] In fact, from Pausanias's description, it is not absolutely clear whether Sikyon had one or two gymnasia. Orlandos believes there was only one, and that the gymnasion "not far from the agora" (Paus. 2.10.1) and the gymnasion of Kleinias, mentioned by Pausanias in a different paragraph (2.10.7), refer to the same building, a view endorsed by Roux.[40] A potential objection to

35. Orlandos (1940, pp. 101–102) alludes to the existence of a north–south street between the bouleuterion and Stoa 1; in his plan, he shows a water channel running alongside the presumed street. The intensive surface and geophysical surveys of 2004–2009 failed to recognize the continuation of such a street, either to the north or south of the agora. Instead, these investigations revealed the line of an ancient avenue, 9 m wide, running in a north–south direction some 31 m to the east of the west end of Stoa 1.

36. On the Roman baths, now turned into a museum, see Orlandos 1936, pp. 75–83. On the stadium, see Romano 1981, pp. 184–185; Pierros 1987–1988.

37. McMurtry 1889, pp. 271–281; Earle 1889a, pp. 288–292; 1891; 1893; Brownson and Young 1893; Fossum 1905; Fiechter 1931; Orlandos 1955, pp. 393–394.

38. I believe that the excavated temple in the agora belongs to Apollo and that the square structure in front of its northeast corner might have housed the colossal statue of Attalos I mentioned by Polybios; see below, pp. 380–381.

39. Orlandos 1933, pp. 63–70; 1935a; 1937, pp. 86–90; 1938; 1940; 1956; cf. Delorme 1960, pp. 99–102.

40. Orlandos 1935a, p. 122; Roux 1958, pp. 151–152; contra Odelberg 1896, p. 160.

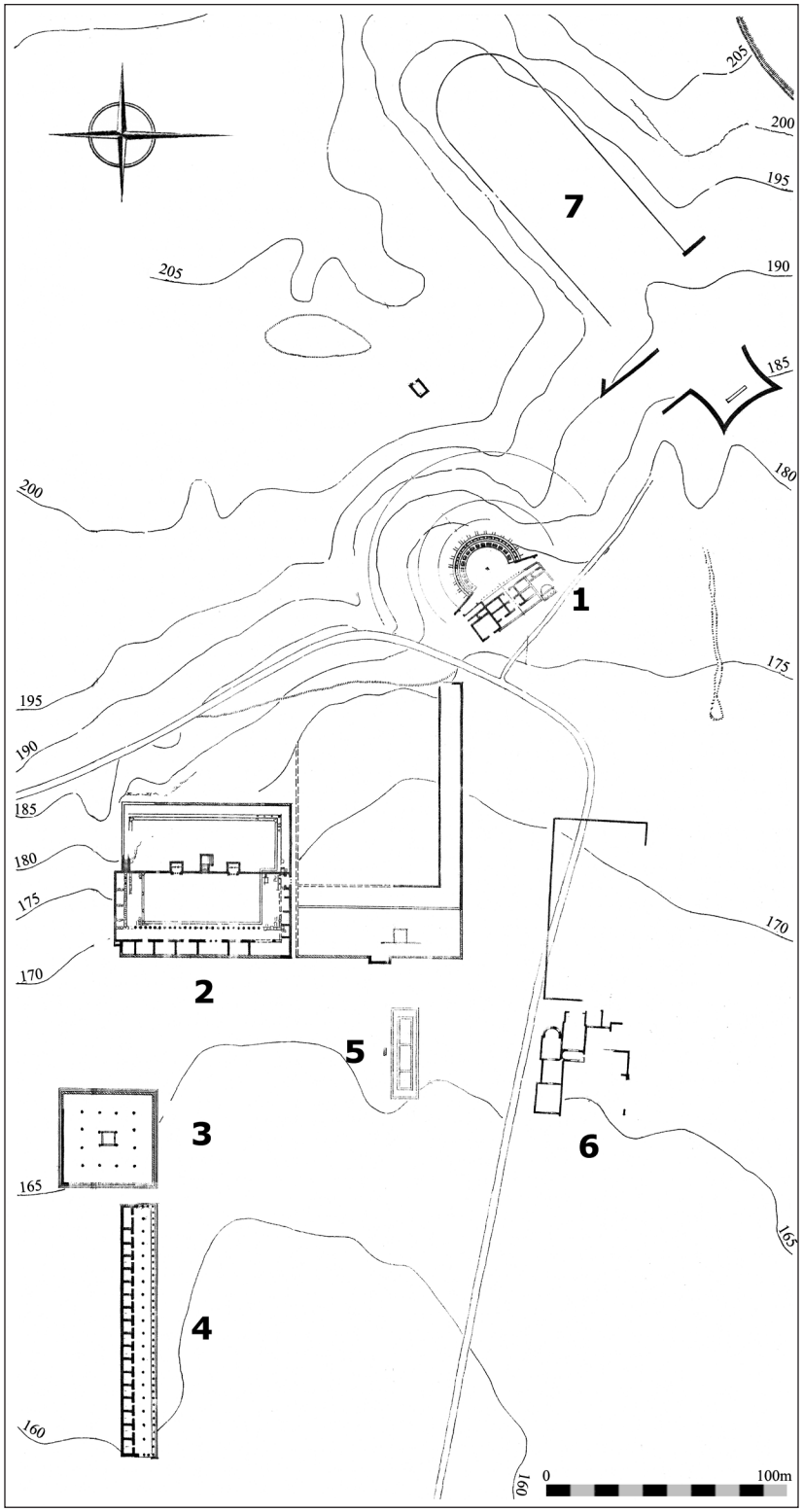


Figure 5.4. Plan of Sikyon: (1) theater; (2) palaistra complex; (3) bouleuterion; (4) long stoa; (5) temple; (6) bath complex; (7) stadium.
Original drawing by E. Stikas, adapted by E. Spathari and Y. Lolos



Figure 5.5. The palaistra complex and the agora area, looking northeast; the Roman baths, converted into a museum, are in the upper left corner of the photograph.

this interpretation is that Pausanias mentions a statue of Herakles made by Skopas (2.10.1) and a Herakles whose lower half resembles a herm (2.10.7). On the basis of a Sikyonian coin of the reign of Geta depicting Herakles, modern scholars believe that the statue made by Skopas is preserved in Roman copies of the Los Angeles-Genzano type.[41] The original was almost certainly in stone (as opposed to bronze), and not a herm. This means that Pausanias saw the Skopas Herakles and the hermaic Herakles either at different gymnasia of the city, or that the statues stood in the same gymnasion, "not far from the agora." I favor the former possibility, and believe that Sikyonia had more than one gymnasion, as was the case for several cities of the Greek world including Athens, Argos, Miletos, and Pergamon.

The identification of the square hypostyle building as the bouleuterion of Pausanias is secure, on the basis of inscriptions and the form of the building.[42] The stoas deserve more attention, since they were a primary means of spatial organization. Only one of the stoas (Stoa 1) shows on standard plans of the site; it is the long stoa, 106 m long by 16 m wide, to the east of the bouleuterion (Fig. 5.6). It is oriented east–west, faces north, and was originally thought to be the Kleisthenic stoa of Pausanias before its Hellenistic date was established.[43] Yet, Orlandos briefly mentions two other stoas, one along the northern side of the bouleuterion (Stoa 2; not shown on Map 6), and a third one along the western side of the temple

41. Stewart 1977, pp. 90–91, 139–140, pl. 31.

42. Philadelpheus 1926b; Orlandos 1939; 1940; 1947; 1956; cf. McDonald 1943, pp. 240–244.

43. Orlandos 1952, 1955. Orlandos tentatively identified this stoa with the Painted Stoa erected by Lamia, mistress of Demetrios Poliorketes, and mentioned in Ath. 577c. Roux (1958, p. 148) rejected the identification, and prefers its attribution to Attalos II; Coulton (1976, pp. 56, 282–283), on the other hand, believes that the Sikyonian stoa resembles more the South Stoa at Corinth than the Stoa of Attalos in Athens. The dating of the South Stoa to the last quarter of the 4th century or the first decade of the 3rd century can be inferred from the abandonment of pre-stoa buildings probably ca. 325 (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 3).



Figure 5.6. The excavated stoa in the agora (Stoa 1), looking east

(Stoa 3). Stoa 2 was 2.5 m wide, and only its stepped foundation trenches and a segment of the foundation course of its colonnade are visible today.[44] The oblong excavation trench of Stoa 3 still lies open today, as a witness to Orlandos's excavation method.[45] This stoa, reported as 25 m long, ran parallel to the western side of the temple, and had a series of rectangular rooms arranged along its western (back) side. Its visible width is ca. 12 m.[46] If we put these three stoas together, we can see that they formed, along with the eastern side of the palaistra, the southwest corner of a rectangular public area, the agora of the city. We do not know how large the agora was, but its rectangular definition by stoas is a familiar feature of Hellenistic cities.

In the course of my topographical investigations, I recorded and plotted a number of architectural features lying in situ beyond the area of the agora. They include stretches of walls and corners of buildings, and range in date from the Hellenistic to the Roman period (see, e.g., Fig. 5.7). All are oriented according to the cardinal points with slight deviations.[47] In the absence of systematic excavations at Sikyon, and of published records from the rescue excavations that have taken place over the last 30 years, it is virtually impossible to talk of separate districts of the city with regard to their function.[48]

44. Orlandos 1952, pp. 187–188; 1956, p. 188.

45. On this method, see Orlandos 1952, p. 188. Stoa 3 is mentioned in Orlandos 1939, p. 121.

46. Our recent geophysical survey in the agora has shown that this stoa-like structure is ca. 42 m long and connected with a Π-shaped stoa to the west; see below, p. 379, n. 13.

47. During the intensive surface survey of 2004–2009, we mapped some 800 in-situ structural remains across the plateau. The overwhelming majority conform to a north–south, east–west orientation.

48. Rescue excavations have been conducted in a number of places within and outside the village of Vasiliko, revealing building foundations. As far as I know only one, carried out close to the northeastern edge of the village, is mentioned in the literature: Charitonidis 1968, p. 124. We are now (2010) in the process of studying the results of some of these rescue excavations. In addition, the intensive survey of the plateau has produced very interesting results concerning the organization of the *asty*.



Figure 5.7. Corner of a Roman building to the north of the agora, looking northeast

Necropolis

What seems to be the most important necropolis of Sikyon, in Classical as well as in Roman times, lies to the northeast of the tableland, presumably along a road connecting the hill to the harbor (Map 5).[49] Excavations at the cemetery were conducted in the late 1960s and the 1970s by Krystalli-Votsi on behalf of the Archaeological Service. In 1966, during digging for the erection of the piers of the highway in the area of Chtiri (Χτῆρι), ca. 400 m northeast of the base of the hill, a funerary monument was revealed, surrounded by no less than 30 graves.[50] The area in front of the monument showed clear evidence of an ancient road, which seems to lie directly below a modern one leading from Vasiliko to the soccer field of Kiato. The monument was apparently built on top of older buildings, which it destroyed: fragments of a Π-shaped poros channel and of a circular floor of poros slabs have been revealed to a depth of 1.27 m from the highest course of the monument. Krystalli argues that the pottery found in the graves is evidence for continuous use of the cemetery from at least the early 4th century B.C. to the Roman period. More of the cemetery came to light in 1976, again during rescue excavations. Within a single trench, Krystalli exposed twelve cist and pit graves of the 5th and 4th centuries, many pyres, and some funerary stelai found in situ (Fig. 5.8). The excavator adds that the "cemetery runs parallel to the country road from Vasiliko to Tragana and obviously below it, as well as in the neighboring fields."[51] Unfortunately, this is almost all that we know about this important cemetery, which remains unpublished. Yet, thanks to the excavations for the construction of the new railway, which took place some 800 m northeast of Chtiri and on both sides of the country road, it is now rather safe to assume that the cemetery extended in this direction, toward the harbor.

49. On this road, see above, p. 114.

50. Krystalli 1968, pp. 164–166; the existence of graves in this area was previously attested by Orlandos (1937, p. 94).

51. Krystalli-Votsi 1984; the translation is mine.



Figure 5.8. Funerary stelai in situ at the Sikyonian necropolis at Chtiri. Krystalli-Votsi 1984, pl. 58:α

The extent of the cemetery in the plain and the dating of its monuments have a bearing on the issue of the location of the Archaic and Classical city, since cemeteries in ancient Greece were normally located outside the city walls. Thus, when the Sikyonians wished to bury Aratos in their city, they had to appeal to Delphi because they were bound by "an old law forbidding burial within the walls" (Plut. *Arat.* 53.2). Accordingly, the city of Sikyon proper, at least during the late 5th and 4th centuries, must have spread to the west and northwest of the cemetery, with the cemetery extending between the hill and the harbor.[52] Obviously, this is just a working hypothesis until we gain a more complete picture of the Sikyonian necropolis.

Harbor

As has already been noted, the entire Sikyonian coast lacked natural harbors, with the exception of the bay of Sykia.[53] Yet, the harbor of Sikyon is mentioned by both Greek and Latin authors, and was probably a busy one considering that it was opposite Kirra, the harbor of Delphi.[54] That the harbor was a separate entity from the city in the plain is obvious from passages in Xenophon where it is described as being seized or handed over to the enemy without parallel seizure of the city.[55] Furthermore, the same passages in Xenophon suggest that Euphron rushed from the acropolis down to the harbor without going through the city—in other words, that the road to the harbor did not traverse the city but ran to the east of it. To the east of Kiato and to the west of the road from Vasiliko to the gulf rises a small mound, 150 m south of the present coastal line. This artificial mound with a maximum diameter of 80 m and a height of 12 m is known locally as Magoula (Μαγούλα) (Fig. 5.9). As Pharaklas correctly noted, the mound represents the extremity of an ancient breakwater, which aimed at protecting the small bay formed to the southeast of it from the northern winds.[56]

Wilhelm Vischer (and Conrad Bursian) placed the Sikyonian harbor on the site of a small swamp formed to the west of the Asopos:

52. On the relationship between the three constituent elements of the Classical *asty,* i.e., the acropolis, the polis, and the harbor, see above, pp. 186–187.

53. See above, p. 31.

54. Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.2, 7.4.1; Polyb. 5.27.3; Frontin. *Str.* 3.2.10; Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 21.2; Polyainos, *Strat.* 5.16.3; for a brief discussion of these passages, see Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, pp. 42–43 and 290.

55. As correctly recognized by Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 497).

56. Pharaklas 1971, pp. 53–54. Likewise, the breakwater recently built at the coastal village of Vrachati offers protection to boats anchored to the southeast of it.



Figure 5.9. Magoula of Kiato, looking northeast; in the foreground, the First Junior High School of Kiato.

> Am Meere selbst entstand um ein künstlich gegrabenes Bassin ein kleiner Hafenort, etwas östlich vom heutigen Kiato. Jetzt ist der Hafen noch viel mehr versandet, als der von Korinth und nur noch an einem kleinen Sumpfe erkennbar.[57]

Senior residents of the area remember the marshy ground between Kiato and the Asopos River, also recorded by the National Statistical Service of Greece (ΕΣΥΕ) for 1911. The process of sedimentation, jointly caused by the torrential action of the Asopos River and the uplift of the coast, must have intensified in the course of the first millennium A.D. Thus, the ancient harbor progressively went out of use, and the shore of Agios Dimitrios in the Synoikismos of Neapolis, ca. 3 km northwest of the ancient harbor, appears in Medieval documents as the harbor of Vasiliko.[58] Over the last 30 years the coastal area to the west of the Asopos has undergone serious transformations, including the creation of an embankment along the shoreline, obvious to anyone driving to Kiato from the east along the old highway.

In 1891, Paganelis wrote the following with relation to the Sikyonian harbor:

> Ἀνατολικῶς τοῦ Κιάτου, ἐγγύς ὑψώματος αἰρομένου ἐπὶ σταφιδοφόρου ἐπιπέδου, κατὰ ἀμυδρὰς ἐνδείξεις δύναταί τις νὰ τοποθετήσῃ τὸν ναύσταθμον τῆς Σικυῶνος. Χαμηλότερον, ἐπὶ λοφίσκου, ὑψοῦται ὁ ναὸς τῆς Κοιμήσεως, καὶ χαμηλότερον ἔτι φαίνονται τὰ ἐρείπια ἀρχαίου τείχους, οἷς παράκεινται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐριμμένα ἐρείπια νεωτέρων οἰκοδομημάτων, πιθανῶς ἐκκλησίας.[59]

The small church of the Koimesis stood where the church of Panagia stands now, some 300 m southwest of the mound of Magoula. On the southern side of this mound ancient walls were discovered during the construction of the Fourth Elementary School of Kiato (Τέταρτο Δημοτικό Σχολείο Κιάτου), and more antiquities came to light in 1960, in the course of building

57. Vischer 1857, p. 271. Cf. Bursian 1872, p. 30: "Der Hafenort von Sikyon, der schlechtweg ὁ Λιμήν genannt wurde, lag 3/4 {case fraction} Stunden unterhalb der Oberstadt, ein künstlich ausgegrabenes Becken, das jetzt vollständig versandet ist."

58. See Kordosis 1981, pp. 57, 412: ἀπὸ τὰ Βασιλικὰ ἤγουν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἅγιον Δημήτρη ὅπου φορτώνουν τὰ ξύλα, ὡς τὴν Βοστίτζα (p. 57, n. 12).

59. Paganelis 1891, p. 350.

the First Junior High School (Πρώτο Γυμνάσιο Κιάτου) nearby, directly to the south of Magoula.[60] Paganelis perhaps saw parts of these walls, if they were then still exposed, or perhaps remains of a different structure that is no longer visible today. We should bear in mind that when he visited Kiato, the town had some 800 inhabitants, instead of the almost 10,000 inhabitants today.[61]

Considering the degree to which the Sikyonian coast has been transformed, both by geological factors and by modern infrastructure works, it is highly unlikely that we will ever be able to recover the precise shape of the ancient harbor or details of its construction. Nonetheless, the preservation of the artificial mound, travelers' reports, and scattered findings from the last several decades allow us to securely determine its location between the easternmost part of Kiato and the Asopos River.

The Late Roman City

In Chapter 2, I referred to Sikyon's being listed in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, and to the fact that a Sikyonian bishop is mentioned already in the mid-4th century A.D.[62] At the low hill of Panagia, or Panagitsa (as locals call it), of Kiato and near the site of the ancient harbor, Orlandos excavated a large basilica that he dated to the 5th century.[63] The size and opulence of this basilica led scholars to assume that the center of population had moved to the area around the harbor prior to the church's construction, and that this settlement took the name of New Sikyon.[64] Orlandos reported "abundant remains of Early Christian habitation" in the fields surrounding the basilica.[65] Indeed, rescue excavations around the basilica in 1987 brought to light part of an extensive cemetery dated by numismatic and ceramic evidence to the 6th century. Twenty-three cist and pit graves were discovered, as well as a Π-shaped family grave.[66] One more Early Christian cist grave, covered with terracotta slabs, was discovered closer to the shore, by the site of Magoula.[67] In addition, local inhabitants of Kiato described to me traces of two parallel walls built of rubble and mortar that were discovered during the construction of the Electric Power substation (Υποσταθμός ΔΕΗ) to the east of Kiato. These remains were reburied after their discovery, so the function and date of this structure cannot be ascertained, but the cumulative evidence suggests that the area near the harbor was heavily inhabited in Late Roman times.

This does not mean that the area of the Hellenistic and Roman city was abandoned. An Early Christian building and spolia from a church have been found on the Sikyonian plateau. Philadelpheus was the first to notice the Early Christian remains over the Hellenistic temple in the agora, and

60. These findings were never reported in the *Archaiologikon Deltion,* but Angelos Bouvis, a retired high school principal and resident of Kiato, kindly shared the information with me.

61. There were 796 inhabitants recorded in the census of 1879 (Miliarakis 1886, p. 114), and 9,743 inhabitants in the 2001 census.

62. See above, pp. 81–82. On Late Roman Sikyon, see also Avramea 1997, p. 170.

63. See Orlandos 1934, 1957a, 1969, and 1971.

64. See Orlandos (1934, pp. 89–90; 1971, pp. 54–55), and Griffin (1982, p. 91), who is apparently unaware of Honigmann's suggested reading of the *Synekdemos* (see above, p. 82).

65. These traces were allegedly destroyed by farmers soon after their discovery: Orlandos 1971, pp. 54–55.

66. Skarmoutsou 1992, p. 194, pl. 108.

67. Pallas 1963, p. 83.

he assigned them to a church on the basis of a Greek cross carved on the surface of an ashlar block found in situ.[68] Krystalli-Votsi, who continued excavations on the agora temple in the 1980s, discovered abundant Late Roman pottery, fragments of a pebble mosaic from the floor of the building, and part of a propylon of similar date.[69] In short, the material uncovered to date offers evidence for the existence of a settlement here in the Late Antique period.[70] Whether its population rivaled that of the coast cannot be determined until the data from the intensive survey on the plateau are fully studied, and excavations in the agora area resume.

The Medieval and Ottoman City

The history and archaeology of the city from the Late Roman through the Ottoman period, which covers a period of 12 centuries, is largely unknown.[71] By the 7th century, the city was no longer functioning as the center of a self-governing administrative region, and having lost its territory was reduced to a provincial town of limited social and economic importance. There is little doubt that it shared the fate of most cities of the eastern Roman empire, which progressively, from the mid-7th to the 9th century, were transformed into introverted, defended fortress-villages.[72] We have seen that the earliest written reference to the castle of Vasilika dates from the mid-13th century, and that Vasilika appears on numerous occasions in documents of the 14th and 15th centuries.[73] The castle was probably still standing in the mid-17th century, because the French traveler Du Loir mentioned its being garrisoned by the Turks at that time.[74] There is abundant archaeological evidence for the existence of this castle, which I presented in the previous chapter. What is elusive, though, is the location of the main settlement during the Middle Ages. Relevant to this question are three documents of the 14th and 15th centuries: one refers to the estate of Vasilika *(casalis Basilica),* which by the mid-14th century was counted among the possessions of Nicolas Acciaiuoli; the second to the abandonment of the area of Vasilika and Corinth by 1361, "because of the fear of the Turks";[75] and the third to the capture and destruction of Vasilika by Murat II in 1446. The narrative of this last event by Chalkokondyles (7.184), which I offer in translation in Chapter 2, contains two important topographical clues: (1) the acropolis had some kind of fortification, enough to explain the need for a siege; and (2) the city was not located in a stronghold (καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν ὀχυρῷ ᾠκημένης τῆς πόλεως). Concerning the walls of the acropolis, these must have undoubtedly stood in the time of Murat, at least along the eastern and more vulnerable side of the plateau. Regarding the latter implication, a legitimate explanation is that the city was located in the plain, and that the "acropolis" in the text refers to the hill of Vasiliko. If so, how far back does Sikyon's relocation to the plain go?

If we follow the scholars who read "New Sikyon" in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles and understand it as the name of a newly founded city in the plain, then we would assume that the Sikyonian population was back in the plain for a bit less than a thousand years (from the mid-5th to the mid-15th century). This is unlikely, though, if we consider that the reading "New Sikyon" is almost certainly wrong and that the barbarian invasions

68. Philadelpheus 1926a, and appendix, p. 23. Spolia belonging to a richly ornate Christian church can still be seen today in the church of Agia Trias, the main church of the village.

69. Oddly enough, the excavator refrained from calling the complex a "church," but concluded in her last report (1991b) that "something important was built on the foundations of the two [Archaic and Hellenistic] temples": see Krystalli-Votsi 1988, 1991a, 1991b. Geophysical survey conducted in the area of the ancient agora in October 2004 has revealed yet another basilica, perhaps of Early Byzantine date: see the relevant section of our website: <http://extras.ha.uth.gr/sikyon>.

70. Our intensive survey of 2004–2009 has produced ample evidence for habitation of the plateau during the Late Roman period, especially in the ancient agora and areas to the east.

71. Kordosis (1981, pp. 196–203) offers the fullest treatment of Medieval Vasilika.

72. See Haldon 1985, esp. pp. 85–90.

73. See above, pp. 85–88; Kordosis 1981, pp. 198–203.

74. Du Loir *apud* Dodwell 1819, p. 295.

75. See above, p. 87.

of the Peloponnese, and Arab and Normand piracy, spread terror to the coastal cities of the Peloponnese from the 8th to the 12th century.[76] The relocation of the city to the plain must have occurred in a period of stability and relative security, as was the period of Frankish and Venetian occupation. A number of cist graves excavated within and around the basilica of Kiato contained pottery of the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods (12th–13th centuries). The quality of some of the excavated pieces attests to the prosperity of the surrounding population.[77] One should stress here the commercial activity that developed during this period involving the coastal cities of the Peloponnese, which could justify the development of the city around the harbor. In 1392, for example, two people from Ragusa rented a commercial boat in order to conduct business in Greece including the Corinthian Gulf and *Vasilicata*.[78] Arguing against this interpretation is the present location of the village of Vasiliko, which, according to Kordosis, "proves that the Medieval city was located there."[79] Furthermore, it is likely that the cross-in-square church of Agia Trias of Vasiliko goes back to the Middle Byzantine period, if we may judge from the masonry of its lower courses (Fig. 5.10). A compromise between the two possibilities is that Vasilika in the Middle Ages included a castle on the hill of the Classical acropolis and a settlement down in the plain.[80]

What is certain is that after the burning of the city by Murat, the town grew on the plateau, presumably where the modern village of Vasiliko now stands. Sikyon is listed in the catalogue of Georgios Gemistos (mid-15th century) as an inland (μεσόγειος) town: Σικυών· τὰ νῦν Βασιλικά.[81] In an Ottoman register of the years after 1460 Vasilika is listed with just 83 houses.[82] The accounts of early European travelers are our main source of information on the community of Vasilika during the Ottoman period. Unfortunately, these travelers were mainly concerned with the antiquities of Sikyon and its glorious past; the contemporary community received little, if any, attention. One of the first travelers known to have visited the site was Sieur du Loir, who arrived from Corinth in the spring of 1641.[83] He reported only a small castle occupied by the Turks and a few houses: "Outre le chateau qui est petit, et dans lequel sont les Turcs, il y a peu d'autres maisons."[84] More than 30 years later, in 1675, George Wheler came to Vasiliko, also having set out from Corinth. He described a village devastated by the plague, which the local inhabitants attributed to a Turkish sacrilege:

> *Basilico,* or as some call it, *Basilica,* was in old time a great City called *Sicyon.* When the Kingdom of the Morea was under the *Venetians,* it was a considerable Town: now it is but a heap of Ruins, and Inhabited only by three families of *Turks,* and about as many *Christians.* This final destruction, one of the Inhabitants told us, happened about twenty years ago by the Plague: which they held to be a Judgment of God upon the *Turks,* for profaning one of the Christian churches there, turning it into a Mosque, by Command of the *Vaivode;* who fell down dead upon the place the first time he caused the *Alchoran* to be read in it: whose Death was followed soon after with such a Persistence, as in a short time utterly destroyed the whole Town: which could never since be re-peopled.[85]

76. On Norman pirates and their activities in the vicinity of Corinth, see Kordosis 1981, pp. 92–94.

77. Orlandos 1969, pp. 156, 163–176.

78. Krekić 1961, p. 233, doc. 424; cf. Kordosis 1981, p. 57.

79. Kordosis (1981, p. 197 and nn. 205 and 206) argues further that by "acropolis" Chalkokondyles refers to the heights to the west of the modern village. There are two serious objections to such an interpretation: (1) the whole elevated plateau of Vasiliko is clearly an ὀχυρόν, and (2) the elevated western part of the plateau does not show any traces of fortifications, ancient or Medieval, delimiting an acropolis area.

80. This scenario now appears to be more likely. The intensive survey of the plateau (2004–2009) found very little Medieval pottery, most of it centered on the area of the castle (i.e., the "Boudroumi" tower).

81. Kordosis 1981, p. 400.

82. The register is published by Kordosis (1981, pp. 398–399). As he points out, not only Corinth but even Agios Vasileios had more houses at the time: Kordosis 1981, p. 202.

83. The tenth letter of Du Loir, addressed to the Duke of Orleans, was sent from Venice on June 13, 1641. In this letter Du Loir writes that he embarked from the harbor of Constantinople for Greece in March of that year.

84. Du Loir 1654, p. 345.

85. Wheler 1682, p. 446.



Figure 5.10. Vasiliko: the church of Agia Trias, looking northwest. Note the two column drums supporting an epistyle block in front of the central apse.

Unfortunately, Wheler's description of the village of his time is minimal:

> It is situated upon a hill about three miles from the gulf of *Lepanto,* and has the river *Asopus* running under it on the east side: on which are some powder-mills, as they told us; which are the first I ever saw in *Turkey.* There remains abundance of Ruins both ancient and modern. The Wall of the castle, many Churches, and some Mosques: and a good way off the castle westwards is a ruin they call *the Kings Palace:* which seems to be very ancient, but made of Bricks. I take it to have been a Bath, from the many Channels down the wall to bring Water. Beyond that at a good distance, is a Hill formed Semicircular, I believe by Art, and to have been a *Theater* or *Stadium.* There are also abundance of *Caverns* and *Vaults* in the ground; which we could not stay to examine with any exactness: but returned part of our way towards *Corinth* that Evening, and lay at a little Village about midway.[86]

The "many churches and some mosques" that Wheler saw indicate that Vasiliko was once a thriving community, perhaps the most important community of the broader area in the Middle Ages. A little more than 10 years after Wheler, and with the Peloponnese experiencing a second, albeit short, period of Venetian rule, Girolamo Albrizzi came to the peninsula and took notes and made sketches of some of its cities. He visited Sikyon as well, and drew the plateau surrounded by a high fortification wall, and almost entirely filled with buildings.[87] This depiction is certainly exaggerated when compared to the grim picture given by Wheler. Therefore, we cannot determine the shape and extent of the town and its fortifications purely on the basis of this drawing.[88] "Vassilicà" appears numerous times in the unpublished Nani Archive of 1705, but it is oddly absent in the codex Grimani, the published register of a census ca. 1700.

86. Wheler 1682, p. 446.

87. Albrizzi 1687, p. 23 (Sikyon is referred to as *Sitionia*).

88. As does Kordosis (1981, p. 197, n. 205).

The second, this time massive, array of travelers came to Sikyon during the last decades of the Ottoman rule. Only a few of them give some information, usually limited and biased, on the condition of the village at that time. Dodwell writes:

> . . . but the village of Basilika is small and miserable. Its inhabitants are Greeks, who are the most obliging people I have met with, but they are merged in the lowest depths of ignorance. They thought me perfectly mad for purchasing their antiquities, and seemed to pity my folly. After they had sold me all their coins, they went into the fields to pick up cows horns, horses hoofs, and bits of bone, which they offered to me as antiques.[89]

Leake gives a more detailed account:

> Vasiliká is now inhabited by Albanians, and has been much increased by a settlement of that nation since Wheler's time, where there were only six families: there are now at least fifty inhabited houses. The lands which they cultivate belong to Nuri Bey. Like all the Christian peasantry of Albanian race, they are an industrious, quiet, hospitable people, but extremely ignorant.[90]

Pouqueville, who arrived to Vasiliko a decade or so after Leake, provides still more details:

> I returned to Vasilika, village of 53 Albanian families, belonging to Kyamil, bey of Corinth. . . . I let my travel companions and my dragoman to pay the customary visit to the soubachi of Kyamil bey, so that I could chat with the peasants, whom I recognized by their dialect to be *Schypetars* of the eastern *Acroceraune.* These peaceful descendants of the Bullions and the Amantians, which had never heard speak of the valleys of Aoos, cruddle of their ancestors, were charmed to learn by a Frank, that they were people speaking the *Schype* in the remotest areas of Greece. During our conversation, my hostess, alert and well built, would heat her oven in order to bake the bread which the family eats together after the day's work, while one of her daughters, holding a cotton skein between her toes, was making use of it instead of a windlass in order to reel the cotton that the women spin and weave, to make the shirts which they use as robes and attire. I visited with a peasant many houses that I thought appropriate, despite the lack of furniture and household utensils. Everywhere I saw busy men and children, modest and shy girls embroidering wool blankets with some elegance.[91]

The picture drawn by both Leake and Pouqueville is of a village of some 200–250 inhabitants of Albanian descent. Indeed, elderly people of Vasiliko today still speak the language of this area, the so-called *Arvanítika.* Territorially, the area belonged to the su-bashi, always a wealthy and powerful person, who acted under the jurisdiction of the supreme Turkish authority in the *vilaet* of Corinth, in this case Kyamil Bey, who was appointed by the sultan himself.

Very few monuments dating from the Ottoman era can be seen today in or near Vasiliko. One of the earliest is the church of Agios Nikolaos,

89. Dodwell 1819, p. 296.
90. Leake 1830, pp. 356–357.
91. Pouqueville 1826, pp. 440–442 (my translation).



Figure 5.11. The church of Agios Nikolaos below Vasiliko, looking southeast

below the plateau and on the upper reaches of the plain (Fig. 5.11). It is a cross-in-square church with a dome, and its year of construction (1578) is inscribed on an epistyle block from a 9th-century templon that has been reused on the church's south side.[92] Even earlier, ancient, material was reused in the interior of the church.[93] Agios Nikolaos is the only monument of our entire area securely dated to the 16th century. Yet, almost all early travelers took notice of a number of churches on the plateau, some of them in ruins, which have incorporated ancient material. Leake gives a representative account: "Immediately within the wall are several churches, built of ancient blocks, mixed with fragments of columns, and other similar remains. These churches seem to indicate that Sicyon continued to exist long after the establishment of Christianity."[94] Pouqueville mentions a church locally called "Aspri-ecclisia," which was in ruins in his day.[95] Unfortunately, Leake and the other travelers rarely mention the saint of the church to which they are referring. Moreover, it is difficult to identify these churches with what can be seen today, because the majority of the old churches of the village have been either rebuilt or extensively refurbished in modern times. They are built along the eastern edge of the plateau, at or near the gates and along the paths that lead to the plain (from north to south): Agia Anna, Agia Trias, Agia Paraskevi, Panagia Giatrisa, Agioi Theodoroi, Agios Athanasios, and Agios Konstantinos. Two more churches have survived only in ruins: Agios Elisaios, in the gully of Megali Vrysi, and an anonymous one on the easternmost spur of the plateau.

Thanks to George Lampakis, a Greek Byzantinist who visited this part of the Corinthia ca. 1902–1903, we possess precious photographic documents of a few churches of Vasiliko, including Agia Paraskevi, which has since been rebuilt (Fig. 5.12). The photograph shows clearly that the ruined church had incorporated ancient stone blocks, confirming the travelers' accounts. Tellingly, the parish church of Agia Trias, exhibiting a cross-in-square plan with a dome and elongated western arm, is built

92. The inscription on the lintel was first transcribed by Pouqueville (1826, p. 437). However, Pouqueville does not say where he saw this block, and his transcription contains errors (see Appendix VII). The interior of the church has two monolithic columns supporting Corinthian capitals of the late 5th/early 6th century A.D.

93. Gritsopoulos 1972, p. 230; Tsophopoulou-Gkini 1988, p. 175.

94. Leake 1830, p. 356. Cf. *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, p. 39: "on compte aux environs de Vasilika un grand nombre de petites églises tombant en ruine. En visitant quelques unes de ces églises, nous trouvâmes des fragments antiques mais de peu d'intérêt"; also Aldenhoven 1841, p. 93.

95. Pouqueville 1826, p. 437.



Figure 5.12. Vasiliko: the ruined church of Agia Paraskevi, ca. 1902–1903. Photo G. Lampakis, courtesy Byzantine and Christian Museum, Historical Photographic Archive (no. XAE 4143)

right at the main entrance to the plateau (Fig. 5.10). The church shows definite Medieval additions, including an exo-narthex and a campanile, to an original structure possibly of Middle Byzantine date, as suggested above. Clark noticed in and around it "several fragments of antiquity, part of the shaft of a large Doric column, some triglyphs, and a cornice of white marble," all of which are still visible today.[96] In Pouqueville's time, more could be seen: "two columns of white marble and a Doric capital inside the church, as well as three other marble flutes and an Ionic capital, placed as a bench on the exterior of the edifice."[97] The "bench" is still there today, in front of the sanctuary of the church; it consists of two column drums topped by an epistyle block. The Expédition scientifique de Morée found in this church "un chapiteau corinthien d'un assez beau caractère," which Lampakis photographed within the bema (Fig. 5.13).[98] The other churches of the village are modest constructions, for the most part single-cell buildings dating from the post-Byzantine era.

Finally, three fountains, the so-called Mikri, Megali, and Trani Vrysi, are inherited from the Ottoman period. Driven by Pausanias's reference to the "Dripping Fountain" (Stazousa), all early travelers and scholars who came to Sikyon sought it in the springs located on the two gullies formed along the eastern slope of Sikyon.[99] In Chapter 3, I argued for identifying the Stazousa of Pausanias with the Mikri Vrysi on the path that ascends to the church of Agia Anna.[100] Dodwell did not fail to mention the two "copious" springs of the Megali Vrysi gully, located to the north and south of the gully, respectively. The southern one, still running, was renovated in 1879 according to the inscription of the two local benefactors. The northern one, which is now dry, is even more monumental, with its five spouts and small marble basins, and their corresponding elegant niches (see Fig. 3.13). Unfortunately, we do not know when in the Ottoman era these fountains were built.[101]

96. Clark 1858, pp. 343–344.

97. Pouqueville 1826, p. 438 (my translation).

98. *Expédition scientifique de Morée,* p. 39.

99. Dodwell 1819, p. 295; Pouqueville 1826, p. 436; Rangabé 1857, pp. 319–320.

100. See above, pp. 106–108.

101. Despite the fact that fountains are some of the most characteristic Ottoman constructions in Greece, very few have been studied. In the 1660s Çelebi saw many Turkish fountains in Corinth, both in the fortress and the city (Kostakis 1981, pp. 246–247). One of these is the so-called Hadji Moustapha Fountain, which, according to its dedicatory inscription, was commissioned and financed by a tailor named Joseph in 1515 (MacKay 1967).

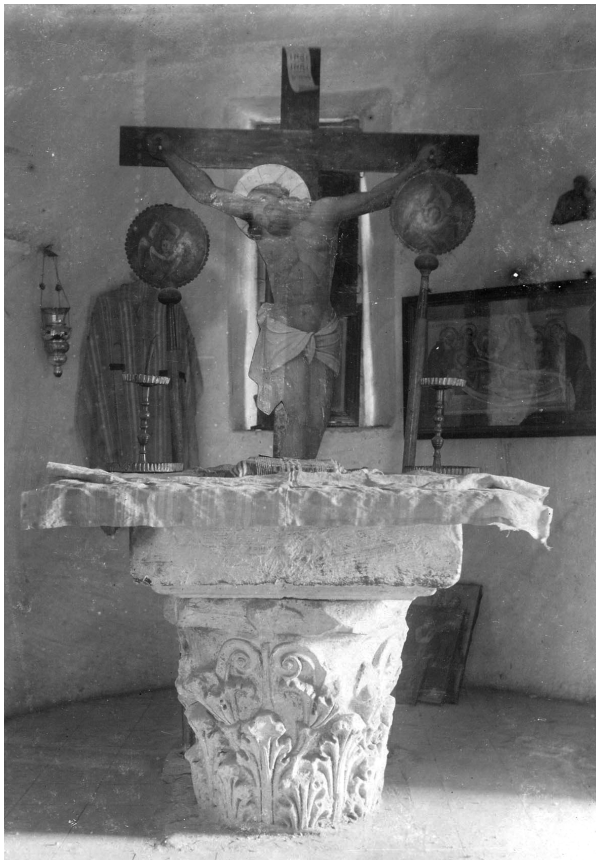


Figure 5.13. Vasiliko, Agia Trias: Corinthian capital serving as an altar table in the bema of the church, ca. 1902–1903. Photo G. Lampakis, courtesy Byzantine and Christian Museum, Historical Photographic Archive (no. XAE 4139)

SETTLEMENTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Prehistoric Period (7th Millennium to 900 B.C.)

The Survey Data

Prehistoric material was recovered at 18 sites, only five of them previously reported (Fig. 5.14).[102] At 13 of these sites prehistoric was the only or the predominant phase,[103] and four of the sites are the locations of burials.[104] The great majority of the sites (n = 14) show a peak of activity in the LH II and III periods. Only one site, Kato Goulas of Thalero (HS-119), seems to have been occupied only in the Middle Neolithic period (Figs. 5.15, 5.16). It is located on a hidden and naturally defensible spot, at the edge of a terrace, and shows a concentration of fine and coarse ware over an area of ca. 500 m^2. A terracotta spindle whorl testifies to household activity and the domestic character of the site (Fig. 5.15, lower right). We

102. HS-11, HS-15, HS-17, HS-21, HS-39, HS-40, HS-56, HS-59, HS-67, HS-92, HS-98, HS-99, HS-110, HS-116, HS-119, HS-120, HS-141, HS-142.

103. HS-11, HS-15, HS-17, HS-39, HS-40, HS-92, HS-98, HS-99, HS-110, HS-119, HS-120, HS-141, HS-142.

104. HS-15, HS-141, and HS-142, all single or clusters of chamber tombs; and HS-56, the cemetery of Kyroneri.

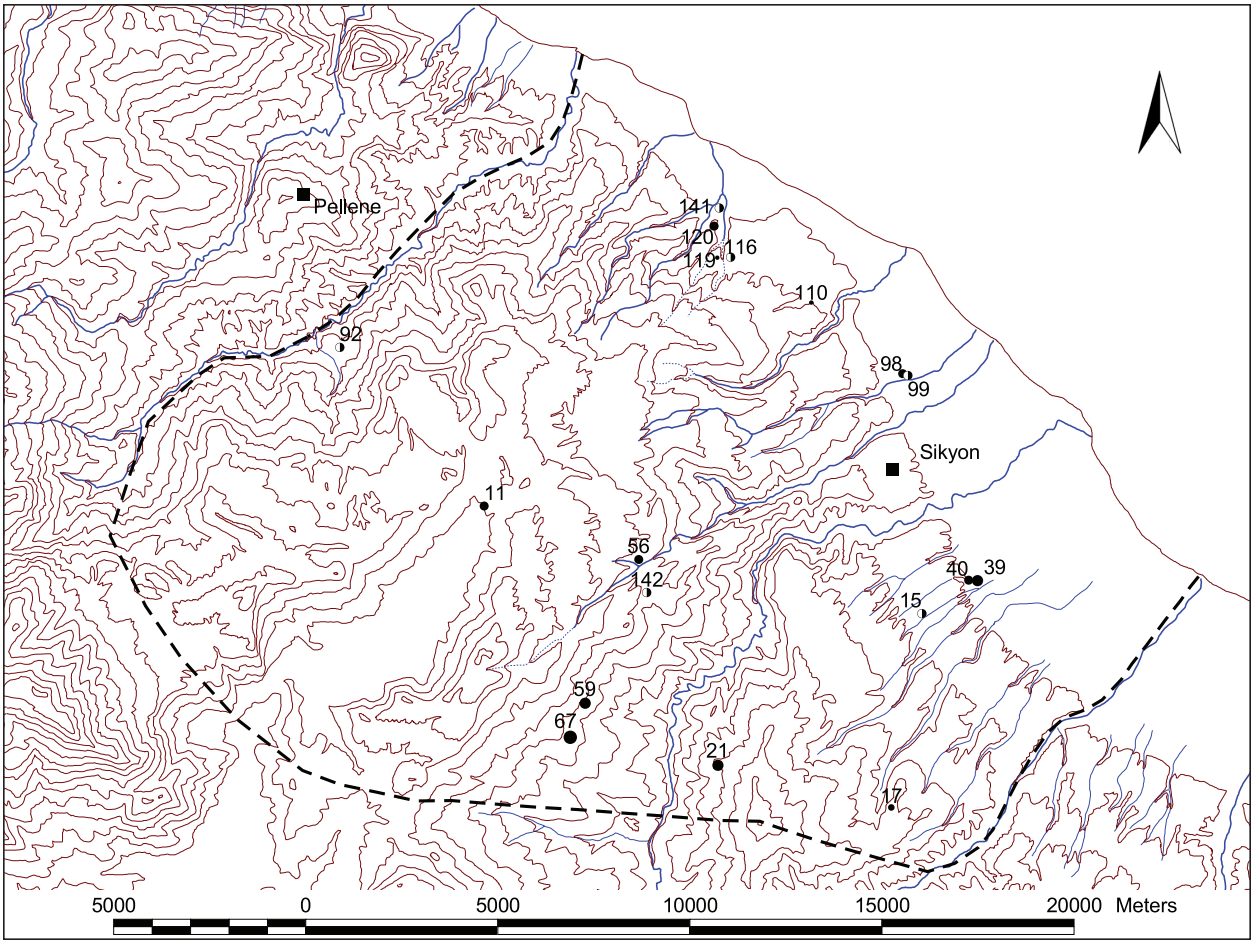


Figure 5.14. Map of prehistoric sites

identified some Neolithic pottery at two more sites above the coast, one of small (HS-99) and the other of large size (HS-39). Magoula of Pasio (HS-99), on a low hill with a good view of the coast, was just a small installation, unlike Litharakia 1 of Krinai (HS-39), which must have already been an important settlement. Litharakia, along with Pyrgouthi of Stylia, was also occupied in the EH period. Pyrgouthi (HS-92) is inland, and occupies a small area (less than 500 m^2) on the east slope of the hill. The site is hidden from the natural communication route along the Sythas River, and it is the only site with a predominant EH III phase (Fig. 5.17). MH "Minyan" and "Adriatic" wares were found at three, possibly four sites, two above the coast and two inland (HS-39, HS-98, HS-110, HS-120). Overall, of the 18 prehistoric sites, only four are located on low hills and terraces directly above the coastal plain, another six inland but still within close proximity to the gulf, and the rest on much higher ground further inland.[105]

Three of the sites of the first two groups are clearly the largest in size and density of finds (HS-39, HS-98, HS-120). All three cover areas larger than 7,000 m^2 and show a high-density scatter in the LH II–III periods (Figs. 5.18, 5.19). The most important of these, the site of Litharakia 1 (HS-39)—over 20,000 m^2 in size and with pottery ranging from at least the Late Neolithic to the LH IIIC period—is located on a low terrace

105. Above coastal plain: HS-39, HS-40, HS-98, HS-99. Inland, close to gulf: HS-15, HS-110, HS-116, HS-119, HS-120, HS-141. Further inland: HS-11, HS-17, HS-21, HS-56, HS-59, HS-67, HS-92, HS-142.



Figure 5.15. Middle Neolithic artifacts from HS-119. Scale 1:3

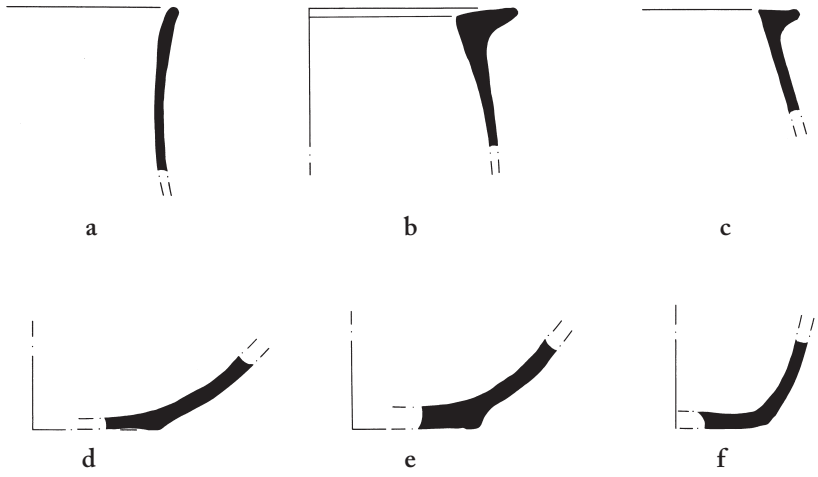


Figure 5.16. Monochrome Urfirnis pottery from HS-119. Middle Neolithic. Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) Straight-sided bowl with vertical, rounded lip. P.H. 0.068; est. Diam. (rim) 0.35 m. 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Traces of reddish brown paint on interior and exterior.
(b) Open vessel with incurving wall and thickened, almost horizontal rim. P.H. 0.054; est. Diam. (rim) 0.17 m. 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Traces of red paint on interior and exterior.
(c) Open vessel with incurving wall and thickened, horizontal rim. P.H. 0.045; est. Diam. (rim) 0. 20 m. 10YR 8.4 (very pale brown). Traces of red paint on interior and exterior.
(d) Open(?) vessel, with slightly concave bottom and flaring wall. P.H. 0.028; est. Diam. (base) 0.10 m. 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Traces of red paint on interior(?) and exterior.
(e) Open(?) vessel, with flat base and flaring wall. P.H. 0.033; est. Diam. (base) 0.10 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Red paint on exterior.
(f) Vessel with flat bottom and convex wall. P.H. 0.035; est. Diam. (base) 0.08 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Red paint on interior and exterior.



Figure 5.17. EH III pottery from HS-92. Scale 1:3

directly above the plain, ca. 3.5 km to the south of Sikyon (Fig. 5.20). Some 1,500 m southwest of Litharakia, the Ephoreia of Antiquities excavated a chamber tomb containing LH IIIA and B pottery (HS-15), but this burial is probably too far away to be associated with the settlement. At Ethniko of Pasio, ca. 2 km to the north of Sikyon, another low terrace above the coastal plain contained a rich collection of LH coarse and fine ware belonging to storage, table, and cooking vessels (HS-98). Rubble scattered throughout the plowed field must have belonged to buildings that once stood on the spot. An unusual find from this site was a conical lead weight (Fig. 5.19:s), most likely used for fishing. Thus, the area of "Aigialeia," where the main settlement was in Mycenaean times and where the city grew in the historical period, was surrounded by LH II and III settlements: on the hill of its acropolis, at Litharakia, and at Ethniko of Pasio. To these we should add the small conical hill of Xerokastelli (AS-9), southwest of the acropolis of Sikyon, where Gebauer reported a LH grave.[106]

Another important settlement showing intensive activity from the MH to the LH IIIB period is the hill of Magoula by the village of Thalero (HS-120; Fig. 5.21). Its flat surface of 7,650 m^2 is literally crammed with both coarse and fine pottery that overwhelmingly belongs to the LH period. The site of Phakes (HS-141), 460 m north of Magoula, where we recorded evidence for three chamber tombs, probably represents the cemetery of the settlement at Magoula.

Five of the eight mountainous sites have a predominant prehistoric phase (HS-11, HS-17, HS-56, HS-92, HS-142), and among these five, two represent burial grounds in the form of rock-cut chamber tombs (HS-56, HS-142). Mastrogianni (HS-11), which is the largest of the three settlement sites, measures over 7,000 m^2, and is located at the edge of the plain of Kaisari. We observed a high proportion of coarse and cooking wares in relation to table ware, and many chert and obsidian flakes probably dating to the later Mycenaean period. The other two prehistoric sites are situated far from agricultural plains and are much smaller in size. The relatively flat

106. Gebauer 1939, p. 272.



Figure 5.18. Late Helladic artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3

surface of the terrace called Aratzachani (HS-17), to the east of Stimanga, shows a moderate density of LH IIIA2–B artifacts over an area of 3,000 m^2.

Of the multiperiod sites where prehistoric does not seem to be the predominant phase, Titane (HS-67) deserves special mention. On the hill of Agios Tryphon and on the west terrace below the hill, where Hope Simpson and Dickinson noticed a few EH II sherds and a LH III kylix stem, we recovered additional fragments of later Mycenaean fine tableware.

Among the 10 settlement sites occupied primarily or only during prehistoric times, four are spread over areas smaller than 1,000 m^2 (HS-92, HS-99, HS-110, HS-119), only one site belongs to the 1,001 to 5,000 m^2 category (HS-17), four are between 5,001 and 10,000 m^2 (HS-11, HS-40, HS-98, HS-120), and again only one is over 10,000 m^2 (HS-39). As I explained at the beginning of this chapter, the characterization of settlement sites based on their extent is a notorious problem, and no agreement has been or can be reached among scholars. Knowing this, let us conventionally label the sites of our first category "farmsteads," the one site of the second category a "hamlet," the third category sites "villages," and the one large site as a "large village."

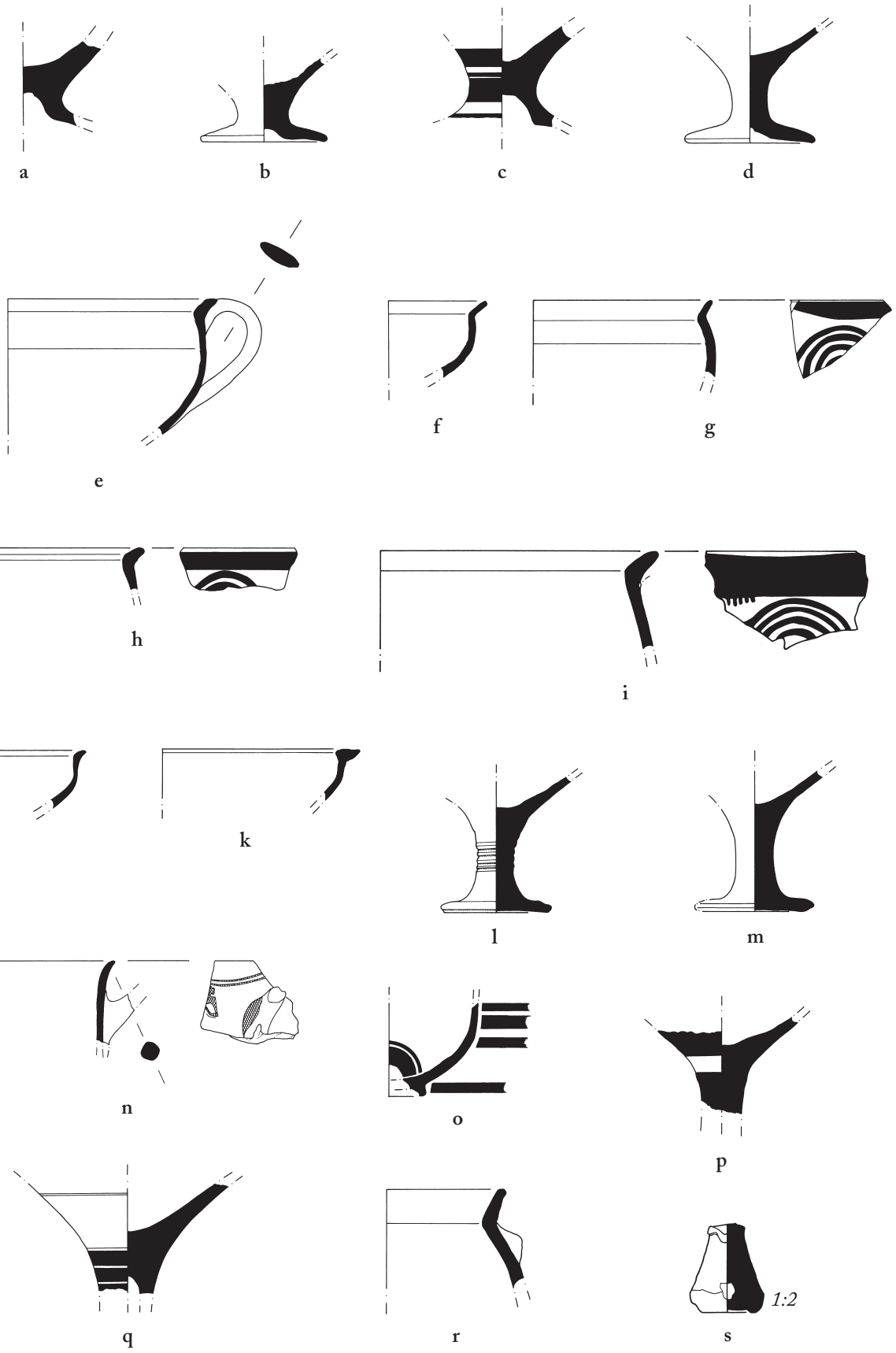

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Figure 5.19 ***(opposite)*****. Late Helladic artifacts from various sites.** Scale 1:3, except where indicated. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) HS-98. Goblet. LH I–II. Top of flaring stem foot and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.04 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Red paint on exterior.
(b) HS-98. Goblet. LH I–II. Flaring stem foot and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.04; Diam. (base) 0.064 m. Gray. Black paint on interior. Traces of black paint on exterior.
(c) HS-98. Goblet. LH I–II. Top of flaring stem foot and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.045 m. 10YR 8/6 (yellow). Linear decoration.
(d) HS-98. Goblet. LH I–II. Tall, flaring stem foot and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.06; Diam. (base) 0.065 m. 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown). Traces of red paint on exterior.
(e) HS-98. Goblet. LH I–II. Convex wall, everted rim and vertical strap handle. P.H. 0.078 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Red paint on interior.
(f) HS-110. Goblet. LH I–II. Convex wall and everted rim. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.10 m. 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Traces of burning.
(g) HS-120. Goblet. LH II. Convex wall and everted rim. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.18 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Dark brown paint on rim. Spiral decoration on body.
(h) HS-67. Krater. LH III. Convex wall and everted rim. P.H. 0.024; est. Diam. (rim) 0.16 m. 10YR 8/4 (very pale brown). Brown paint on rim. Spiral decoration on body.
(i) HS-98. Krater. LH IIIA2–B. Contracting wall and everted rim. P.H. 0.05; est. Diam. (rim) 0.27 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Brown paint on rim. Spiral decoration on body.
(j) HS-98. Kylix. LH IIIA2–B. Shallow flaring wall turning up to everted rim. P.H. 0.03; est. Diam. (rim) 0.15 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown).
(k) HS-116. Kylix. LH IIIA2. Shallow flaring wall turning up to projecting rim. P.H. 0.025; est. Diam. (rim) 0.20 m. 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown). Traces of brown paint on interior and exterior.
(l) HS-98. Kylix. LH IIIA–B. Tall, flaring foot stem and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.07; est. Diam. (base) 0.054 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Linear, plastic decoration on stem.
(m) HS-98. Kylix. LH IIIA–B. Tall, flaring foot stem and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.07; Diam. (base) 0.06 m. 10YR 8/2 (white).
(n) HS-17. Deep bowl. LH IIIB. Straight-sided wall, flaring rim and base of horizontal round handle. P.H. 0.045; est. Diam. (rim) 0.14 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Pair of brown painted lines below rim. Brown paint below lines and at base of handle.
(o) HS-98. Juglet? LH IIIA2–B. Ring foot and convex wall turning up vertically. P.H. 0.048; est. Diam. (base) 0.02 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Red painted stripe on foot, three on body; traces of red paint on interior.
(p) HS-98. Kylix. LH IIIC. Top of stem and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.05 m. 10YR 7/3 (very pale brown). Stem dark brown, reserved band, dark brown stripe(?) above; dark brown paint on interior.
(q) HS-98. Kylix. LH IIIC? Top of stem and beginning of bowl. P.H. 0.06 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Three dark brown stripes on stem.
(r) HS-98. Cooking pot. Convex wall with lug and everted rim. P.H. 0.05; est. Diam. (rim) 0.12 m. Gray with inclusions.
(s) HS-98. Lead weight. Conical with indented base and low beveling. P.H. 0.03; Diam. (base) 0.019 m. Wt. 0.079 kg.



Figure 5.20. The site of Litharakia 1 (HS-39), seemingly the most important prehistoric settlement of Sikyonia, looking east



Figure 5.21. The hill of Magoula of Thalero (HS-120), looking north

We already referred to the "villages" and "hamlets" framing the Mycenaean center of Sikyon. Yet, it appears that these "villages" also had smaller settlements around them. This is the case with Magoula of Pasio (HS-99), a knoll 100 m east of the larger-sized Ethniko (HS-98), since in both locations we identified LH III pottery fragments. It is conceivable that other small sites, presumably single farmsteads, developed on the periphery of larger sites. Thus, the knoll of Kourkoula of Lalioti (HS-110), where we found some MH or Early Mycenaean material, may have been associated with a larger settlement nearby that our survey did not find. Traces of EH II, MH, and LH activity has been reported from the lower terrace to the north of Kourkoula, between Ano Melissi and Thalero, and we identified a few Mycenaean kylix and goblet fragments close to the western edge of this terrace (HS-116).[107]

At this point we must discuss the issue of elusive settlement sites that are only suspected on the basis of burial sites. This is the case with Panagia and Agios Nikolaos of Kryoneri (HS-56 and HS-142), which are located some 880 m from each other, and show a group of chamber tombs dug out of the soft bedrock. We have not been able to find the associated settlements, and I fear that these are not the only prehistoric sites we failed to locate. This is partly due to our basic method of using local informants to locate sites. I suspect that the general absence of roof tiles on these prehistoric sites, particularly the smaller ones, makes them less conspicuous to local farmers and residents.

Literary Evidence

Two "Homeric" sites appear in the sources in connection with Sikyon: Orneai and Gonoussa.

107. Gebauer 1939, p. 275; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 69–70, no. A79; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 478, no. 56.

Orneai

Orneai is first mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.569–577) as part of the "realm of Agamemnon," after Mycenae, Corinth, and Kleonai, and before Araithyrea and Sikyon:

> Οἳ δὲ Μυκήνας εἶχον, ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
> ἀφνειόν τε Κόρινθον ἐυκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς,
> Ὀρνειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἐρατεινὴν
> καὶ Σικυῶν', ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἄδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν,
> οἳ δ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν
> Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον ἠδ' Αἴγιον ἀμφινέμοντο
> Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρεῖαν,
> τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν ἦρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
> Ἀτρεΐδης.

The task of identifying this Homeric site is complicated by the fact that, in the northeastern Peloponnese, there were at least two settlements called Orneai in antiquity. One was located in Argive territory, and has been securely identified with Paliokastraki to the northeast of the village of Kato Belesi/Lyrkeia.[108] The existence of a second settlement called Orneai is mentioned by Strabo, and later by Stephanos of Byzantion and Eustathios. Strabo includes three references to this Orneai, which he calls a *kome:*

> κῶμαι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Ἀργείας, ἡ μὲν ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει τῷ πλησίον [i.e., Lyrkeion], αἱ δὲ ταῖς Ὀρνεαῖς ταῖς μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος ἱδρυμέναις. (Strabo 8.6.17)

> Ὀρνεαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ, νῦν μὲν ἔρημοι, πρότερον δ' οἰκουμέναι καλῶς, ἱερὸν ἔχουσαι Πριάπου τιμώμενον, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ τὰ Πριάπεια ποιήσας Εὐφρόνιος Ὀρνεάτην καλεῖ τὸν Θεόν· κεῖνται δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Σικυωνίων, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔσχον Ἀργεῖοι. Ἀραιθυρέα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ νῦν Φλιασία καλουμένη. (Strabo 8.6.24)

> . . . ἐξ Ὀρνεῶν τῶν περὶ Κόρινθον. (Strabo 13.1.12)

> Ὀρνειαὶ ἢ Ὀρνεαί, κώμη Ἀργείας· . . . ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέως, υἱοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀρνέας νύμφης, ἢ ὅτι ἐφ' ὕψους κεῖται, ἢ ὁμωνύμως Ὀρνέᾳ τῷ ποταμῷ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὀρνεάτης. (Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὀρνειαί)

> . . . ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος. ταύτην δ' ὁ τὰ ἐθνικὰ γράψας πόλιν λέγει, οὐ κώμην. (Eust. ad *Il.* 2.571 [1.449.1–2 van der Valk])

The existence of a second village or town called Orneai was refuted by Meyer, who charged Strabo with an error.[109] The fact, however, that Strabo refers three times to this Orneai, and that the duplication of toponyms was a usual phenomenon in ancient Greece, especially with a name as common as "bird town," favors the existence of a second settlement with this name.[110] Both Meyer and Andrewes were at loss to

108. *SAGT* III, pp. 19–31; endorsed by Pikoulas (1995, pp. 267–270). See also Marchand 2002a, pp. 138–140.

109. *RE* XXXV, 1939, col. 1123, s.v. Orneai (E. Meyer).

110. On the duplication of toponyms, see Wiseman 1978, p. 110; *SAGT* III, p. 31, n. 46; Pikoulas 1995, p. 270.

explain Strabo's passage (8.6.24) indicating that the *chora* belonged to the Argives.[111] I believe that the key to understanding this sentence lies in the use of the past tense (ἔσχον), and the fact that both places called Orneai were described as deserted in Strabo's time. It is clearly implied that the Argives had temporary possession of the territory at one time in history, and I would argue that this time must have been the almost legendary era of Argive domination over Araithyrea (Phlious), Sikyon, and Corinth, to which I briefly referred in Chapter 2. To this period the geographer assigns the flourishing of Orneai, which was in ruins in his day.

The location of Corinthian Orneai, which must lie somewhere along the 15 km of highland separating Sikyon from Corinth, has puzzled scholars for many decades. Judging from the specification περὶ Κόρινθον, one would be tempted to place it in the eastern part of the plain, beyond the Nemea River. Jeannette Marchand has recently put forward a candidate site for Orneai that fits the topographical criteria.[112] It is a promontory, located above the coastal plain and directly east of the Nemea River, locally known as Dorati (Map 4). The relatively flat plateau, which represents the core of the site, is littered with pottery of the EH, MH, and LH periods, the last phase being predominant. The large size of the settlement (at least 47,000 m^2), the high density of pottery, and the large-scale construction preserved in situ, leave no doubt "that the Mycenaean phase of the site is potentially as large as or larger than most investigated or identified in the area."[113] Marchand convincingly argues that this must be the Orneai mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships in "clear and logical" order.[114] If this site is Homeric Orneai, as I believe it is, then the "river flowing by" (τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ, Strabo 8.6.24), later called the Nemea, must have been the Ὀρνεάτης.

Gonoussa

"Lofty Gonoussa" (αἰπεινὴ Γονόεσσα) is mentioned in the passage from the *Iliad* quoted above, after Hyperesia and before Pellene and Aigion, among the towns contributing forces to the fleet of Agamemnon. Its location has puzzled travelers and scholars since the time of Pausanias, who associated the town of Donoussa, situated between Aigeira and Pellene and subject to the Sikyonians, with the "Donoessa" of the *Iliad:*

> Αἰγείρας δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ Πελλήνης πόλισμα ὑπήκοον
> Σικυωνίων Δονοῦσσα καλουμένη ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικυωνίων

111. Andrewes raises the possibility that in Roman times Argive territory "might have reached down further north towards Sikyon" (*COT* IV, p. 108). The hypothesis is very unlikely, as pointed out by Pritchett: *SAGT* III, p. 23, n. 37.

112. Marchand 2002a.

113. Marchand 2002a, p. 131.

114. As Marchand notes (2002a, pp. 143–144), the order in which Homer lists the cities that participated in the Trojan expedition follows an east–west direction. I would further suggest that for our geographical section (the poet seems to have divided the realm of Agamemnon into two geographical sections), which starts with Mycenae and ends with Sikyon, the order in which the cities are listed is not simply from east to west, but also from the inland to the coastal zone: Mycenae (inland), Corinth (coast), Kleonai (inland), Orneai (coast), Araithyrea (inland), Sikyon (coast).

ἀνάστατος, μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονί φασιν αὐτῆς ποιήσαντα ἔπος·

οἵ θ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν.[115]

The text of the *Iliad,* in fact, calls the town Γονόεσσαν, but Pausanias explains the consonant change as a mistake of Peisistratos, who had collected the dispersed Homeric poems.[116]

On the basis of the epithet "lofty," and the general location outlined by Homer, Leake, followed by Curtius and Rangabé, placed the Homeric Gonoessa on the conical hill of Panagia of Koryphi (Παναγία Κορυφής), which rises between the sites of Pellene and Aigeira, thereby endorsing Pausanias's speculation.[117] The conspicuous limestone hill of Panagia of Koryphi (elev. 731 masl, Map 4) towers above the coastal plain, and certainly fits the Homeric epithet (Fig. 1.3). The problem is that no Mycenaean sherds have been reported from the summit of the hill, nor did we find any in our survey. It may be that modern disturbances on the surface of this hill have eradicated any traces of ancient activity. Even so, it is rather unlikely that the plateau of the summit could have supported a sizable settlement, one so important as to deserve a place in the Homeric list. On the other hand, rescue excavations carried out at "Taratses," a large terrace on the northern slope of the hill (elev. 100 masl), and our survey of this area established the existence of a large Classical settlement (HS-97). Yet, among the several hundreds of pottery sherds that we observed, none were characteristically Mycenaean. J. K. Anderson, who visited the site in 1974, was equally disappointed and suggested that the Homeric Gonoessa must be located on the hill of Agios Panteleimon, immediately west of Panagia, where he did find some possibly EH and LH pottery.[118] I have not visited the site, but Anderson calls it "a small Bronze Age site," which can hardly equal the other sites mentioned in the Catalogue.

The problem of finding a suitable candidate for Donoussa/Gonoussa is further complicated by the fact that Pausanias twice mentions a "Gonoussa above Sikyon" (Γονοῦσσα ἡ ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος), referring to the place of origin of a contestant for the Corinthian throne (2.4.4, 5.18.7), but without relating it to the Homeric town. This is the only piece of information we have on this place, and it is clear that Pausanias never saw it, but referred vaguely to it as a settlement of the remote past, somewhere above Sikyon. Bursian was tempted to associate the remains of a fort at the village of Liopesi with Gonoessa, but the suggestion is completely unfounded since the fort (DS-3) belongs to the 4th century.[119] Bursian's view, however, was quite influential, since the village of Liopesi changed its name to Gonoussa in the early part of the 20th century.[120] We have seen that Early and Late Helladic sherds have been found at Titane, but Pausanias does not associate this site with Gonoussa.

In summary, our textual evidence on the location of Donoussa and/or Gonoussa is so vague and ambivalent as to preclude any safe guess on our part. If we assume that the two refer to the same site, which Pausanias does not, then the prehistoric site of Magoula of Thalero (HS-120) could perhaps be the one, being both "lofty" and "above Sikyon" (Fig. 5.21).

115. Paus. 7.26.13.

116. From a philological point of view, there is no satisfactory explanation for the consonant change. The only parallel for a change from γ to δ would be a hypothetical Doric form of γᾶ ("earth"), i.e., δᾶ, which occurs in Aischylos. Chantraine, however, disagrees with this hypothesis, and prefers to read δᾶ in Aischylos as a form of exclamation (*DarSag* I, p. 245); I thank Leslie Threatte for drawing my attention to this reference.

117. Leake 1830, p. 385; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 485; Rangabé 1857, p. 327. For more references and different views, see *RE* IV, 1912, col. 1588, s.v. Donussa (F. Bölte); Bölte takes no sides on this issue and has the Homeric Gonoessa and Pausanias's Donoussa under separate entries.

118. Anderson and Anderson 1975.

119. Bursian 1872, p. 32, n. 1, refuted by Bölte in *RE* IV, 1912, col. 1587, s.v. Gonussa. On the fort, see above, pp. 226–231.

120. The unfortunate renaming of towns and villages in Greece after ancient toponyms is not uncommon. The task was carried out by a Committee for the Toponyms of Greece (Ἐπιτροπεία τῶν Τοπωνυμίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος), which started drawing a list of new names after 1912 (Skiadas 1994, pp. 71–72).

Prehistoric Settlement Patterns

The location of the majority of prehistoric settlements reveals that two main factors influenced the location of sites in the LH period: (1) the proximity to fertile soil, and (2) their defensibility. It is no accident that Sikyon itself and three of the four larger settlements (HS-11, HS-39, HS-98) are in or right above the coastal and inland plains. This is a strong indicator that their economy was based on agriculture. At the same time, the higher elevation in relation to the plain gave the settlers some feeling of security, particularly since their villages were very close to main lines of communication. Litharakia 1 (HS-39) and Ethniko (HS-98) were right above the route leading from the Corinthia to Achaia, whereas Mastrogianni (HS-11) was above the route from the coast to Stymphalos and Arkadia. For the large- and medium-sized sites, proximity to the sea must have also played a role, both in terms of food supply and commerce. Defensibility was an important consideration for all of our sites, but it must have been the principal factor in choosing a location for the inland sites of Magoula (HS-120) and Kato Goulas (HS-119) of Thalero, Aratzachani of Stimanga (HS-17), Kourkoula of Lalioti (HS-110), and Pyrgouthi of Stylia (HS-92). With the exception of Magoula, the other sites are rather small, some very small, and their economy must have been based partly on agriculture and partly on herding.

Seen within the larger geographical context, many of the sites that our survey discovered conform to the overall picture: they are located on hills and elevated terraces overlooking the coast, with the most important one right above the coastal plain; and they were occupied during more than one period, with LH II and III being their predominant phases. Similarly, important sites of the eastern Corinthia, like Dorati, Aetopetra, Cheliotomylos, Korakou, and Gonia, were founded on coastal bluffs, hills, and ridgetops offering a commanding view of the plain, and were inhabited from the EH to the LH III period.[121] The positioning of all these sites was such as to allow them to use the resources of the sea and the fertile land, and to take advantage of easy access to the main routes of communication without putting their security at stake. On the other hand, we have seen that eight of our sites are removed from the coast and, with the exception of one, which is both the largest and the most abundant in material remains (HS-11), have no easy access either to fertile soil or a major communication route.

Catherine Morgan, in an overview of settlement patterns on the north coast of the Corinthia during the LH period, writes that in the cases of Sikyon and Korakou, "preferred site locations are small acropoleis beside the edge of the coastal plain" and that "there are relatively few signs of activity further inland."[122] Furthermore, she argues that outside these two principal sites there is "a dense cluster of small sites with, as yet, no evidence of any larger focus."[123] The sites documented during our extensive survey, however, paint a different picture of the region, since we have at least one major settlement near the principal site of Sikyon (HS-39), and quite a few settlements in the southern hinterland.

Jeremy Rutter, in a recent survey of the Corinthia in the second millennium, raises the possibility of a "dramatic shift in the local settlement

121. For a review of Corinthian prehistoric sites, see *Corinth* I, pp. 107–114; *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 347–367 and 469–479; Marchand 2002a, pp. 128–131 (with further bibliography).

122. *Isthmia* VIII, p. 357.

123. *Isthmia* VIII, p. 357.

pattern when Korakou was finally abandoned and a series of small hamlets, perhaps even isolated farmsteads, appear to have sprung up at some distance from the sea, at various points within the area later enclosed by the city walls of Classical Corinth."[124] In our survey area, the only sites with a certain LH IIIC phase are Litharakia 1 (HS-39) and Ethniko (HS-98), both multiperiod sites located near the coast. None of the inland sites has so far yielded evidence of occupation during this period. It is conceivable that LH IIIC settlements were so small that our survey failed to identify them. We must refine the dating of the less diagnostic Mycenaean pottery that we did find in order to verify or deny that the western Corinthia saw the same kind of shift that Rutter sees to the east.

Geometric Period (900–700 B.C.)

Geometric artifacts, mainly pottery and one loomweight, were recognized at only nine sites, rather widely scattered (Figs. 5.22–5.24). Three are located above the plain, both to the west and east of Sikyon (HS-39, HS-97, HS-114), and the remaining six are inland, five above the Asopos valley. The sample is too small to allow any interpretations, and the Geometric artifacts cannot be called abundant on any of these multiperiod sites. Of potential significance is the fact that four of the nine sites also have an earlier phase (HS-39, HS-59, HS-67, HS-92), and that three of these are large. One is Titane (HS-67), the site of perhaps the most important extraurban sanctuary of Sikyon, occupied continuously from the Late Helladic to the Late Roman period. This site has the largest collection of Geometric pottery, including Late Geometric skyphoi and kraters. Gourkioni (HS-59), ca. 940 m north-northeast of Titane and a sizable settlement in the Classical period, also shows traces of activity during the Dark Ages. Litharakia 1 (HS-39), probably the most important settlement in earlier periods, seems to have been abandoned in the course of the Dark Ages. The much smaller site of Pyrgouthi above the Sythas River (HS-92) spreads over only a small area on the east slope of a conical hill.

The remaining five sites (HS-60, HS-63, HS-97, HS-114, HS-140) seem to have come into existence during this era, and all of them continue into the Archaic period. Most important of these is Taratses of Kamari (HS-97), which, as mentioned above, may represent the Pellenean town of Donoussa.

Given the importance of Sikyon in the Archaic period, we expected to find sites of the Geometric period in the surrounding area; we did not, perhaps because the sites that we did find yielded only undiagnostic or broadly dated ceramic material. It is also possible that settlements of this period were situated on the coastal plain where the city itself progressively grew. A grave discovered by accident in 1938 ca. 3.2 km to the west of Velo, along the high east bank of the Asopos River, yielded an impressive group of 13 late Protogeometric vases.[125] The grave, found literally at the threshold of the urban area, must be associated with the important Classical settlement of Marmara (HS-49), which may go back to the Geometric period, even though this period is not represented in the scanty surface remains.

124. Rutter 2003, p. 80.
125. *Corinth* VII.1, pp. 6–7.

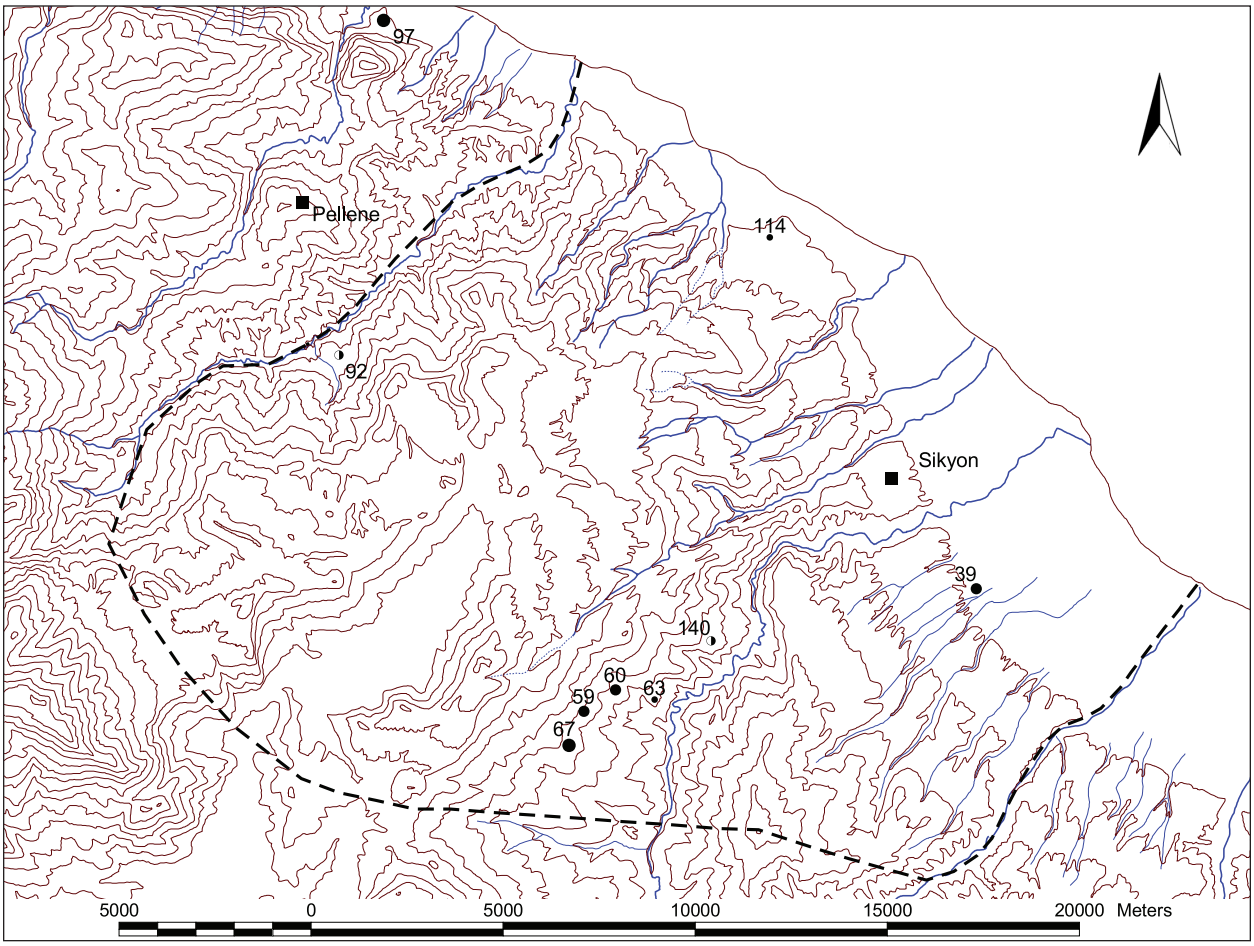


Figure 5.22. Map of Geometric sites

Geometric pottery has also been found above the Mycenaean chamber tombs that are being uncovered in the course of the recent excavations for the new railway, along the upper part of the Sikyonian plain. It is possible that this pottery is associated with a hero cult practiced by the new settlers of the Asopeia.[126]

Archaic Period (700–480 B.C.)

The renowned Sikyon of the Archaic period, ruled for a long time by the Orthagorid family, thrived in the coastal plain, between the Asopos and Helisson rivers. Beyond the city limits we identified 26 Archaic sites, scattered in the countryside but with a tendency to concentrate above the coastal plain and around Titane (Fig. 5.25). Seven of the nine Geometric sites seem to have continued into the Archaic era.[127] Of these seven, Titane (HS-67) and Gourkioni (HS-59) were also represented in the prehistoric period; the remaining five were not. In fact, only four of the 26 Archaic sites occupied areas with prehistoric material (HS-21, HS-59, HS-67, HS-116). Interestingly enough, Litharakia 1 (HS-39), the most important prehistoric site above the plain, was not resettled during this or any later period of antiquity.

126. I would like to thank Vassilis Papathanassiou, the archaeologist excavating the chamber tombs, for sharing this information with me.

127. HS-59, HS-60, HS-63, HS-67, HS-97, HS-114, HS-140.



Figure 5.23. Geometric artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3

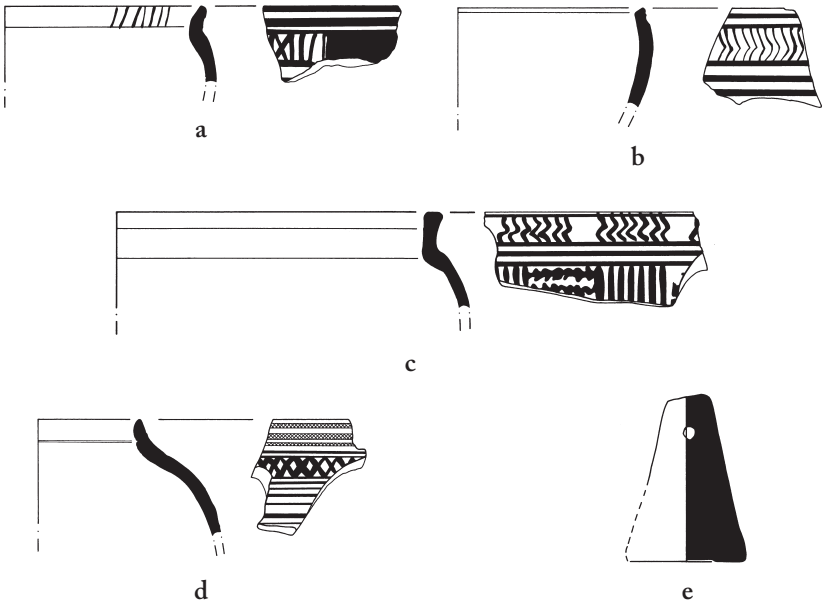


Figure 5.24. Geometric artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) HS-140. Skyphos. MG. Convex wall and everted rim. P.H. 0.03; est. Diam. (rim) 0.16 m. 10YR 8/4 (very pale brown). Exterior glazed, reserved panel in handle zone with butterfly and three verticals, stripe below, two stripes on rim; brown-black glazed interior; interior of rim reserved with groups of bars.
(b) HS-114. Protokotyle. LG. Convex wall and inturned lip. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.15 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Exterior preserves vertical chevrons, with two stripes above and three below. Brown glaze on interior.
(c) HS-67. Krater. LG. Convex wall and vertical rim. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.26 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Shoulder: groups of vertical lines between panels with stacked zigzags, three stripes above. Rim: groups of vertical zigzags, stripe below lip. Brown glaze on interior.
(d) HS-140. Pyxis. LG. Convex wall curving into oblique lip. P.H. 0.05; est. Diam. (rim) 0.08 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Body: horizontal stripes, band of cross-hatching, two stripes above, three stripes on rim.
(e) HS-63. Loomweight. Conical with slightly indented base and almost straight sides tapering to flat top. Late 8th–early 7th century. H. 0.065; Diam. (base) 0.048 m. 5YR 7/4 (pink). Wt. 0.093 kg.

Our survey found examples of characteristically Archaic material, including decorated vases such as kotylai, skyphoi, oinochoai, hydriai, pyxides, and straight-sided loomweights, but not in abundance (see Fig. 5.26 for three examples). We found Archaic artifacts at 10 large and medium sites, 10 small sites (from 1,000 to 6,000 m^2), and six of very small (below

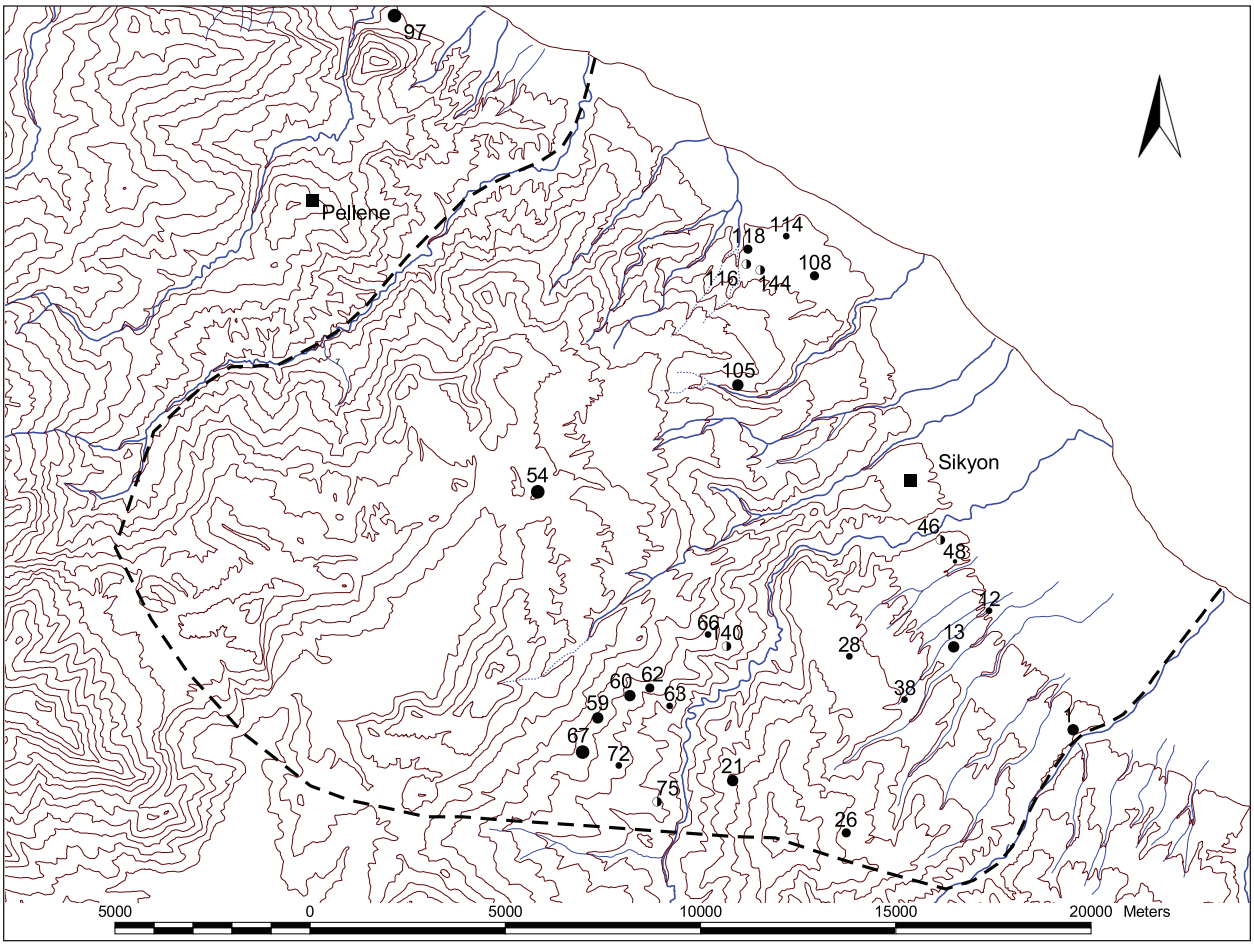


Figure 5.25. Map of Archaic sites

1,000 m^2) or indeterminate size.[128] Although Archaic was not the predominant phase at the large and medium sites, it is possible that it reflects original stages of the corresponding settlements. This is particularly true of the site of Thekriza (HS-54), thus far the largest settlement of the Classical period, where we identified kotylai and miniature vases of the Archaic period that indicate cultural activity on the site at this early stage. In the case of the smaller sites, the pottery—found in conjunction with loomweights and tile fragments with glaze, occasionally streaky—suggests that they may have been single farmsteads. In at least one case of a very small site (HS-144), the associated pottery (a late-6th- or early-5th-century globular pyxis, Fig. 5.26:c) suggests that this was a grave.

Although the number of sites is almost triple that of the 8th century, the amount of Archaic material recovered in the survey was definitely small. This is a strange phenomenon when we consider that Sikyon was prospering during this period. In other words, there is a discrepancy between the political power of the state and the amount of available material evidence. Again, it is possible that at least some of the sites that could only be broadly dated between the Archaic and the Middle Hellenistic era do, in fact, belong to this period. Still, the majority of these sites have modest dimensions; even if they belonged to the Archaic period, they would fail to bridge the

128. Large: HS-1, HS-54, HS-59, HS-60, HS-67, HS-97, HS-105. Medium: HS-13, HS-21, HS-62. Small: HS-12, HS-26, HS-28, HS-38, HS-63, HS-66, HS-72, HS-108, HS-114, HS-118. Very small or indeterminate size: HS-46, HS-48, HS-75, HS-116, HS-140, HS-144.

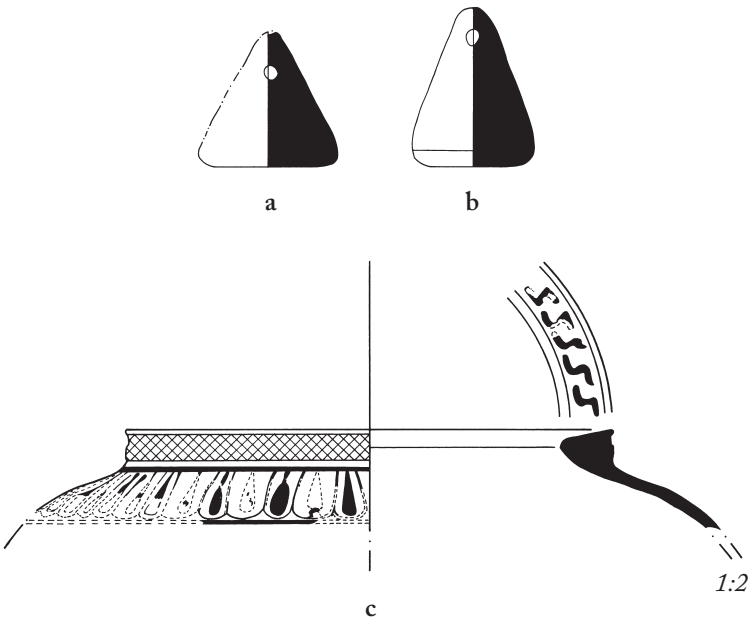


Figure 5.26. Archaic artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3, except where indicated. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) HS-13. Loomweight. Conical with flat bottom, straight, widely broadening, sides and low beveling. 6th century. H. 0.056; Diam. (base) 0.058 m. 5YR 7/4 (reddish yellow) with inclusions. Wt. 0.097 kg.
(b) HS-116. Loomweight. Conical with flat bottom and low beveling. 6th century. H. 0.064; Diam. (base) 0.048 m. 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown). Wt. 0.097 kg.
(c) HS-144. Pyxis, globular. Convex shoulder and vertical, inward thickened rim. Late 6th–early 5th century. P.H. 0.03; est. Diam. (rim) 0.13 m. 10YR 8/4 (very pale brown) with 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow) core. Band of painted tongues on shoulder, hatched pattern on rim.

gap. Another possibility, and the one that I favor, is that large settlements of that period were founded on the coastal plain, following the example of the city, and that these sites are now buried under thick alluvial deposits. Whether or not this is true, it is likely that the city itself accommodated a large percentage of the overall population.

Classical Period (480–323 B.C.)

The majority of the Archaic sites (17 of 26) continued into the Classical period. We recognized with certainty material of this period at 45 sites (Fig. 5.27), while 47 more could belong here, as much as to the periods before (Late Archaic) or after (Early Hellenistic) (Fig. 5.28). Unfortunately, the typical finds at these 47 sites—namely roof tiles, mostly of Lakonian type, with brown, red, or black glaze; occasionally ashlar or other worked stone blocks; and black or brownish black glazed body sherds amid abundant coarse ware—do not allow us to assign them with certainty to a specific period. Still, the larger settlements of Sikyonia are Classical, and this period is the predominant phase at 21 of the 45 sites.[129]

129. HS-10, HS-28, HS-30, HS-31, HS-34, HS-36, HS-47, HS-49, HS-52, HS-54, HS-58, HS-59, HS-60, HS-67, HS-72, HS-82, HS-97, HS-100, HS-118, HS-136, HS-144.

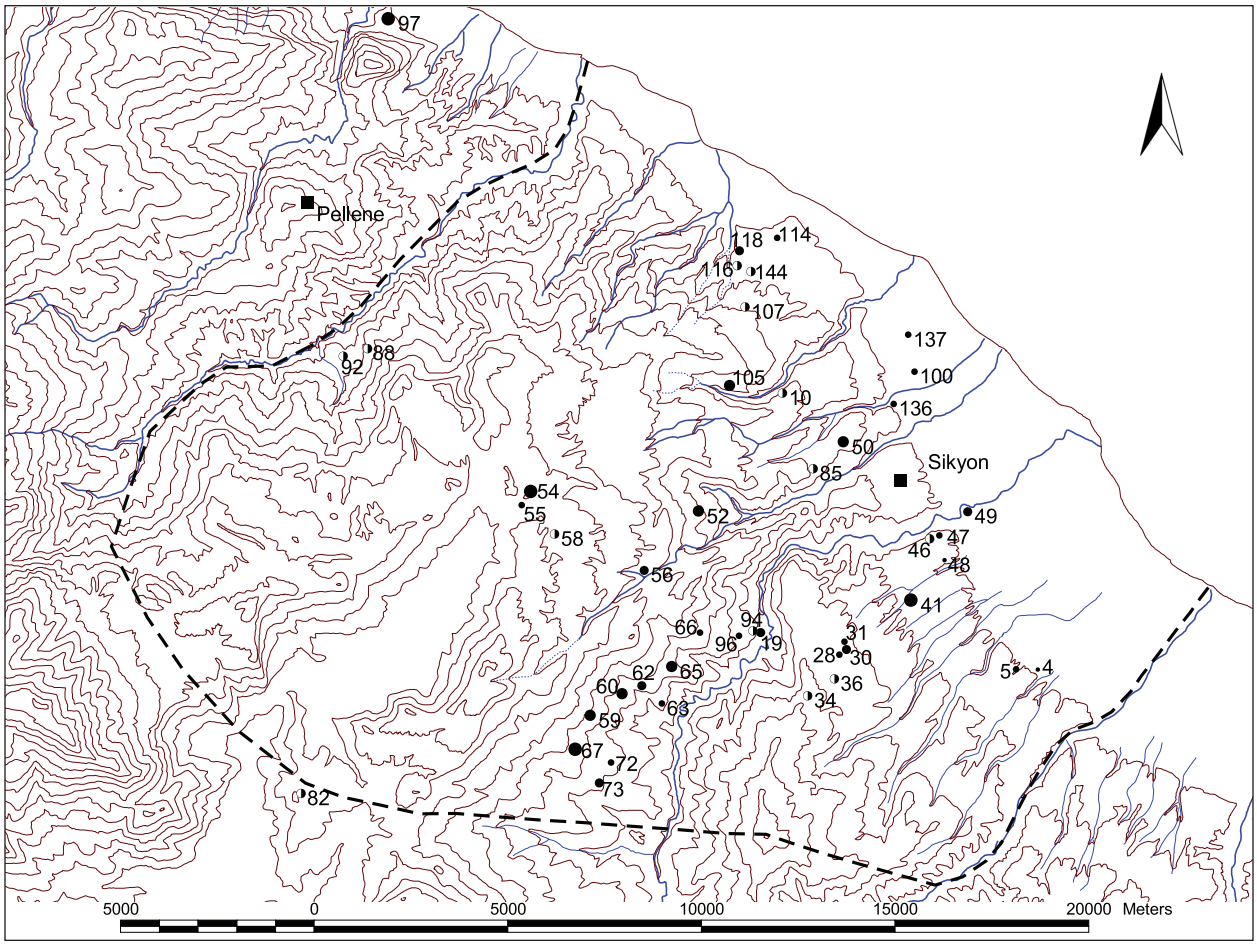


Figure 5.27. Map of Classical sites

Large Sites

At six Classical sites,[130] including the sanctuary of Titane, artifacts are densely scattered over large areas that exceed 20,000 m^2 in size (Figs. 5.29, 5.30). These six sites are located far from the city, four of them closer to the southern borders of the state. In addition to the ceramic material, they all include architectural remains, such as buildings, retaining walls, or dislocated stone blocks. With the exception of Titane, which was a sanctuary, all of the sites were certainly large villages.[131]

The hill of Thekriza (HS-54) above the valley of Kaisari, ca. 860 masl, shows signs of Classical habitation across almost its entire surface of ca. 54,000 m^2 (Fig. 5.31). It is the most sizable settlement of the Classical period identified in the course of the survey. The finds include numerous glazed roof tiles made of fine clay, some coarse ware, many pithos fragments, conical loomweights, and an unusually large number of fine black-glazed sherds from skyphoi, cups, and kotylai. At least one cup fragment is imported, probably from Attica. A particular area yielded miniature vases betraying its sacred function. We were expecting to find a sanctuary somewhere in the area, because of the discovery here in the 1930s of a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of members of a *hestiatorion* in the Sikyonian dialect and 5th-century lettering.[132] Elsewhere on the site we

130. HS-54, HS-59, HS-60, HS-67, HS-97, HS-105.

131. For a description of HS-67 (Titane), see pp. 389–398; for HS-97 (possibly Donoussa), see pp. 324–325; and for HS-105 (possibly Ephyra), see pp. 322–323.

132. On this *hestiatorion,* see below, pp. 405–408.

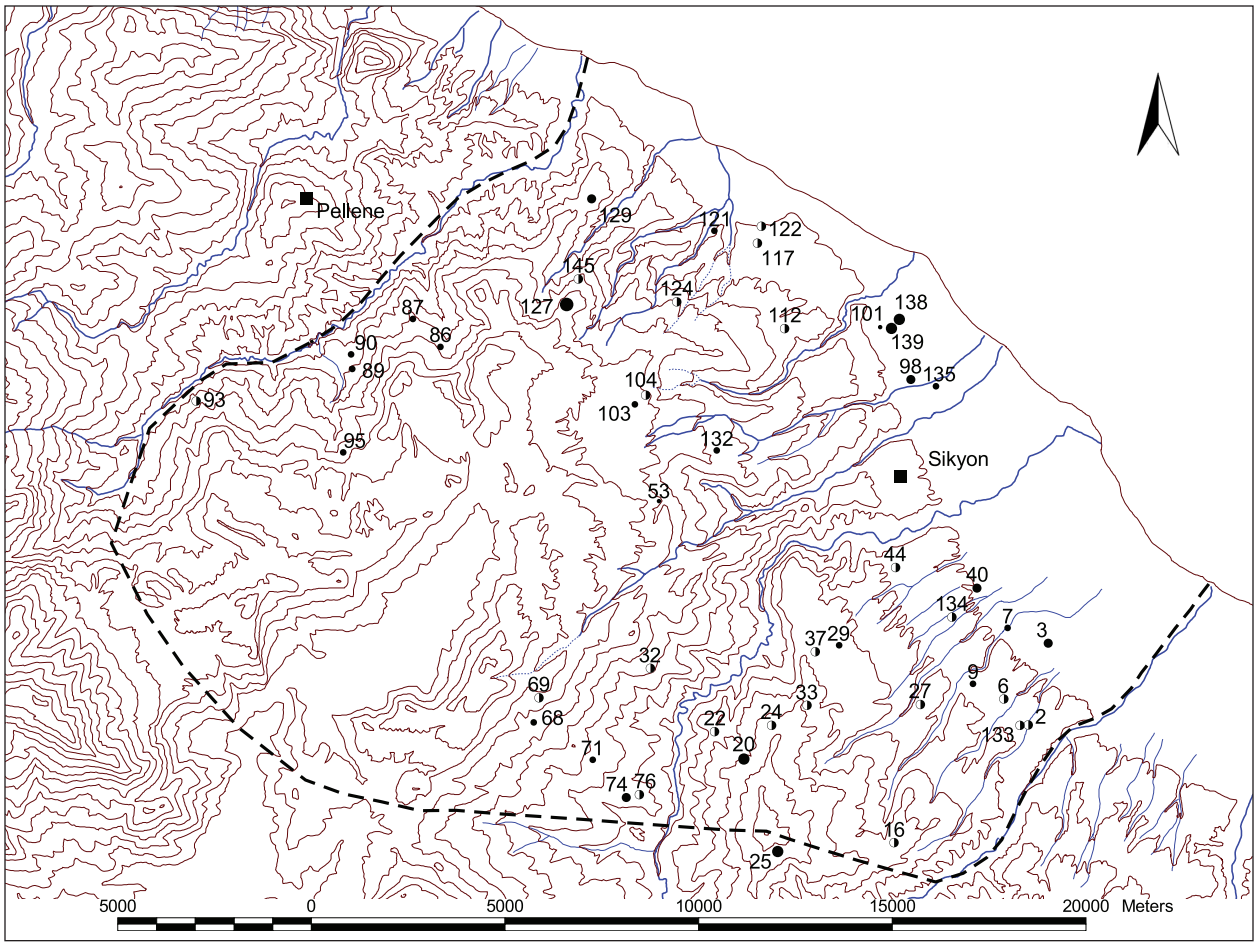


Figure 5.28. Map of sites broadly dated between the Archaic and the Early Hellenistic periods

mapped traces of two, possibly three, monumental buildings, segments of three retaining walls, and many scattered ashlar blocks (Fig. 5.32). Clearly the site of Thekriza was an important settlement in Classical times, and it is perhaps the only one among our sites that would qualify as a town. Our surface exploration indicates monumental building activity on the east side of the settlement, the existence of a sanctuary close to the northeast corner, and a defensive tower on the southwest corner of the plateau (DS-10), clearly separated from the settlement. Bulldozing and excessive plowing of this important site over the last decade have dislocated and scattered numerous stone blocks; the site is in urgent need of protection.

Two of the sizable sites with primarily Classical material (HS-59, HS-60) are located in the vicinity of Titane, both laid out on slopes facing toward the Asopos River valley. Segments of monumental masonry, *membra disiecta,* and large quantities of glazed tiles are present on these sites as well, along with a dense scatter of sherds from cooking, storage, and table ware, pithos fragments, and loomweights. At Gourkioni (HS-59), ca. 20,000 m^2 in size, we observed two monumental terrace walls, more of which must have existed but are now concealed by thick vegetation (Figs. 5.33, 5.34). The existence of such walls was a *sine qua non* for settlements built on a slope. Agios Dimitrios (HS-60), some 970 m to the northeast of Gourkioni and 28,000 m^2 in size, certainly included a



Figure 5.29. Classical artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3

sanctuary, judging by the number of miniature vases and architectural remains concentrated in one area. Kriepepa 1 (HS-65), below the village of Paradeisi, is also laid out on a hillside overlooking the Asopos River. The site covers an area of 20,000 m^2, and has a sizable Classical component; we observed many ashlar blocks reused in early modern terraces. Unlike all the rather densely populated Classical sites described above, Classical artifacts at Agia Aikaterini of Krinai (HS-41) were thinly spread over an area of ca. 50,000 m^2, with a few clusters of artifacts and ashlar blocks observed. The site probably represents a settlement of a dispersed nature.

In addition to these, four more large sites ranging in size between 20,000 and 30,000 m^2 yielded material evidence that could be broadly dated between the Archaic and the Early Hellenistic period (HS-20, HS-101, HS-127, HS-138). Typical finds in these sites include black-glazed body sherds, ashlar blocks, and glazed Lakonian tiles. Pre-Roman artifacts represent most or at least a significant part of the material at three of these large sites (HS-101, HS-127, HS-138), but the ceramic diffusion here is low to moderate.

Medium Sites

In addition to these large sites, we mapped a number of medium-size sites ranging from 8,000 to 20,000 m^2. Four we recognized as certainly Classical

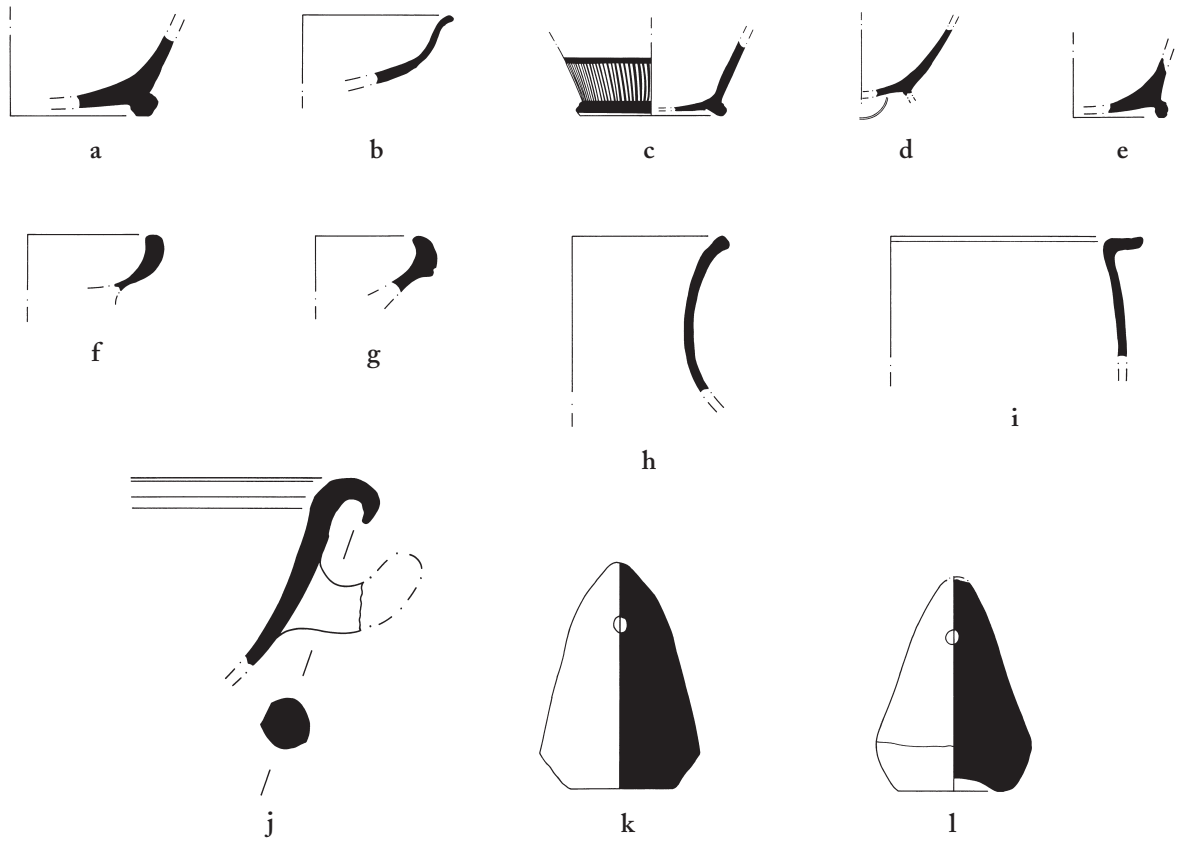


Figure 5.30. Classical artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) HS-144. Black-glazed skyphos. Second half of 5th century. Torus ring foot and lower wall. P.H. 0.033; p.Diam. (base) 0.11 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Red glaze on interior.
(b) HS-118. Bowl. 5th or 4th century. Shallow flaring body curving up to outturned rim. S-shaped profile. P.H. 0.03; est. Diam. (rim) 0.12 m. 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown). Black glaze on interior and exterior.
(c) HS-118. Kotyle. 5th century. Flaring ring foot and straight, flaring wall. P.H. 0.028; est. Diam. (base) 0.06 m. 10YR 8/3 (very pale brown). Band with rays on lower body.
(d) HS-4. Kotyle. Second half of 5th century. Foot and slightly convex wall. P.H. 0.03 m. 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Black glaze on interior, semiglazed on exterior.
(e) HS-52. Black glazed skyphos. 4th century. Torus ring foot and steep wall. P.H. 0.025; est. Diam. (base) 0.07 m. 10YR 7/3 (very pale brown). Unglazed.
(f) HS-97. Black glazed saucer. Attic. Inturned, thickened lip. P.H. 0.02; est. Diam. (rim) 0.11 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow).
(g) HS-28. Black glazed convex-concave saucer. Attic. Inturned, outward-thickened rim. P.H. 0.02; est. Diam. (rim) 0.09 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow).
(h) HS-118. Round-mouth oinochoe. Concave neck and everted lip. P.H. 0.065; est. Diam. (rim) 0.12 m. 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown).
(i) HS-88. Stew pot. Slightly convex wall and horizontal rim. P.H. 0.05; est. Diam. (rim) 0.20 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(j) HS-118. Lekane. 5th–4th century. Convex wall, beginning of horizontal, round handle bent upward, and hooked rim. P.H. 0.08; est. Diam. (rim) 0.37 m. 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow). Traces of black slip on interior and exterior.
(k) HS-54. Loomweight. Conical with straight bottom and high beveling. H. 0.09; Diam. (base) 0.042 m. 2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow). Wt. 0.277 kg.
(l) HS-97. Loomweight. Conical with concave base and high beveling. H. 0.85; Diam. (base) 0.042 m. 2.5Y 8/4 (pale yellow). Wt. 0.202 kg.

(HS-30, HS-56, HS-62, HS-73); the other two contain artifacts that were assigned generally between the Archaic and the Early Hellenistic periods (HS-25, HS-129). The one site with a predominant Classical phase (HS-30) showed a low-density scatter of mostly plain pottery, but also included some fine ware (from skyphoi and kotylai) and architectural



Figure 5.31. The hill of Thekriza (HS-54), the largest Classical settlement identified in the survey, looking north



Figure 5.32. Building foundations at Thekriza (HS-54), looking southeast

fragments from a Doric temple. The large conglomerate *trapetum,* 1.7 m in diameter, observed in situ, as well as the pithos fragments reported from the surrounding area, attest to the agricultural economy of the resident community. This hamlet was surrounded by smaller sites (HS-28, HS-29, HS-31) located within a 200 m radius.

Small Sites

The artifact density at 35 small-scale sites, from 1,000 to 8,000 m^2 in size, ranged from very low to moderate. Seventeen of these sites were positively identified as Classical, the rest broadly dated to the pre-Roman period.[133] The average size of the 13 sites with predominantly Classical and pre-Roman material is ca. 3,100 m^2.[134] They typically show Lakonian tile fragments of small thickness (0.012–0.015 m) with black, brown, and red glaze (Corinthian tiles are exceptional), coarse ware with comparatively less fine table ware (mainly skyphoi and kotylai), often ashlar or worked stone blocks and pithos fragments, occasionally amphora fragments, loom-

133. Classical: HS-5, HS-19, HS-28, HS-31, HS-34, HS-47, HS-49, HS-55, HS-63, HS-66, HS-72, HS-96, HS-100, HS-114, HS-118, HS-136, HS-137. Pre-Roman period: HS-3, HS-7, HS-9, HS-29, HS-40, HS-68, HS-71, HS-74, HS-86, HS-87, HS-89, HS-90, HS-95, HS-98, HS-103, HS-121, HS-132, HS-135.

134. HS-5, HS-9, HS-28, HS-29, HS-31, HS-34, HS-47, HS-72, HS-100, HS-118, HS-135, HS-136, HS-137.



Figure 5.33. The site of Gourkioni of Gonoussa (HS-59), looking northwest; the location of the fort of Kastro (DS-3) is indicated with an arrow.



Figure 5.34. Ancient retaining wall at Gourkioni (HS-59); note the incorporation of the boulder into the structure.

weights, and agricultural implements such as millstones and grinders. The scattered ashlar blocks often encountered at these sites indicate the time and energy put into building these "farmsteads," and show that they were not meant for temporary use.

Of all of these small-scale sites, only Dendro (HS-34) near the village of Ellinochori shows above surface the outline of a rectangular building (Fig. 5.35). The northern part was destroyed when the surface was cleared for cultivation, but the remaining structure is internally divided by three cross-walls, and includes a square, towerlike room near the southeast corner (Fig. 5.36). The south wall of the building is 16.4 m long, and the square room measures 3.1 × 3.6 m. The inner cross-walls are only partially preserved. The irregular trapezoidal blocks are of marly whitish conglomerate that was quarried locally. There is no trace of mortar and tile

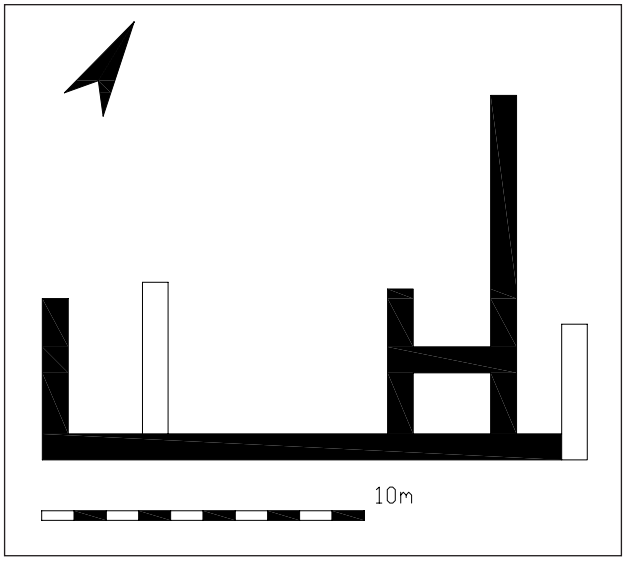


Figure 5.35. Plan of the visible remains at Dendro of Ellinochori (HS-34)



Figure 5.36. The tower of the complex of Dendro (HS-34), looking northeast; Petros Tsioungos, the owner of the field, stands inside the tower.

fragment masonry in the joints of the blocks. Lakonian roof tiles with brown, red, and orange glaze, a few Classical black- and brown-glazed sherds, a fragment of a millstone, a pithos fragment with relief decoration, and one conical loomweight of the early 5th century were observed in the vicinity. With part of the structure destroyed and only traces of its foundations visible, it is difficult to determine the original aspect of the building. The small square room near the corner could be the foundations of a tower, which would suggest that the remains belong to a Classical farmstead. *Pyrgoi* were almost standard components of farmsteads, together with the *oikia* and an inner courtyard (αὐλή). Since part of the complex, perhaps a major part of it, is destroyed, we cannot be sure where the αὐλή was, if indeed there was one. Furthermore, plans of ancient farmhouses from the



Figure 5.37. Pile of pithos and tile fragments at Rapsomati (HS-58)

Greek countryside do not show a standard location for the three different loci within the complex, particularly for the tower, which can be found anywhere inside or outside the complex. In short, the visible arrangement of the extant installation leaves little doubt concerning its function as a single farmstead. The associated ceramic scatter shows a low to moderate density, which is the case for the majority of the small sites that we have recorded, most of which may also represent ancient "farmsteads."

Very Small Sites and Sites of Indeterminate Size

Some even smaller sites, that is, those with an area less than 1,000 m^2, and sites for which we could not calculate the area, can be best interpreted as belonging to or being associated with ancient *oikoi* in the countryside. We recorded 37 such sites,[135] of which only 14 were identified as definitely Classical. Twenty-two of these sites had material only or mainly from the Classical and pre-Roman period.[136] At least three of these sites (HS-32, HS-36, HS-144) were burials: in the first case the actual rock-cut cist grave is extant, and in the other two we observed a high ratio of fine ware over a tiny, distinct area. In the remaining cases, the typical finds were no different from those at our small sites, with the marked difference that in many of these we encounter only a few tiles and a handful of sherds. If these sites are also remnants of "farmsteads," why is the density scatter much thinner than that of the previous group? I suggest that these sites represent something smaller than what we would call a "farmstead" today, but would still fall under the generic concept of a country *oikos.* Perhaps these fieldhouses would have been only seasonally occupied, and some may even have been temporary shelters and/or simple storage sheds. This would explain the second characteristic of this group of sites, that is, the exceptional number of storage vessels, notably pithoi and amphoras, among the finds (Fig. 5.37).[137]

135. Definitely Classical: HS-4, HS-10, HS-36, HS-46, HS-48, HS-58, HS-82, HS-85, HS-88, HS-92, HS-94, HS-116, HS-107, HS-144. Probably Classical: HS-2, HS-6, HS-16, HS-22, HS-24, HS-27, HS-32, HS-33, HS-37, HS-44, HS-53, HS-69, HS-76, HS-93, HS-104, HS-112, HS-117, HS-122, HS-124, HS-133, HS-134, HS-139, HS-145.

136. HS-10, HS-36, HS-58, HS-82, HS-85, HS-144; HS-22, HS-27, HS-32, HS-33, HS-37, HS-44, HS-69, HS-76, HS-93, HS-112, HS-117, HS-122, HS-124, HS-133, HS-134, HS-145.

137. See, e.g., HS-10, HS-22, HS-37, HS-46, HS-58, HS-69, HS-82, HS-133.

Possible Functions of the Oikoi

Three questions arise regarding the *oikoi* that we have proposed for most of our small and very small sites: (1) how far apart were they, (2) who lived in them, and (3) for what purpose? We cannot answer the first question, since our survey did not cover any large area intensively, and therefore certainly missed many small sites. We do know, though, that at least three almost flat areas—the plateau of Ellinochori, the so-called Sesia of Titane, and the plateau of Pasio—supported a number of single fieldhouses.[138]

Concerning their occupants, the historians Theopompos (4th century B.C.) and Menaichmos (4th or 3rd century B.C.) referred to the Sikyonian κατωνακοφόροι, comparing them to the Spartan ἐπεύνακτοι (Ath. 6.271d). Κατωνακοφόροι literally means "the ones wearing the κατωνάκη," a coarse frock with a border of sheepskin, whereas ἐπεύνακτοι was the name applied to the Spartan helots who were adopted into their masters' places during the Messenian Wars and given citizenship.[139] On the basis of the above, I understand the word κατωνακοφόροι as denoting a class of serfs, laboring in the fields and businesses of their lords, and equivalent to the κολλίγοι of early modern Greece.[140] The comparison of κατωνακοφόροι with ἐπεύνακτοι suggests that the two groups were contemporaneous, and that the former are to be associated with the Archaic tyranny of Sikyon. Yet a group of enfranchised slaves probably appeared in Sikyon during Euphron's tyranny in the 360s. The man who killed the tyrant, in an attempt to justify his act, said among other things that Euphron δούλους μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει (Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.8). The clause can be translated in two ways: (1) "[Euphron] enslaved not only free men but also his own fellow-citizens," and (2) "[Euphron] did not merely free slaves, he made them citizens." David Whitehead (1980) opted for the second reading, concluding that the *douloi* in question were chattel-slaves. Paul Cartledge (1980) replied that these *douloi* were not necessarily chattel-slaves, but may have included a group of intermediate status, given that "Euphron had a predecessor (Dionysios I of Syracuse) and an immediate successor (Klearchos of Herakleia Pontica) in the tyrannical technique of liberating *douloi* of this intermediate status."[141] Cartledge opts for the first reading of Xenophon's passage and suggests that "Euphron may have been responsible for the final disappearance of Sikyonian *korynephoroi* [i.e., κατωνακοφόροι]."[142] Likewise, I think it possible that in 4th-century B.C. Sikyon there was still a segment of the population μεταξύ ελευθέρων καὶ

138. At Megali Lakka of Ellinochori, these "houses" were found to be less than 200 m apart, which resembles the case of farm sites in the Berbati-Limnes area: Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 279.

139. See the definition of the terms in LSJ, and the discussion in *FGrH* IID, pp. 382–383.

140. On the other hand, Pollux (3.83) and Stephanos of Byzantion (s.v. Χίος) refer to the same group of people as κορυνηφόροι, literally, "club bearers." Most likely, both authors confused κατωνακοφόροι and κορυνηφόροι, the latter being the bodyguards of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos. See Whitehead 1981, later endorsed by Lotze 1985, pp. 24–25; cf. de Libero 1996, pp. 189–193.

141. Cartledge 1980, p. 210.

142. Cartledge 1980, p. 210.



Figure 5.38. Retaining wall at Paliochori of Stylia (HS-86), looking southwest

δούλων.[143] These dependent farm laborers would presumably live out in the country, in some cases throughout the year, in other cases for only part of the year, in modest and minimally equipped dwellings.

Judging by the associated finds (millstones, mortars, storage vessels, etc.), the majority of the *oikoi* represented by the last two categories of sites (small and very small) must have been attached to arable fields. This was probably the case with sites located at lower elevations and in more or less flat areas. Thirty-one sites fall into this category; another 23 sites spread on gentle slopes, and the remaining seven were on slopes with higher gradient.[144] The relatively few small sites on sloped ground and/or high elevations, such as Dardiza and Patima below Stimanga (HS-22, HS-27), Rapsomati above Kryoneri (HS-58), and Tsouka 1 and 2 above Titane (HS-68, HS-69) may have involved activities other than agricultural. Pastoralism immediately comes to mind, although these two activities are not mutually exclusive. Retaining walls such as the ones found at Dardiza (HS-22) and Paliochori (HS-86; Fig. 5.38) can hardly be associated with just pastoral activity. Most likely they represent ancient terraces, which, like early modern terraces, facilitated agriculture by retaining the soil and its moisture.

143. The definition belongs to Pollux 3.83: μεταξὺ δ' ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων εἵλωτες, καὶ Θετταλῶν πενέσται, καὶ Κρητῶν κλαρῶται καὶ μνωῖται καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν δωροφόροι, καὶ Ἀργείων γυμνῆτες, καὶ Σικυωνίων κορυνηφόροι. On the existence of a "half-free" class of people, see Lotze 1959, pp. 54–55 (on Sikyon); Finley 1963–1964; Lotze 1985. Finley (1963–1964, p. 245) sees a "shift among Greeks and Romans from reliance on the half-free within to reliance on chattel-slaves from outside." On the various groups between free men and slaves, see Ehrenberg 1969, pp. 33–34. On the *penestai* of Thessaly and their relationship to Spartan helots, see Ducat 1994, who sees a great resemblance in the status of the two groups.

144. Flat areas: HS-3, HS-5, HS-7, HS-10, HS-28, HS-29, HS-31, HS-32, HS-46, HS-47, HS-48, HS-49, HS-53, HS-55, HS-71, HS-74, HS-85, HS-89, HS-95, HS-98, HS-100, HS-114, HS-117, HS-118, HS-122, HS-124, HS-133, HS-134, HS-136, HS-137, HS-139. Gentle slopes: HS-2, HS-4, HS-9, HS-16, HS-19, HS-24, HS-33, HS-34, HS-36, HS-37, HS-44, HS-63, HS-66, HS-72, HS-76, HS-82, HS-90, HS-94, HS-103, HS-112, HS-116, HS-135, HS-145. Steeper slopes: HS-86, HS-87, HS-88, HS-92, HS-93, HS-121, HS-144.

Literary Evidence

Strabo and Pausanias preserve the names of three ancient Sikyonian settlements of the Classical period: Phoibia or Bouphia, Ephyra, and Plataiai.

Phoibia/Bouphia

The *polisma* of Phoibia was captured by Epaminondas in the course of one of his invasions into the Peloponnese. The event is mentioned by Pausanias among other deeds of the Theban leader: πόλισμα οὖν ἑλὼν [Epaminondas] Σικυωνίων Φοιβίαν, ἔνθα ἦσαν τὸ πολὺ οἱ Βοιώτιοι φυγάδες συνηγμένοι, ἀφίησι τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἄλλην σφίσιν ἣν ἔτυχε πατρίδα ἐπονομάζων ἑκάστῳ.[145] Stephanos of Byzantion lists the Sikyonian *polisma,* but also a *kome* named Bouphia, the latter being mentioned in Book 23 of Ephoros:

> Φοιβία· πόλισμα Σικυωνίων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Φοίβιος ἢ Φοιβιανός.
> Βουφία· κώμη τῆς Σικυωνίας. Ἔφορος ⟨κγ⟩. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βουφιεύς.[146]

Meyer convincingly argued that the Phoibia of Pausanias and the Bouphia of Ephoros are one and the same, since Book 23 of Ephoros manifestly deals with the second expedition of the Theban leader in 368 B.C.[147] The two versions reflect the typical phenomenon of metathesis of consonants, while the form Βου- instead of Βοι- may be best explained by the influence of the word for "cow" (βοῦς).[148]

Locating this town or village is a more arduous task. Ludwig Ross suggested that Phoibia must have been located near the road from Sikyon to Mantineia via the Phliasian valley, because of the order of events in Pausanias, and the testimony of Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.5.6–7) that Epaminondas had stopped at Nemea before moving on to Mantineia.[149] Accordingly, Ross identified remains of a small fort at Palaikastro of Koutsi (marked as Κάστρο on the 1:50,000 maps of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service), a peak of the Trikaranon range to the south of Thyamia, as the *polisma* in question.[150] Meyer rightly discarded the suggestion on the grounds that Pausanias (9.15) mentions events from different years, and that Palaikastro lies outside Sikyonia and within Phliasian territory. Indeed, it is clear that Pausanias summarized in four consecutive sentences the glorious course of Epaminondas's career, from his reelection as *boiotarchos* in 368 to his death in the plain of Mantineia in 362. Since the chronological context of the corresponding book of Ephoros firmly sets the capture of Phoibia/Bouphia among the events of 368, there is no reason to place the *kome* along a road to Nemea and Mantineia. It could have been anywhere within the territory of Sikyon. In the beginning of this section, I commented on the largest Classical site identified by our survey, namely Thekriza (HS-54), situated above the road from Sikyon to Stymphalos. It is conceivable that this *polisma*-size settlement, with a dense scatter of artifacts over ca. 54,000 m^2, was the ancient Φοιβία.

Ephyra

The village of Ephyra is mentioned by Strabo as being located near the Selleeis River: ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἔφυρα πλησίον κώμη (8.3.5). The Sikyonian Ephyra is also reported by Eustathios,

145. Paus. 9.15.4. The word συνηγμένοι is restored in the Teubner edition (ed. F. Spiro, Leipzig 1903).

146. *FGrH* 70 F81.

147. *RE* XXXIX, 1941, col. 346, s.v. Phoibia (E. Meyer). For the chronology of fragments 81 and 82 of Ephoros, see *FGrH* IIC, p. 59.

148. I thank Leslie Threatte for this suggestion.

149. Ross 1941, p. 40.

150. For the remains at Kastro of Koutsi, see above, pp. 122–123.

who distinguished it from an Aitolian *kome* of the same name: ἔστι δέ, φησί, καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἔφυρα κώμη· καὶ Αἰτωλικὴ δέ ἐστι κώμη Ἔφυρα.[151] The geographical ties between Ephyra and the Selleeis are not conclusive regarding the location of the *kome,* since the river has not been securely identified. Nonetheless, the *kome* is traditionally placed to the west of Sikyon, since the Selleeis was probably one of the rivers to the west of the Helisson.[152] Candidate sites for the village have been suggested by Ross, Curtius, Meyer, and Pharaklas.

Ross, having set out from Sikyon to Trikala along the mountain route, crossed the Helisson River and rode along the left bank of a branch of the Helisson, toward the village of Souli. About 40 minutes from Sikyon, and 20 minutes to the southeast of Souli, on a height south and above the branch of the Helisson, Ross observed the sizable remains of an ancient site, reduced to foundations and square blocks, and tentatively identified it as the *kome* Ephyra:

> Hier fand ich nach etwa vierzig Minuten von Sikyon, und noch zwanzig Minuten südöstlich von Suli, auf einem hohen Punkte südlich über der Schlucht des erwähnten Bergbaches, die nicht unansehnlichen Spuren einer alten Ortschaft, bestehend in Fundamenten und zerstreuten Quadern.[153]

A few years later Curtius confirmed the existence of the remains seen by Ross, and agreed with the hypothesis that this may have been Ephyra:

> Von einem alten Bergwege, der von Sikyon nach Pellene führte, scheinen sich unterhalb Suli Spuren zu finden. . . . Zwanzig Minuten vor demselben [i.e., Souli] erhebt sich südlich von der Schlucht eines von Suli herabkommenden Bachs ein Gipfel, welcher durch die nicht unbedeutenden Spuren einer alten sikyonischen Ortschaft ausgezeichnet ist.[154]

Meyer described a polygonal terrace wall 20 minutes from Souli at a place called "Gavuli."[155] The wall, 50 m long and 2 m high, looked modern, but Meyer raised the possibility that the blocks might have come from the site reported by Ross and Curtius. I inquired about the toponym "Gavuli," but it was unknown to the inhabitants of Souli.

The general area to the south of Souli is today called Ρακίτιζα, and the site referred to by the travelers is locally known as Επισκοπή; the site consists of a small elevated platform to the southwest and above the church of Agios Nikolaos (HS-53). Pharaklas visited the site, and reported the existence of ancient stones reused in modern rubble constructions, a southern wall "which most likely was the wall of a city," and Classical pottery in the vicinity.[156] Ginette Gauvin paid a quick visit to the site in June 1981, and produced a sketch of the platform.[157] She described a stretch of a dry-rubble

151. Eust. ad *Il.* 2.603 (1.465.20–21 van der Valk); see also Eust. ad *Od.* 1.260 (1.56.51–52 van der Valk).
152. See above, p. 14.
153. Ross 1841, pp. 55–57.
154. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, pp. 498–499.
155. Meyer 1939, p. 10.
156. Pharaklas 1971, site 131 (app. II, p. 14).
157. Gauvin 1987, fig. 5.4.



Figure 5.39. Segment of the fortification wall of Rakitiza (HS-53), looking northeast

wall on the southern side of the site, a terrace wall on the eastern side, and two ruined structures on the plateau, perhaps rectangular in shape and of unknown function.[158] Moreover, Gauvin reported the existence of graves, perhaps Classical or Hellenistic, to the north of the platform.

The area has been greatly disturbed since the early 1980s by bulldozing and plowing. Our survey of the site revealed traces of the fortification wall mentioned by Pharaklas on the south side of the summit, but neither the rectangular structures nor the eastern terrace wall drawn by Gauvin (Fig. 5.39).[159] We were therefore surprised to find two ancient terrace walls, on the south slope of this hill, and the corner of a structure built of ashlar masonry on one of the terraces, all previously unreported. These monumental remains suggest that Rakitiza must have been an important site, certainly more than an isolated farmstead. On the other hand, the site is not exactly by a river, let alone the Selleeis, which means that it is not a candidate for ancient Ephyra.

More suitable candidates seem to be Tsakriza 1 of Souli (HS-50), Paliampela of Lalioti (HS-105), and Kokkinies 1 and 3 of Pasio (HS-101, HS-138). Tsakriza, an elevated plateau above the coastal plain and between the

158. Gauvin 1987, p. 79. Gauvin's description of the site is, in my view, the only contribution she makes in her article. The section on the interpretation of the remains and their dating according to historical data is unnecessarily long and erroneous. Gauvin spends three pages talking about the hostilities involving Phlious, Argos, and Sikyon between 369 and 366, and then tries to convince us that when the Athenian general Chares, in a state of emergency, rushed from Phlious to Pellene, secretly from the Sikyonians, he chose to go on a long loop by advancing northward through Sikyonian territory and past Rakitiza to Aristonautai, the harbor of Pellene, in order to turn back toward the south and reach the Achaian town (p. 85). According to Gauvin, this and similar events convinced the Sikyonians of the insufficiency of their defensive system and dictated the erection of small installations at strategic points, such as Rakitiza (p. 86). I think that her interpretation of the route of Chares is very unlikely given the historical circumstances and the topography of the region. I suggest a reconstruction of the itinerary followed by Chares in Chapter 3, where I describe a road that bypasses Sikyonia and leads almost directly from Phlious to Pellene (see above, pp. 167–172).

159. The only terrace wall we did see along the east side of the hill consists of dry rubble, and shows no sign of antiquity.

Helisson and Kyrillou rivers, supported a village-size settlement (26,000 m^2). Our survey revealed predominant Roman and Late Roman phases and some pottery and tiles dating to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[160] Paliampela of Lalioti is an equally large site (ca. 24,000 m^2) spreading over an uneven plateau along the west bank of the Seliandros River. Meyer and Pharaklas reported traces of buildings and graves in this location, as well as Classical sherds.[161] Our survey was greatly impeded by the low visibility in the fallow fields that cover most of the site today. In spite of this, we mapped a corner of a building, scattered conglomerate blocks, roof tiles, and some Classical and Late Roman pottery. Finally, Kokkinies 1 and 3 of Pasio both showed dispersed scatters of pre-Roman and Late Roman material over large areas (at least 20,000 m^2 each) and probably represent nonnucleated types of settlements. Of the four sites mentioned above, I would rank Tsakriza 1 (HS-50) and Paliampela (HS-105) as the most likely candidates for the κώμη Ephyra.

Plataiai

A Sikyonian "deme" of Plataiai, home of the poet Mnasakles, is mentioned by Strabo after he describes the Boiotian town with the Asopos River flowing beside it: εἴρηται δ' ὅτι παραρρεῖ τὰς Πλαταιὰς ὁ Ἀσωπός [referring to Thebes]. . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σικυωνίᾳ δῆμος Πλαταιαί, ὅθενπερ ἦν Μνασάλκης ὁ ποιητής· Μνασάκλεος τὸ μνῶμα τῶ Πλαταιάδα.[162] This last sentence, in Doric dialect, is clearly a quotation from the gravestone of the poet, who lived in the 3rd century B.C. We do not know where Strabo saw the gravestone of Mnasakles, and the geographer does not mention Plataiai in his description of the Sikyonian *chora.* Another problem with this passage is that the term *demos*, here applied to Plataiai, is not used to describe any other settlement of Sikyonia. The words *demos* and *kome* were used to describe settlements without a citadel, and were juxtaposed with *polis*.[163] Unlike *komai, demoi* are not attested for any of the cities of the Dorian Peloponnese. In Athens, κῶμαι seem to have been pre-Kleisthenic communities of territorial basis, which were later replaced by the Kleisthenic δῆμοι.[164] Are we to suppose that a reform along similar lines took place in Sikyon sometime after the fall of the tyranny, or is the use of the term *demos* by Strabo in the case of Sikyonian Plataiai simply a mistake? Hansen convincingly argues that *demos* does not mean "village" but rather "municipality," and that "most *demoi* were undoubtedly centered on a village."[165] It is possible that in our case too, and for whatever reason, Strabo referred to Plataiai as a civic subdivision rather than a territorial unit.

Unfortunately, we hear nothing more about Plataiai and its location, but on the basis of a possible Theban connection, Curtius suggested that the deme must be placed in a flat area in the Asopos valley, perhaps opposite the city of Sikyon.[166] There are two such locations east of the Asopos River: one is the coastal plain to the west of the village of Velo, and the other opens up to the south of the Sikyonian plateau, and to the west of Ellinochori (the general area is known as Megali Lakka, literally, "big basin"). Both areas show traces of habitation in the pre-Roman period. The site of Marmara (HS-49), which extends along the east bank of the Asopos River, yielded abundant material during the construction of the highway to Patras. The

160. Pharaklas found Archaic and Classical sherds on this site: Pharaklas 1971, site 14 in app. II, p. 2.

161. Meyer 1939, pp. 6–7; Pharaklas 1971, site 71 in app. II, p. 10.

162. Strabo 9.2.31. See also Eust. ad *Il.* 2.504 (1.411.25–26 van der Valk): ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιος δῆμος Πλαταιαί.

163. See Sakellariou 1989, p. 133.

164. Several of these *komai,* however, survived into the 4th century thanks to their religious ties. Lambert estimates that as many as 70 *komai* existed in the second half of the 4th century, "apparently semi-independent sub-communities in the territory of large demes such as Aphidna": Lambert 2000, p. 74; see also Lambert 1997, pp. 220–221, and *SEG* XLVIII 1–2.

165. Hansen 2004, pp. 75–76.

166. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 505.

fine pottery kept in storage at the Sikyon Museum—including skyphoi, kotylai, and kylix fragments—dates mostly from the second half of the 5th century B.C. and must come primarily from graves. Sedimentation of the plain accounts for the scarcity of surface artifacts in the area today. Megali Lakka, on the other hand, is located on higher and more easily defensible ground (ca. 350 masl). The area is roughly triangular in shape with its apex looking toward the Asopos, and comprises ca. 5 km^2. It is not mentioned by either Meyer or Pharaklas, nor was it visited by early travelers. Yet it has considerable archaeological remains, centered around Livadia. In an area of ca. 7 ha we mapped four sites (HS-28 thru HS-31), the largest spreading over 8,000 m^2 (HS-30), and the smallest over 1,300 m (HS-28). Livadia 3 (HS-30), locally known as "Stavrodromi" precisely because it is situated at a crossroads, has yielded a wide variety of archaeological remains: fragments of pottery, tiles, and pithoi; a large *trapetum* of a millstone, 1.7 m in diameter; architectural elements from a Doric temple; and a marble relief of a satyr. At HS-31, less than 150 m to the north of Stavrodromi, we found traces of a pebble mosaic floor, fragments of a Classical pithos with relief decoration, a loomweight, and plain and fine wares, including an Early Hellenistic kantharos base. Terracotta pipes brought water to this site, as well as to HS-28, ca. 150 m southwest of Stavrodromi. The proximity of these sites, along with the kinds of material found at them, indicate that they may all have been part of a large village of dispersed character, which included a sanctuary—probably the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore mentioned by Pausanias.[167] The material evidence suggests that this community prospered in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, and continued to exist until Late Roman times. Its location and dates make it a suitable candidate for being the deme of Plataiai.

Donoussa

The existence of a *polisma* named Donoussa is attested by Pausanias, who places it between Aigeira and Pellene (7.26.13). The traveler calls the town "subject to the Sikyonians," adding that it was destroyed by them. We have seen already that he also associates this *polisma* with the Homeric "lofty Gonoessa," and that some scholars placed Donoussa on the conspicuous and pointed hill of Panagia Koryphes, ca. 5,300 m west of the Sythas River.[168] On the northern side of the hill, at a place called Taratses (Ταράτσες meaning "terraces"; HS-97), Stavros Koutivas reported foundations of a wall in trapezoidal masonry, and Nikolaos Verdelis's excavations revealed parts of three buildings from the 5th and 4th centuries, and of three others that were most likely used as tanks or fountains.[169] Verdelis carried out the excavation in the spring of 1959 and submitted a report to the Ministry of Education afterward.[170] This report, or anything related to the results of the excavation, has never been published, but it was consulted by Koutivas and summarized as follows in his *Ἱστορικὰ τοῦ Ξυλοκάστρου:*

> Στὴν πρόχειρη τούτη ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα ἀνεκαλύφθηκαν τμήματα τριῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, τὰ δύο τῶν ὁποίων ἀνήκουν στὸν 4ον π.Χ. καὶ τὸ τρίτο στὸν 5ον π.Χ. αἱ. σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν μορφὴ δωρικοῦ κιονοκράνου ποὺ βρέθηκε στὰ θεμέλια τούτου. Στὸ ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ

167. See below, pp. 387–388.

168. See above, pp. 302–303.

169. Koutivas 1962, p. 35.

170. The report of Verdelis, submitted on October 22, 1959, was entitled "Περὶ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων τῆς διεξαχθείσης ἀνασκαφικῆς ἐρεύνης εἰς Καμάριον Κορινθίας."



Figure 5.40. Step-like retaining walls at Taratses of Kamari (HS-97), looking west

> δύο πρῶτα κτίσματα, βρέθηκε λίθινος "κουμπαρᾶς," ὅμοιος μὲ τὸ γνωστὸ "κουμπαρᾶ" ποὺ βρίσκεται στὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖο τῆς Κορίνθου. Φαίνεται τὸ κτίσμα θα ἐνωνόταν μὲ κάποιο κοντινὸ ναὸ. Ἐπίσης ἀνεκαλύφθηκε τμῆμα καὶ τριῶν ἄλλων χτισμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα φαίνεται, νὰ τά χρησιμοποιοῦσαν γιὰ δεξαμενές ἢ κρῆνες καὶ ἀνήκουν καὶ αὐτὰ στοὺς κλασσικοὺς χρόνους. Στὸ ἕνα ἀπ' αὐτὰ βρέθηκε ὀχταγωνικὸ δωρικὸ κιονόκρανο, μὲ μικρὲς διαστάσεις. Τὰ ἄλλα δύο συνδέονται μεταξύ τους μὲ ἀγωγὸ καὶ βρίσκονται ἀπέναντι ἀπὸ τὸ στόμιο μιᾶς μεγάλης ὑπόγειας δεξαμενῆς.[171]

The κουμπαρᾶς mentioned in the report must have been a stone offertory box, suggesting that the building in which it was placed was part of a sanctuary.[172] Verdelis concluded that the site must be the Homeric Gonoessa, disagreeing with Leake, who had placed it on the summit of the hill. Yet, he dated the excavated remains from the 5th century B.C. onward.

Since 1959, many things have changed at Taratses (HS-97), with the construction of summer houses and new roads. Nevertheless, we did map some structures still in situ, including strong retaining walls (Fig. 5.40), wells, and cisterns, and we recorded a large number of discarded stone blocks and hundreds of tile fragments with fine-quality glaze. The ceramic scatter was dense, and included a high proportion of fine ware, as well as many conical loomweights, millstone fragments, and stone grinders. The extent of the scatter (over 100,000 m^2) and the periods represented (from the Late Geometric to the Early Hellenistic, with a climax in the Classical period), leave no doubt as to the nature of this settlement: a true town, with its houses, temples, and secular monuments.[173] Given that no other large settlement has thus far been found between the Krios (modern Phonissa) and the Sythas rivers, I would argue that Taratses could indeed be the Achaian Donoussa.[174] Its annexation by the Sikyonians would have allowed them to extend the western boundary of their territory from the Sythas to the Krios River, a distance of 5.6 km.

171. Koutivas 1962, pp. 57–58.

172. For the offertory box found to the northwest of the altar of the Asklepieion at Corinth, see de Waele 1933, p. 428; *Corinth* XIV, pp. 28–29, fig. 6, pl. 8.

173. Surprisingly enough, Pharaklas (1971, site 181, in app. II, p. 16) says almost nothing about this large site.

174. Two other candidate sites, Pitsa and Pyrgos, are further to the west and therefore less likely to be the town annexed by Sikyon; see Rizakis 1995, pp. 223–224.

Koroneia

Koroneia is described by Stephanos of Byzantion as a πόλις Πελοποννήσου [μεταξὺ] Σικυῶνος καὶ Κορίνθου. This "city" is not mentioned by Classical authors, but an inscription from Aigion dating to the late 4th/early 3rd century B.C., and containing the earliest known reference to the boule of the Achaian League, concerns a treaty between the *koinon* and Koroneia.[175] Commentators on the inscription considered the homonymous towns in Boiotia, Phthiotic Achaia, and Messenia unlikely candidates for the Koroneia in question, primarily because of the geographical distance separating Phthiotis from Achaia, and the fact that the Boiotian and Messenian Koroneias lacked independent status.[176] Jakob Larsen concluded that this leaves only the Koroneia between Corinth and Sikyon to be the one involved in the treaty, a view shared by James Wiseman.[177] In addition, Wiseman raises the possibility that Koroneia was in Corinthian territory because there was a *phrourion* of that name in Ambrakia, a territory settled by Corinthian colonists and with close ties to the Corinthia. It is perhaps a Koroneia in the Corinthia, according to Wiseman, that must be understood in the Κορωναιεῖς mentioned in an Achaian inscription among the cities which bestowed honors on Cassander.[178] At the same time, Wiseman acknowledges the disturbing fact that Koroneia is not listed among the towns or villages of the Corinthia by Stephanos.

In short, the evidence for the existence of a town called Koroneia between Sikyon and Corinth is not conclusive. However, if such a town did exist, then the series of terraces between Sikyon and Corinth, to which I referred in Chapter 1, would have been a suitable place for its location. Wiseman describes in detail the site of what he calls "the largest ancient town in the northwestern Corinthia," which is located to the south and above the village of Zevgolateio, around the church of Agios Charalambos, due east of the Nemea River. The findings betray periods of occupation at the site from the 6th to the 2nd century B.C., and in the high empire.[179] The name of this important town has not survived, and Wiseman ventures a possible identification with the town of Asai that is mentioned in Theopompos, but with no supporting topographical information. It is conceivable that the abundant remains to the south of Zevgolateio belong to the town of Koroneia, midway between Sikyon and Corinth but within Corinthian territory. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that other settlement sites with a Late Classical phase found between Corinth and Sikyon are not large and important enough to be called *poleis* and to independently sign a treaty with the Achaian League.[180]

Population in Classical Sikyonia

Survey data suggest that it was during the Classical period that Sikyon reached a demographic climax compared to the periods before and after. The same phenomenon has been attested for the majority of ancient Greek city-states. Can we, though, move from relative to absolute data, and come to a population estimate for the 5th and 4th centuries? Given the nonintensive nature of the survey, there is no possibility of translating site numbers into population figures since we did not recover all settlement

175. *SEG* XIV 375; *SEG* XVI 291, line 4: Κορωνεῖ[ς].

176. Bingen 1954, pp. 402–407; Åström 1955.

177. Larsen 1968, p. 86, n. 2; Wiseman 1978, p. 108.

178. *Syll.*^{3} 653, A17 and B7; Wiseman 1978, p. 108.

179. Wiseman 1978, pp. 100–102 (the quote is on p. 100), with further references.

180. These sites include Wiseman's Moulki I and Moulki II, near the hamlet of Kyra Vrysi and due east of Agios Charalambos, and a few small sites between the Nemea River and Sikyon (HS-4, HS-5, HS-48). On Moulki I and II, see Wiseman 1978, pp. 102–104.

sites. Even in cases of intensively surveyed areas, this "translation" is a perilous exercise.[181] The difficulty in establishing reliable demographic data for ancient Greek cities is well known. The most characteristic example is Athens, where, despite the abundance of direct or indirect evidence, eminent scholars including Beloch, Gomme, and recently Ruschenbusch and Hansen, cannot agree even on approximate population figures. The situation becomes even more difficult in cases where our only data are the mobilized forces of a given city on the eve of a battle or campaign, such as in the case of Sikyon and the overwhelming majority of the other Greek city-states. The caveats in using these military figures should be laid out before proceeding to their examination.

First, as Gomme reminds us, numbers in the manuscripts are particularly liable to corruption.[182] Second, their accuracy depends upon the authors and their sources. Generally speaking, Thucydides and Xenophon are considered the most dependable in this respect, less so Herodotos, Diodoros, or Plutarch.[183] Third, we do not know what percentage the mobilized forces represent of the actual military strength of the state, even when the source tells us that the city fought or campaigned at full force (πανδημεί, πανστρατιᾷ).

In the case of Sikyon, we do not even have a number explicitly representing the full military strength of the state. Among the figures that we have, four are given in connection with major military events of Greek history, possibly involving the majority of the military forces available at that time. Three of those refer to the Persian Wars and are transmitted by Herodotos: Sikyon participated with 12 triremes at Artemision (8.1), with 15 triremes at Salamis (8.43), and with 3,000 hoplites at Plataiai (9.28). Fifteen triremes, fully manned, would have engaged 3,000 men. If we add to these the 3,000 hoplites, then we come up with a figure of 6,000 for Sikyonian participants in the Persian Wars. This estimate, however, is not without problems and reservations: first, the fleet could have been manned with citizens, foreigners, and slaves alike, and the ratio is unknown; second, some historians have accused Herodotos of inflating not just the figures for the Persian army but those for the Greek forces as well.[184]

The late 5th and 4th centuries witnessed the highest population density in Greece, as the ancient Greeks themselves believed, and as archaeological surveys have repeatedly confirmed.[185] Yet, Xenophon states (*Hell.* 4.2.16) that in the "battle of the Nemea River" Sikyon participated with 1,500 hoplites, half the number given by Herodotos a century earlier at Plataiai. Modern historians have established the general reliability of Xenophon's army figures in a number of instances.[186] In the case of the Corinthian War, we have additional reason to trust Xenophon's account: the historian lived in Corinth for several years and would presumably have had access to the state archives and to eyewitness accounts of the events.[187] The question is what percentage of the Sikyonian hoplites followed the Lakedaimonians against the quadruple alliance headed by Corinth in 394 B.C. The battle was crucial for the Spartans and their allies, and so a large percentage of the military strength of the allied cities must have taken part, and particularly that of Sikyon, which served as the base of operations. Yet, some hoplites—at least a quarter of the men of hoplite status—must have been left

181. As the Northern Keos surveyors put it, the "number of sites clearly cannot be translated directly into numbers of settlements": Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 328. See also the stimulating discussions of this problem in Sbonias 1999, pp. 226–227; and Bintliff and Sbonias 2000, pp. 250–252.

182. Gomme 1933, p. 3.

183. Beloch 1886, pp. 7–13; Gomme 1933, p. 3.

184. Such inflation was strongly argued by Beloch, mainly on the comparison of figures given for Sparta by Herodotos, Thucydides, and Xenophon, which show a decrease of the Spartan military strength from the early 5th to the late 5th and 4th centuries, precisely when there was a general increase of population (Beloch 1906, pp. 52–54, 58–68).

185. See Sallares 1991, p. 99.

186. Beloch (1886, p. 8) rates Xenophon just below Thucydides as far as the accuracy of the army figures is concerned.

187. See above, p. 4.

behind to guard the city and its acropolis, and to run the society. To these we should add the men who were of hoplite census but were not drafted for health reasons; Hansen estimates this to be between 10% and 20%.[188] If we take an average of 15%, and add a quarter of the men who would have stayed in the city, then we come to a total of 2,500 men of hoplite census between the ages of 20 and 49.[189] To this number of hoplites would have been added a number of Sikyonian citizens who were not eligible for that service because they lacked the means to provide their own weapons and armor. There is no way of knowing what their number was. If we assume that the ratio given by Herodotos is correct, 3,000 hoplites versus 3,000 rowers, and that the men in the fleet were lower-class citizens and not *metoikoi* or slaves, then we could say that there was an equal proportion of hoplites to the others.[190] This means that 2,500 men of hoplite census correspond to 2,500 men of lower-class census, which would give us a total of 5,000 Sikyonian males between the ages of 20 and 49. According to the model used by Hansen, 5,000 men of this age range represents 41.77% of the entire male population, and would correspond to a total of almost 12,000 male citizens, that is, 24,000 free men and women.[191] To these, we should add foreigners and slaves, and in this area we are completely in the dark. For 4th-century Athens, Gomme and Hansen postulated a ratio between citizens and *metoikoi* of about 3 to 1.[192] Sikyon, however, was not the size of Athens, nor did it have a harbor equivalent to the Piraeus. Nonetheless, it did have a harbor with at least some commercial activity, which would have made it attractive to foreigners, including people living in the mountainous areas of the Peloponnese.[193] For the sake of argument, let us say that the number of these *metoikoi* would have been one-tenth the number of Sikyonian citizens, or about 2,400.

Next we must consider the "sheepskin wearers" and the chattel-slaves. If we count two κατωνακοφόροι per household, and we assume that there were about 4,800 Sikyonian families, then there might have been 9,600 κατωνακοφόροι. To these we should add the chattel-slaves, who worked in the businesses run by the state, including the processing of metal, copper and bronze, and the cutting and transport of timber and stone, and were possibly involved in the cultivation of private lands as well.[194] It is well known that slaves were not counted in the ancient Greek cities, and since the ancients did not know their precise number neither shall we. Two to three thousand would have been the minimum number of slaves.[195] Adding

188. Hansen's (1985, pp. 21–24) estimates are mainly based on modern comparanda.

189. The hoplite class included males from 20 to 59 years old. However, in practice only men between 20 and 49 took part in military campaigns, the rest serving as a reserve. See Hansen 1988, p. 23, n. 12.

190. Sallares estimates that the number of Athenian citizens ineligible for hoplite service represents half the male population (1991, p. 121).

191. Hansen 1988, p. 21, table 9.

192. Mainly on epigraphical evidence: Hansen 1988, p. 11; Gomme 1933, p. 26, table I.

193. For the processing and trade of wood, metal, and ceramics, see Skalet 1928, pp. 32–35. Sikyonian coins, widely spread in ancient Greece, testify to the practice of trade.

194. The degree of participation of slaves in agriculture is still a matter of debate: see de Ste. Croix 1981. Jameson (1977) believes in the existence of agricultural slavery in some cities; for opposing views, see Jones 1957, pp. 10–20; Starr 1958; Wood 1983.

195. Concerning Athens, Hansen (1988, pp. 11–12) believes that the slave population would have been equal to half the free population. If we put the "sheepskin wearers" of Sikyon and the slaves together, we come to a dependent labor force of 11,600–12,600, which is approximately half of our suggested citizen body for the Classical period.

these figures up, that is, 24,000 (free men and women) + 2,400 (foreigners) + 9,600 ("sheepskin wearers") + 2,500 (slaves), gives 38,500 as a low estimate for the population of Sikyonia in the early 4th century. If we take now the high estimated figure for the Sikyonian territory, 364 km^2, then the resulting population density comes to just over 100 people per km^2.

Needless to say, the figures presented above are purely speculative, and do not have any claim on historical accuracy. Beloch had calculated the number of Sikyonian citizens in ca. 400 B.C. to be "not under 5 to 6000," by multiplying the 1,500 hoplites of Xenophon by four.[196] I believe this is a very low estimate, since the hoplites who participated in the "Nemea River" battle by no means represent the entire corpus of *hoplitai.* Eugene Cavaignac, based on the figures of Herodotos, suggested 24,000 as the free population of Sikyonia, and a density of 60 people per km^2, but does not allow any room for the slaves.[197] Finally, Pharaklas proposes a figure between 33,000 and 36,000, a number comparable to ours but one based on his survey of archaeological sites.[198]

Hellenistic Period (323–31 B.C.)

In the previous chapter we traced the course of events that shaped Sikyon during the Hellenistic era. As we saw, the first decades were not kind to the city. First a Macedonian, then a Ptolemaic garrison were installed on its acropolis, and finally in 303 B.C. Demetrios Poliorketes captured the city in the plain and transferred it to the site of its former acropolis. Sikyon, briefly renamed Demetrias, seems to have prospered in its new setting, and reached its heyday under Aratos during the second half of the 3rd century. Aratos joined Sikyon to the Achaian League, which, under his generalship, grew from a rather insignificant confederacy into a large political force, and a key player in the politics of its time. During the Achaian War, Sikyon seems to have actively or passively sided with the Romans, so that in the aftermath of the Roman victory the Sikyonians were given possession of the entire Corinthian plain. We would like to know what the consequences of such important events and radically new situations were for the settlements of the countryside—whether, for example, the founding of Demetrias pulled the rural population to the new city. In this regard it is unfortunate that so many of our sites yielded material that we could not date more closely than the Archaic to Early Hellenistic periods.

We identified characteristic pottery of this period (mostly Middle to Late Hellenistic amphora types, mortar basins, lekanai, stew pots, and a few Early to Middle Hellenistic kotylai, kantharoi, semiglazed bowls, red-glazed saucers, black-glazed plates, a few "Megarian" bowls, lopas and krater fragments, along with a few loomweights, one unguentarium, and one lamp nozzle) in 22 sites: 10 small, seven medium, and five large (Figs. 5.41–5.43).[199] Hellenistic seems to have been the predominant phase at only two small sites (HS-43, HS-137), although artifacts of this period were never found in abundance. All five large sites, including Titane and Donoussa, are represented in the earlier (Classical) period, and this is also true for 10 of the 17 small- and medium-size sites.[200] It is significant that we found only seven sites that probably made their appearance in the Hellenistic period. Four of the new sites are small (HS-43, HS-45, HS-51,

196. Beloch 1886, pp. 118–119. Elsewhere Beloch gave 1,700 to 2,000 as the maximum number of Sikyonian hoplites (1906, pp. 54–55).

197. Cavaignac 1912, p. 274.

198. Pharaklas 1971, pp. 28–30. Given the inadequacy of Pharaklas's survey data, his population estimates are completely arbitrary.

199. Small: HS-5, HS-28, HS-31, HS-43, HS-45, HS-51, HS-92, HS-96, HS-123, HS-137. Medium: HS-19, HS-57, HS-62, HS-73, HS-102, HS-113, HS-118. Large: HS-50, HS-59, HS-60, HS-67, HS-97.

200. HS-5, HS-19, HS-28, HS-31, HS-62, HS-73, HS-92, HS-96, HS-118, HS-137.

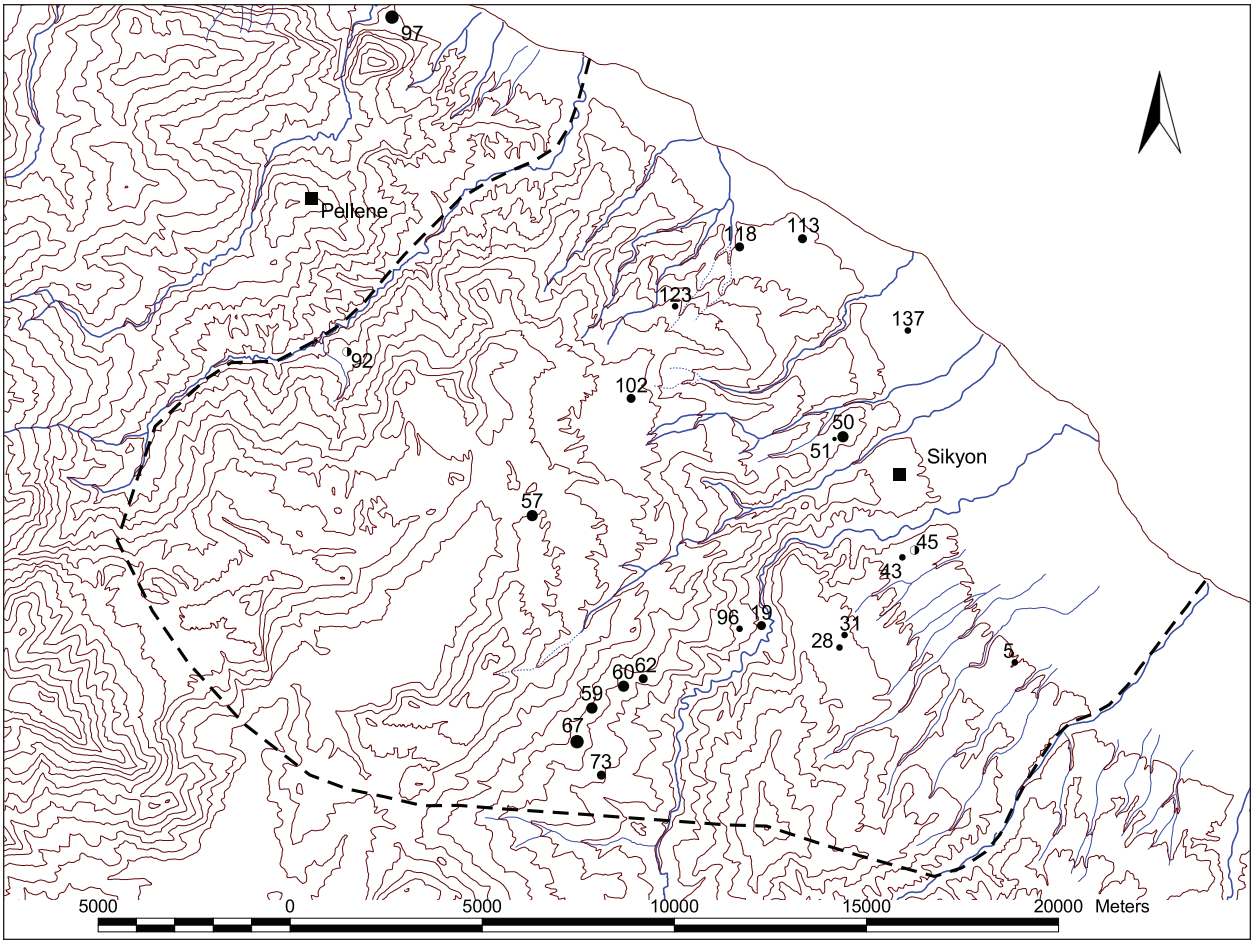


Figure 5.41. Map of Hellenistic sites

HS-123) and three are of medium size (HS-57, HS-102, HS-113), and at least three of them date to the mid- or late 2nd century B.C. (HS-43, HS-51, HS-102).

The relatively small number of sites active in the Hellenistic period, which is half the number of our ascertained Classical sites, reflects a phenomenon observed in many surveyed areas of Greece. It agrees with the grim description given by Polybios in mid-3rd century B.C.:

> In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics.[201]

However exaggerated this statement may be, following the Hellenistic literary motif of decline in comparison to the glorious Classical past, it must contain some truth. The question is whether the decline of the countryside went hand in hand with the urban decline, as Polybios suggests, or whether the abandonment of the rural landscape favored the growth of the city. The data from the intensive survey of the Sikyonian plateau (2004–2009), currently under study, point toward the latter scenario.

201. Polyb. 36.17.5, trans. W. R. Paton, Cambridge, Mass., 1927.



Figure 5.42. Hellenistic artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3

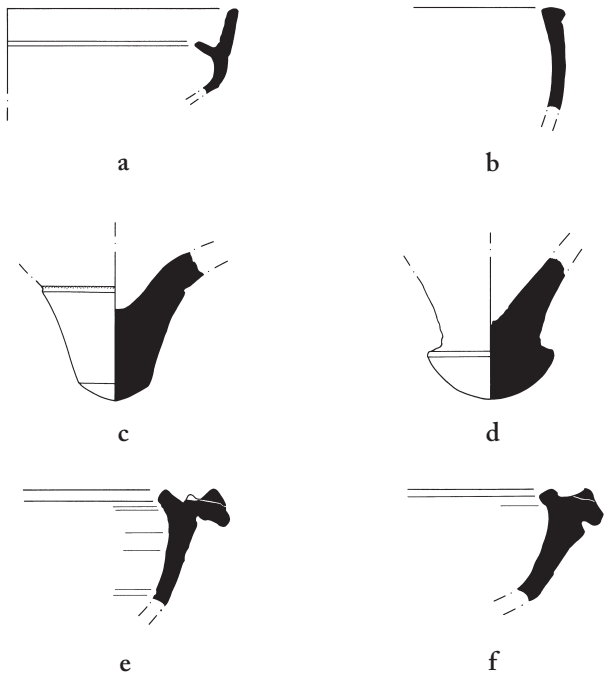


Figure 5.43. Hellenistic pottery from various sites. Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotirou

(a) HS-137. Lopas. Early Hellenistic. Shallow body with convex shoulder and nearly vertical flanged rim. P.H. 0.033; est. Diam. (rim) 0.18 m. 5YR 5/4 (yellowish red with inclusions). Traces of burning on exterior.
(b) HS-137. Black-glazed krater. Early Hellenistic. Slightly convex wall and thickened lip. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.23 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow).
(c) HS-59. Transport amphora. Corinthian A′. Pointed toe. P.H. 0.06 m. 5YR 7/4 (pink) with large inclusions.
(d) HS-43. Transport amphora. Late 2nd–1st century B.C. Articulated toe. P.H. 0.057 m. 7.5YR 6/4 (light brown) with inclusions.
(e) HS-73. Mortar. Convex wall and projecting rim. P.H. 0.045; est. Diam. (rim) 0.45 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink) with inclusions.
(f) HS-102. Mortar. Convex wall and projecting rim. P.H. 0.045; est. Diam. (rim) 0.263 m. 10YR 8/2 (white) with inclusions.

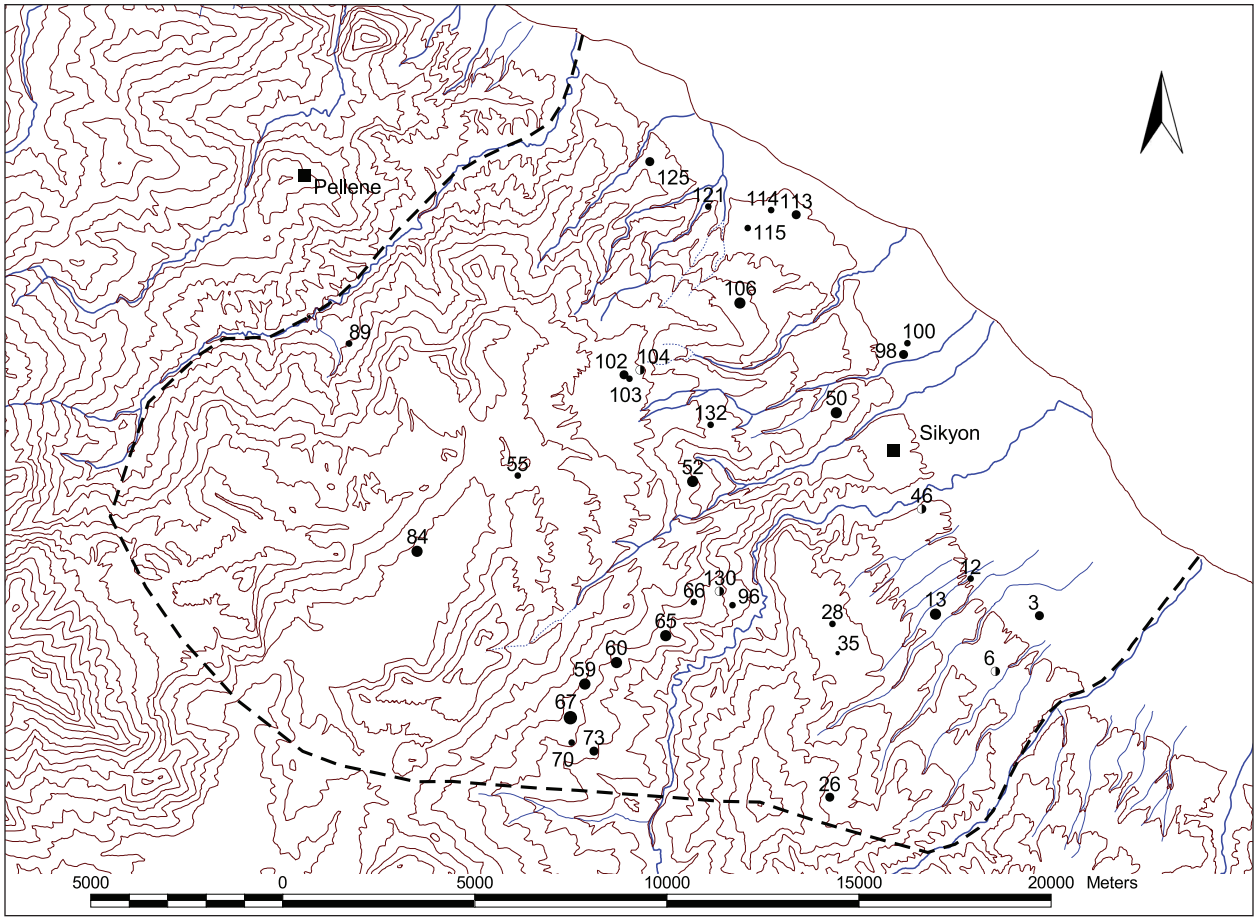


Figure 5.44. Map of Roman sites

Early–Middle Roman Period (31 B.C.–A.D. 300)

Sikyon during the Roman Imperial period lived in the shadow of Corinth, which was established as a colony and developed into one of the most important cities of Roman Greece. *Urbs Corinthi* became the center of political, economical, social, and cultural life in the northwestern Peloponnese, while Sikyon experienced severe financial difficulties that at some point forced the city to sell its famous art gallery to Rome.[202] On the other hand, the monuments that we mapped in Sikyon, namely, bath complexes supplied by an aqueduct and traces of buildings scattered on the Sikyonian plateau, along with statues of Roman emperors found during the early excavations, show that here as well the *urbs* received favorable treatment from the Romans.

Outside the city, we identified definitely Roman material at 34 sites, nine of large size, seven of medium size, and 18 of small size (Fig. 5.44).[203] Compared with the 22 sites of the earlier period, this appears to be an increase; our picture, however, may be distorted because some of the sites that we broadly assigned to the Archaic–Hellenistic periods could be Hellenistic. Roman seems to be the predominant or an important phase at 10 of the 34 sites.[204] Cooking wares, round-mouth pitchers, basins, and

202. See above, p. 78.

203. Large: HS-13, HS-50, HS-52, HS-59, HS-60, HS-65, HS-67, HS-84, HS-106. Medium: HS-3, HS-26, HS-73, HS-98, HS-102, HS-113, HS-125. Small: HS-6, HS-12, HS-28, HS-35, HS-46, HS-55, HS-66, HS-70, HS-89, HS-96, HS-100, HS-103, HS-104, HS-114, HS-115, HS-121, HS-130, HS-132.

204. HS-12, HS-13, HS-50, HS-55, HS-59, HS-84, HS-89, HS-115, HS-121, HS-130.



Figure 5.45. Roman artifacts from various sites. Scale 1:3

shallow bowls are almost ubiquitous; thin-walled mugs and a very few pieces of sigillata, Çandarlı, or other red-slipped ware were found at most sites; and occasionally we found fragments of kraters, amphoras, and lamps (Figs. 5.45, 5.46).

The site of Bouzaka near Tarsina (HS-13) yielded two joining fragments of a stamped brick; the brick carries the letters TDN, and can be dated, based on parallels from Corinth, to the 1st or 2nd century A.D. Two other sites revealed structures in *opus testaceum*. Within the peribolos of Asklepios at Titane (HS-67), the Ephoreia of Antiquities excavated part of a Roman bath complex, which remains unpublished.[205] A second building, which may be a cistern, is partially preserved at Loutro (Λουτρό, "bath") of Thalero (HS-121; Fig. 1.27). Two intersecting rooms are visible above ground, one barrel-vaulted with its wall plastered with mortar. It was difficult to establish the extent of the Roman and Late Roman settlement at Loutro, but the presence of this complex betrays its vitality during these periods. The site of Dragata below Stylia (HS-89) shows an impressive yet enigmatic installation (Fig. 5.47).[206] One of the terraces above the east bank of the Sythas River, with abrupt north and west sides, has a 39.5 m long wall built of rubble, bricks, and mortar along its northeastern side. Two parallel walls, set 1.6 m apart, abut the main wall, while a vaulted terracotta water channel cuts through it. Circa 30 m to the southwest of this wall

205. A photograph of this complex, presumably taken soon after its exposure, is published in Papachatzis 1976 (p. 90, fig. 80).

206. Δραγάτα comes from the Albanian word "dragat" meaning "field watchman." On the meaning of Δραγάτα, see Morris 2001, p. 298.

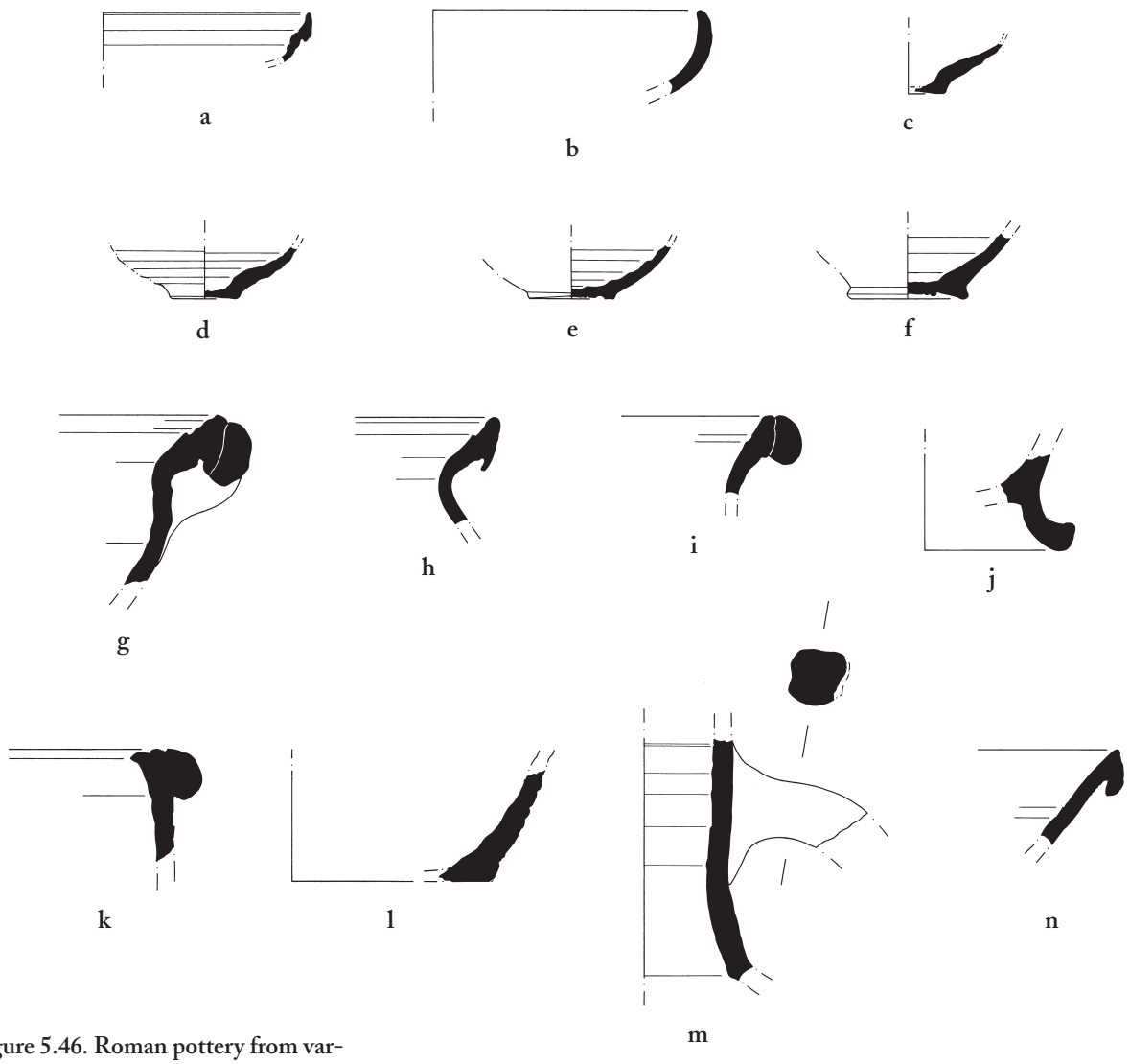


Figure 5.46. Roman pottery from various sites. Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) HS-98. Plate. Terra sigillata (*Consp.* 12) with molded vertical rim. P.H. 0.02; est. Diam. (rim) 0.172 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Shining, red gloss on exterior.
(b) HS-59. Plate. Inturned, rounded lip. P.H. 0.035; est. Diam. (rim) 0.22 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Red slip on exterior.
(c) HS-59. Mug, thin-walled. Slightly concave base and convex, wheel-ridged wall. P.H. 0.021; Diam. (base) 0.03 m. 5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow).
(d) HS-55. Pitcher. Flat base and convex, wheel-ridged wall. P.H. 0.02; Diam. (base) 0.028 m. Gray with 5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow) core.
(e) HS-89. Pitcher. Molded base and convex wall, wheel-ridged on the interior. 2nd century. P.H. 0.022; Diam. (base) 0.037 m. 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown).
(f) HS-102. Round-mouth pitcher. Middle Roman. Molded base and slightly convex wall. P.H. 0.028; Diam. (base) 0.05 m. 5YR 5/8 (yellowish red).
(g) HS-102. Mixing bowl. Early Roman. Convex wall and everted rim with undercut lip and attached handle. P.H. 0.09; est. Diam. (rim) 0.43 m. 7.5YR 8/3 (pink) with inclusions.
(h) HS-102. Mixing bowl. Early Roman. Convex wall and everted rim with undercut lip and attached handle. P.H. 0.047; est. Diam. (rim) 0.33 m. 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(i) HS-59. Krater. 1st–2nd century. Flaring rim with attached handle. P.H. 0.034; est. Diam. (rim) 0.30 m. 5.5YR 7/8 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(j) HS-59. Pedestal krater. 3rd century. Stem foot. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (base) 0.13 m. 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(k) HS-35. Lekane. Early Roman. Convex, outward-thickened rim, with two parallel grooves on top of lip. P.H. 0.05; est. Diam. (rim) 0.37 m. 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(l) HS-13. Table amphora. Middle Roman. Flat base and lower wall, wheel-ridged on the exterior. P.H. 0.045 m. 2.5YR 5/6 (red) with inclusions.
(m) HS-59. Transport amphora. Tall, narrow neck and vertical, round handle. P.H. 0.10 m. 5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow).
(n) HS-59. Basin. Early Roman. Flaring wall and rim with downturned edge. P.H. 0.049; est. Diam. (rim) 0.27 m. 2.5YR 5/3 (reddish brown) with inclusions.



Figure 5.47. Dragata of Stylia (HS-89): the vaulted water channel in *opus testaceum*

runs a second wall, also with a northwest–southeast orientation, while the corner of a third structure also made of rubble and mortar is visible further to the northwest. Without excavation or remote-sensing investigation of this terrace we cannot gain a complete picture of the complex, the function of which remains unknown.

The picture of the Sikyonian landscape under the empire is similar to that of the Hellenistic period: both are characterized by a relatively low number of sites when compared with the Classical-period high. Only nine Roman sites seem to have carried over from the previous period.[207] Greek and Roman writers, such as Strabo, Dio Chrysostom, Pausanias, Cicero, and Horace lament the desolation (ἐρημία) and depopulation (ὀλιγανδρία) of Greece in this period, a situation described in the grimmest of terms.[208] According to these narratives, the desolation concerns both the city and the countryside. Thus Strabo (8.8.1) writes that the cities of Arkadia vanished because of the continuous wars and that the farmers abandoned its land, and Pausanias contains numerous references to towns and villages that in his day had been reduced to hamlets or abandoned altogether.[209] There is little doubt that many of these statements are exaggerated in order to convey a romantic sense of decadence and a fall from the glorious past. This is surely Dio Chrysostom's aim when he writes that "it is rather the stones that reveal the grandeur and the greatness of Hellas, and the ruins of her buildings" (*Or.* 31.160). In contrast to the 13 Hellenistic sites that did not last through the Roman era, there are 25 new settlements in this period, including Bouzaka (HS-13) and Loutro (HS-106). This means that the Sikyonian countryside during these centuries does not conform to the grim picture preserved in our written sources. What remains to be investigated is the correlation between the city of Sikyon and its countryside under the Roman empire.[210]

207. HS-28, HS-50, HS-59, HS-60, HS-67, HS-73, HS-96, HS-102, HS-113.

208. E.g., Plut. *Mor.* 413F–414A; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.25; Cic. *Flac.* 16.62–64; Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.81–86; see also Rizakis 2001.

209. See below, p. 397; Pritchett 1998–1999, vol. 2, pp. 218–222.

210. Preliminary results of the intensive surface survey of 2004–2009 show that the city reached its maximum size between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.

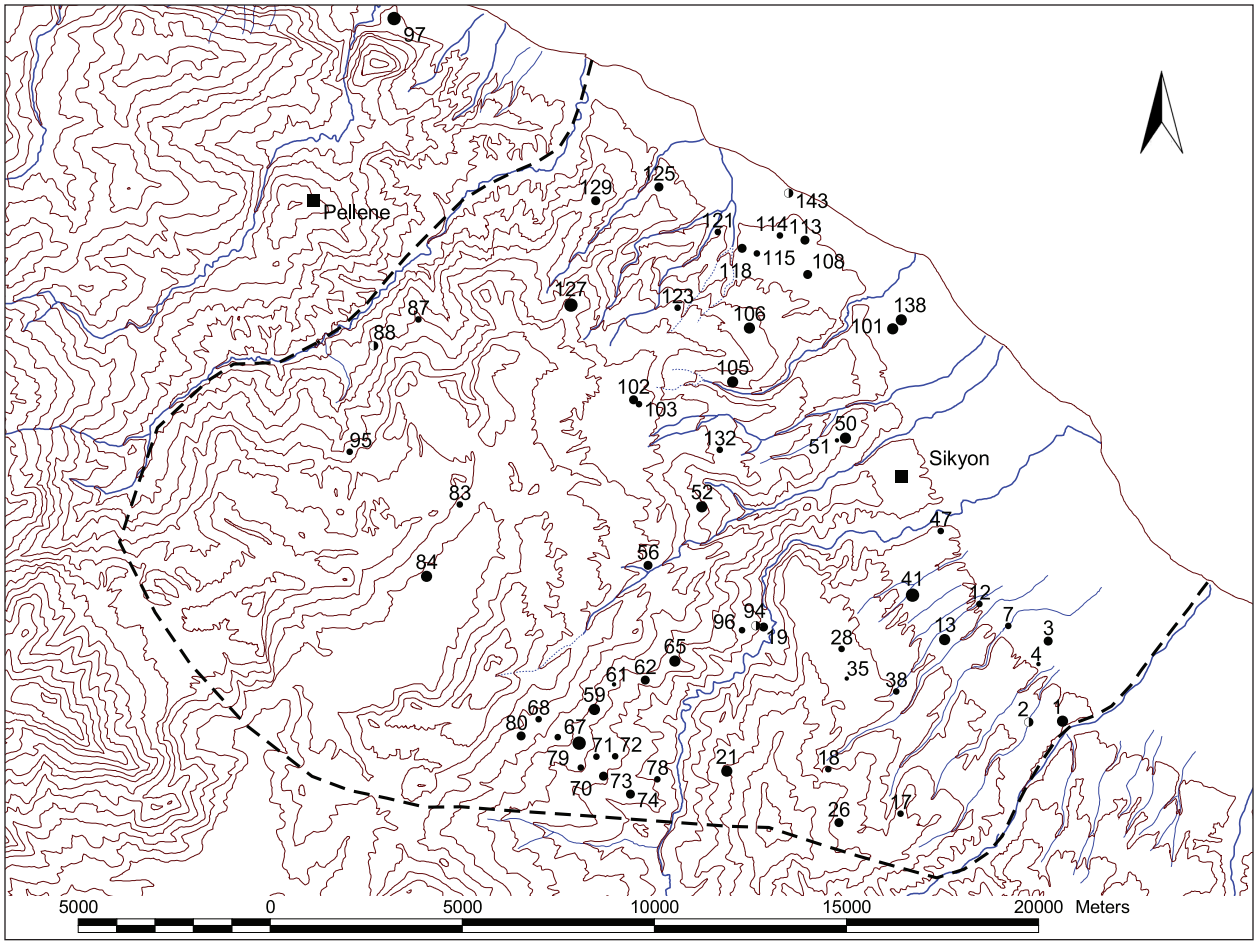


Figure 5.48. Map of Late Roman sites

Late Roman Period (a.d. 300–600)

During and after the fall of the Roman empire, the northern Peloponnese and the Corinthia suffered first from the Gothic invasion (late 4th/early 5th century) and then the coming of the Slavs (late 6th/early 7th century). Urban centers were affected most, losing a good portion of their population to the countryside. We recorded Late Roman material at 61 sites: 30 of small size, 14 of medium size, and 17 of large size (Fig. 5.48).[211] At 30 of these sites Late Roman artifacts counted for the majority or a significant part of the total finds. Among these sites, 17 are of small size, seven of medium size, and five of large size.[212] Typical finds at all sites included roof tiles of Lakonian type with linear, wavy, or concentric finger grooves, thicker than ancient tiles (0.025–0.03 m for pan tiles), LR Amphora 2 fragments, cooking pots, mortars, and millstones; occasionally we found bricks with finger grooves, lamp fragments (imitations of North African types), pitchers, Niederbieber amphoras, and pithos fragments (Figs. 5.49, 5.50). Most of these date between the 4th and 7th centuries, while we broadly assigned some of the hundreds of ribbed body sherds from coarse table ware and cooking vessels to the Late Antique period.

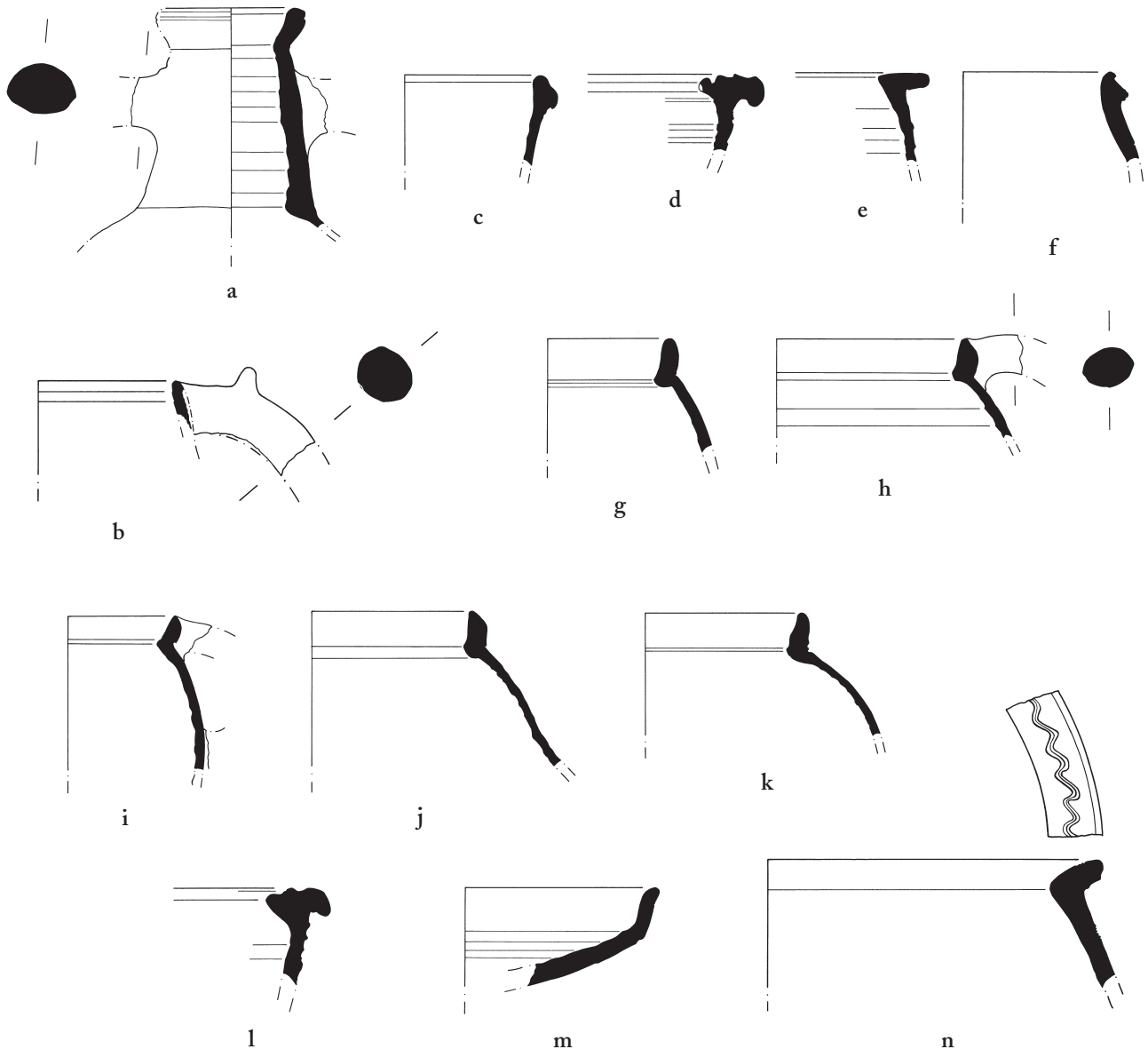
We can distinguish four general patterns: (1) the great majority of sites are on level ground or gentle slopes; (2) more sites showed moderate and occasionally high density than low density of artifact distribution; (3) the

211. Small: HS-2, HS-4, HS-7, HS-12, HS-17, HS-18, HS-28, HS-35, HS-38, HS-47, HS-51, HS-61, HS-68, HS-70, HS-71, HS-72, HS-78, HS-79, HS-83, HS-87, HS-88, HS-94, HS-95, HS-96, HS-103, HS-114, HS-115, HS-121, HS-123, HS-132. Medium: HS-3, HS-19, HS-26, HS-56, HS-62, HS-73, HS-74, HS-80, HS-102, HS-108, HS-113, HS-118, HS-125, HS-129. Large: HS-1, HS-13, HS-21, HS-41, HS-50, HS-52, HS-59, HS-65, HS-67, HS-84, HS-97, HS-101, HS-105, HS-106, HS-127, HS-138, HS-143.

212. Small: HS-4, HS-7, HS-12, HS-35, HS-38, HS-61, HS-68, HS-70, HS-71, HS-78, HS-79, HS-83, HS-95, HS-103, HS-115, HS-123, HS-132. Medium: HS-3, HS-74, HS-80, HS-102, HS-108, HS-125, HS-129. Large: HS-21, HS-50, HS-84, HS-106, HS-143.



Figure 5.49. Late Roman pottery from various sites. Scale 1:3



great majority were founded on sites with earlier signs of habitation, although only 23 of them seem to continue from the preceding period; and (4) only seven of the sites we recorded were very small (i.e., less than 1,000 m^2).[213] In fact, the average size of our small sites is ca. 3,000 m^2. The scarcity of very small sites suggests that in this period there were only substantial farmsteads, which may be a sign of permanent, rather than seasonal, living.

On the other hand, not all small sites represented farmsteads. Some bear the traces of Early Christian churches, apparently not connected to a settlement. We recorded architectural members from such structures, usually column fragments (bases, capitals, and shafts) and occasionally double colonnettes, at Patima of Poulitsa (SP-31), Agia Soteira of Lalioti (SP-22), and Agios Georgios of Bozika (SP-26; Fig. 5.51). At Klisi-Boukoura of Stylia (HS-95), substantial remains of an Early Christian church,

213. HS-2, HS-4, HS-35, HS-51, HS-61, HS-88, HS-94.

Figure 5.50 ***(opposite)*****. Late Roman pottery from various sites.** Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(a) HS-68. Amphora. 5th–6th century. Conical neck, everted rim with groove, and beginning of vertical, round handles. P.H. 0.105; Diam. (rim) 0.066 m. 10YR 4/1 (dark gray) with inclusions.
(b) HS-2. Table amphora. 6th–7th century. Portion of rim where it joins vertical, round handle with lug. P.L. 0.069 m. 10YR 4/1 (dark gray) with inclusions.
(c) HS-67. Table amphora. 5th century. Straight wall and outward-thickened, slightly undercut rim. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.11 m. 2.5Y 4/1 (dark gray) with inclusions.
(d) HS-102. Cooking ware bowl. 4th century. Body wheel-ridged on exterior and downturned rim, with three grooves running on top. P.H. 0.036; est. Diam. (rim) 0.40 m. 7.5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(e) HS-127. Stew pot. 5th–6th century. Incurving wall, wheel-ridged on the exterior, and horizontal rim. P.H. 0.041; est. Diam. (rim) 0.26 m. 7.5YR 5/2 (brown) with inclusions.
(f) HS-105. Cooking pot. 5th century. Tapering wall and outturned, triangular rim. P.H. 0.04; est. Diam. (rim) 0.13 m. 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown) with inclusions.
(g) HS-102. Cooking pot. 7th century. Tapering wall and thickened, vertical rim with vestigial flange. P.H. 0.052; est. Diam. (rim) 0.12 m. 7.5YR 5.4 (brown) with inclusions.
(h) HS-102. Cooking pot. Early 7th century. Tapering wall and thickened, vertical rim with round vertical handle attached to it, and vestigial flange. P.H. 0.045; est. Diam. (rim) 0.17 m. 10YR 5/3 (brown) for the exterior surface, dark gray for the core, with inclusions.
(i) HS-102. Cooking pot. 7th century. Convex wall and everted, thickened rim with round vertical handle attached, and vestigial flange. P.H. 0.07; est. Diam. (rim) 0.10 m. 7.5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow), dark gray for the core, with inclusions.
(j) HS-102. Cooking pot. 7th century. Tapering wall, slightly wheel-ridged on exterior, and thickened, vertical rim with vestigial flange. P.H. 0.07; est. Diam. (rim) 0.15 m. Gray with inclusions.
(k) HS-102. Cooking pot. 7th century. Tapering wall and thickened, vertical rim with vestigial flange. P.H. 0.054; est. Diam. (rim) 0.14 m. 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) for the exterior, gray for the interior with inclusions.
(l) HS-59. Krater. Late Roman. Body heavily ridged on exterior and downturned rim, with incised grooves on top. P.H. 0.043; est. Diam. (rim) 0.31 m. 10YR 6/6 (brownish yellow) with inclusions.
(m) HS-103. Shallow bowl. 6th century. Straight, flaring body and vertical rim with slightly everted lip. P.L. 0.075 m. 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow).
(n) HS-102. Jar. Late 6th–7th century. Slightly tapering wall and everted rim with incised wavy line on top. P.H. 0.056; est. Diam. (rim) 0.30 m. 10YR 6/8 (brownish yellow) with inclusions.



Figure 5.51. Agios Georgios of Bozika (SP-26): Early Byzantine column shaft and capital



Figure 5.52. The structure at Alonaki of Poulitsa (HS-7), possibly a monumental well

including fragments of brick and mortar walls and column bases, are scattered over an area of ca. 3,000 m^2, which indicates that the church was part of a larger, most likely monastic, complex.

Structures in *opus testaceum* or made of rubble, mortar, and tiles are not rare at small sites such as Xerorachi 1 of Mikri Valtsa (HS-123). Often "farmstead" sites reused earlier material found in situ, primarily ashlar blocks and possibly even roof tiles. A puzzling structure is visible at Alonaki of Poulitsa (HS-7): a rectangular opening cut into the soft conglomerate bedrock, 2.18 × 0.8 m, oriented northwest–southeast, leads by means of three rock-cut steps to a rock-cut tunnel running perpendicular to the staircase (Fig. 5.52). The tunnel is 0.57 m wide, but it is difficult to determine how much of it is ancient and how much is shaped by modern illicit digging. The rectangular opening was partly covered in antiquity by slabs, but a rectangle of 0.65 × 0.65 m must have been left uncovered at one end. This exposed feature and the lack of visible openings on the side-walls of the tunnel indicate that the whole structure was not a burial ground, but a monumental well or underground cistern servicing the "farmstead," or rather, group of "farmsteads," that occupied the area.

The comparatively large number of medium and large sites with a predominant Late Roman phase (i.e., 12) betrays a predilection for communal rather than independent living. Eight of these 12 medium and large sites show traces of structures, mostly in brick, rubble, and mortar, and/or architectural fragments of churches. Thus, Early Byzantine column shafts

were found at Tsakriza 1 of Souli (HS-50), one of the most important settlements of this period, with a high-density scatter of artifacts over an area of 26,000 m^2. Likewise, a high density of Late Roman pottery was encountered at Kaminia 1 of Megali Valtsa (HS-102), which is located less than 100 m from a rubble and mortar structure of undefined nature (HS-103). Further inland, the Late Roman settlement of Karoumpalo above Bozika (HS-80) is associated with a tower or small fort of the same period (DS-17; see Fig. 4.109, above). Other sites had cisterns of monumental dimensions, such as Valathra below Kryoneri (HS-52), where the cistern of Melistra measures 7.25 × 12 m, or Loutro of Lalioti (HS-106) with its cross-shaped cistern in *opus testaceum,* now destroyed (see Figs. 1.26, 1.28, above). Finally, Koza 1 of Diminio (HS-108) and Sesi of Sykia (HS-125), both of medium size, show walls and masonry fragments of brick and mortar, which could be part of agricultural installations such as olive presses, if we may judge from their modern toponyms (Liotrivia).

Despite the level of insecurity during these centuries, the population was not limited to the mountainous hinterland. We have seen that Early Christian architectural remains were found at the heart of the Roman city, literally over the temple by the agora, while the large basilica in Kiato indicates that the broader coastal area supported a substantial population. About 8 km further to the west, at Agios Dimitrios of Melissi (HS-143), a cemetery and part of a 6th-century settlement came to light during the construction of the highway to Patras in the 1960s. Nearby I recorded twisted column shafts and bases from a church of the same period, an indicator of the importance of this settlement.[214] As in the case of the Classical period, it is likely that there were other important Late Roman settlements along the coast that remain buried under the alluvium.

In the early 1950s Orlandos carried out an excavation at Diminio and exposed part of a large "Early Christian" mansion.[215] The results of the excavations were never published, but Orlandos did produce a drawing of the complex (Fig. 5.53) accompanied by a short description. According to Orlandos, the excavated structure measured some 28 × 20 m, and included an entrance corridor (1), an *oikos* (2), an apsidal *triclinium* (3), and four more rooms of undescribed purpose (Fig. 5.54). Judging from the plan, this villa-size complex must have continued on one side and well exceeded 600 m^2 of surface area. Orlandos gives no information on either the material found or the precise location of the villa within the area of Diminio. We do not even know whether Ano or Kato Diminio is meant. Strangely enough, locals have no memory of an excavation taking place at Diminio, but the architectural material that we found at Koza 1 (HS-108), in a 6th-century context, may come from this impressive complex, which has presumably since been destroyed (Fig. 5.55).

214. We observed similar features (i.e., twisted or monolithic column shafts and capitals and other spolia from Christian churches) at a few more sites (e.g., HS-41, HS-87), but it was not always safe to assign them to the Late Roman, rather than the Byzantine, period.

215. Orlandos 1957b, p. 116, plan 8; cf. Sodini 1984, p. 365, fig. 18; Avramea 1997, p. 170, no. 33.

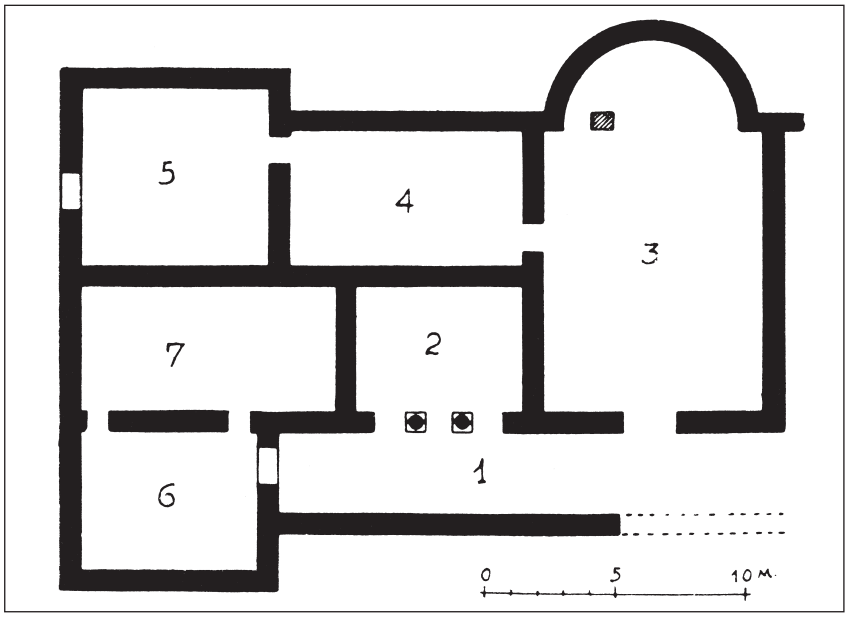


Figure 5.53. Plan of the Late Roman villa of Diminio. Orlandos 1957b, p. 116, plan 8



Figure 5.54. Part of the excavated villa of Diminio; the two monolithic marble columns are shown in Figure 5.53 at the opening of room 2. Orlandos Archive, courtesy Athens Archaeological Society



Figure 5.55. Koza 1 of Diminio (HS-108): the site after aggressive plowing, looking north-northeast

Medieval Period (Mid-7th to Mid-15th Century)

I have already outlined the sufferings of the Corinthia during the Middle Ages in Chapter 2. First the Slavs, then Arabs followed by Bulgarians and Normans invaded the territory until the establishment of Frankish rule in the early 13th century. The Byzantines were able to regain the Corinthia only in the early 15th century and held it for a short period until the coming of the Turks. We have seen that in the 9th century the Peloponnese was established as a separate Byzantine *theme,* with Corinth being its metropolis and Sikyon one of its important towns. It is thanks to the Byzantine *strategos* posted in the region that the Bulgarian invasion of the 11th century was successfully repelled. A major event with a strong impact on the settlement history of the Corinthia was the wave of Albanian immigration during the first half of the 15th century. In the next section I examine the strong impact of the so-called Arvanites, from their ancestral district of Arbanon somewhere between Dyrrachion and Lake Prespa, on the demographic synthesis of our study area.

The major problem faced by archaeologists who deal with this long period of eight centuries (from the mid-7th to the mid-15th century) is the obscurity of the material evidence. Indeed, to many of us, pottery of the 7th to 9th century (the so-called Byzantine Dark Ages), mainly coarse ware, remains largely unknown, and this partly accounts for the dearth of sites of this period noted in surveys all over Greece.[216] Yet, the image of a deserted landscape may not be completely erroneous, because we have evidence that the population of the Peloponnese, and Greece in general, reached its nadir after the devastating plague of 746–747.[217] On the other hand, the scarcity of material evidence may also be due to the small, ephemeral nature of settlement units that are likely to have existed during these centuries.[218] We are luckier in the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods (10th–14th centuries) mainly because of the appearance of pottery with colored glaze. We identified Medieval material at 44 sites

216. In northern Keos, for example, no "Dark Age" wares were identified with certainty (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 332).

217. See Zakythinos 1953, p. 161; Turner 1990, pp. 422–424.

218. See Gregory 1994.

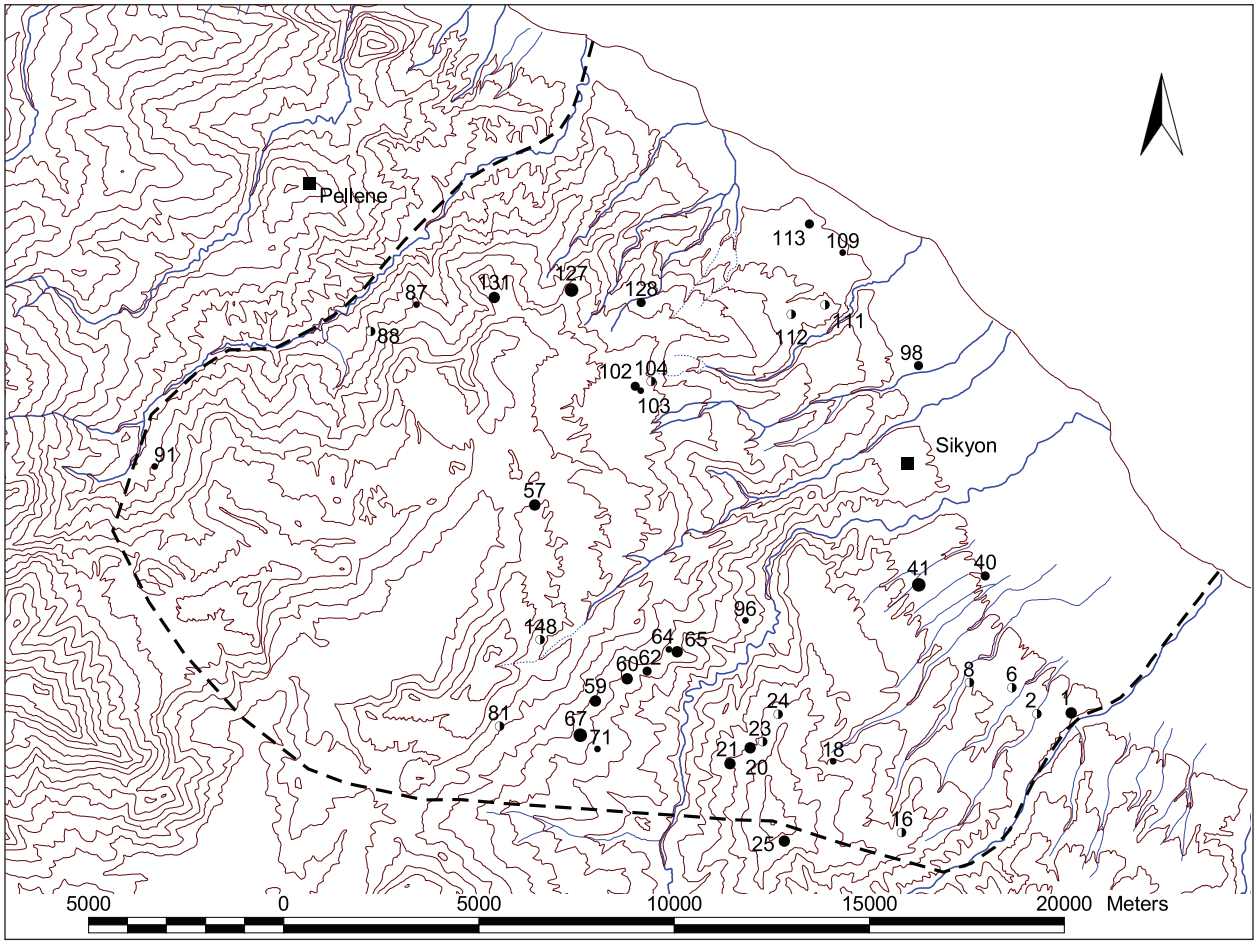


Figure 5.56. Map of Medieval sites

(Fig. 5.56),[219] and could narrow the dating for 28 of these to the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods.[220] Four of our Medieval sites belong to cemeteries consisting of cist graves covered with tiles,[221] and as many as eight to churches and monasteries.[222] Medieval pottery, usually found in low and moderate densities, was a significant or single component of material remains at 13 settlement sites.[223] Typical finds are cooking pots; colored glazed bowls and plates, with a predominance of monochrome glazed and incised sgrafitto wares, and occasional pieces of green and brown painted ware; chafing dishes; and a few amphora fragments (Figs. 5.57, 5.58). Half of our settlement sites (16 out of 33) also yielded Late Roman material.[224] At four of the sites with apparently no Late Roman artifacts (HS-57, HS-64, HS-104, HS-131), we also found thick tiles

219. HS-1, HS-2, HS-6, HS-8, HS-16, HS-18, HS-20, HS-21, HS-23, HS-24, HS-25, HS-40, HS-41, HS-57, HS-59, HS-60, HS-62, HS-64, HS-65, HS-67, HS-71, HS-81, HS-87, HS-88, HS-91, HS-96, HS-98, HS-102, HS-103, HS-104, HS-109, HS-111, HS-112, HS-113, HS-127, HS-128, HS-131, HS-148; SP-23, SP-24, SP-27, SP-28, SP-29, SP-30.

220. HS-1, HS-2, HS-6, HS-8, HS-16, HS-18, HS-21, HS-23, HS-25, HS-40, HS-41, HS-59, HS-62, HS-64, HS-65, HS-67, HS-71, HS-81, HS-96, HS-98, HS-103, HS-104, HS-127, HS-131; SP-23, SP-27, SP-28, SP-29.

221. HS-23, HS-24, HS-81, HS-88.

222. HS-91, HS-104; SP-23, SP-24, SP-27, SP-28, SP-29, SP-30.

223. HS-1, HS-2, HS-6, HS-8, HS-18, HS-23, HS-25, HS-64, HS-65, HS-67, HS-91, HS-131, HS-148.

224. HS-1, HS-2, HS-18, HS-21, HS-41, HS-59, HS-62, HS-65, HS-67, HS-71, HS-87, HS-88, HS-96, HS-102, HS-103, HS-127.



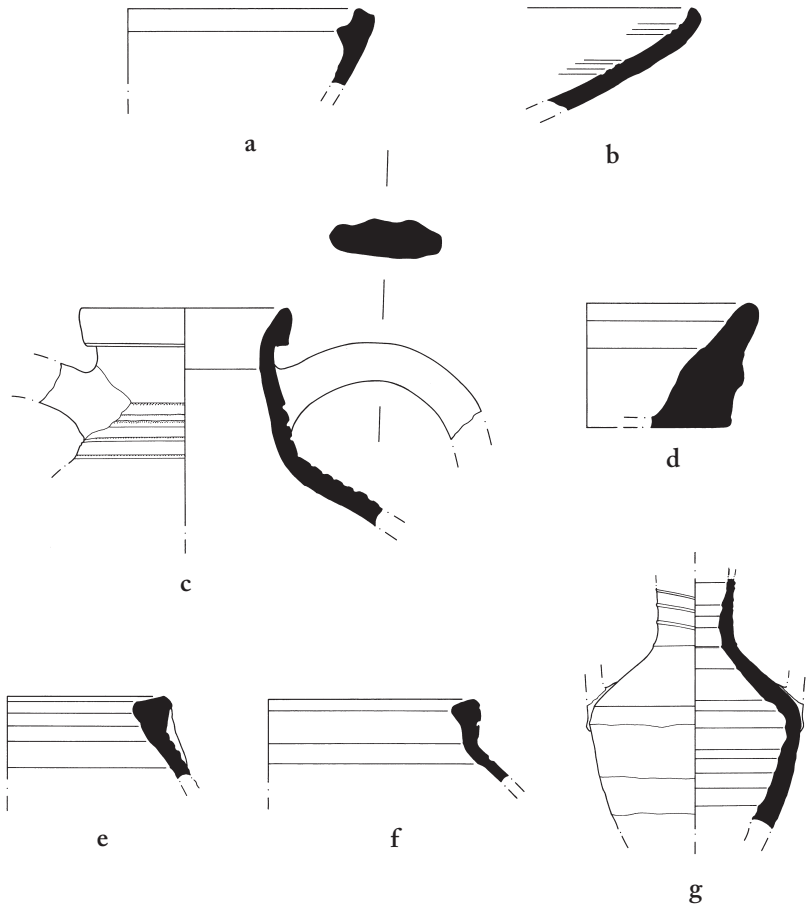
Figure 5.57. Medieval pottery from various sites. Scale 1:3

(0.025–0.03 m) with finger grooves, a treatment that follows precisely the Late Roman tradition.

Of the 13 settlement sites featuring a significant Medieval phase, half are small and half are large.[225] Only three were founded right above or close to the coastal zone (HS-1, HS-2, HS-6),[226] and the rest at higher elevations in the hinterland. The most important of the first group is Plakes Kokkinias (HS-1), which is spread on two levels above the village of Vochaiko in an area of ca. 25,000 m^2. This is one of the few sites with abundant fine pottery fragments from plates and bowls, as well as cooking and storage vessels of the 12th and 13th centuries. The location of this village-size settlement certainly accounts for its significance: it is situated above the coastal plain and the Nemea River, and thus controls the routes to Achaia and the Nemea region. At the same time, it offers unimpeded visual contact with Acrocorinth, the most important fortress of the Corinthia during the Middle Ages. Of the large sites in the second group (sites at higher elevations), two are located near the semimountainous village of Zemeno (630 masl). At the site of Lakiza (HS-127), with a rather thin diffusion of material over 30,000 m^2, we found cooking pots and a chafing dish dated to the 10th/11th century. Closer to Zemeno, the site of Kiafa (HS-131), with a moderate to high artifact density over ca. 18,000 m^2, yielded coarse pottery (stew pots and an amphora stand) dated to the same period

225. Small: HS-2, HS-8, HS-18, HS-23, HS-64, HS-91, HS-148. Large: HS-1, HS-6, HS-25, HS-65, HS-67, HS-131.

226. HS-113, which has a significant amount of Byzantine pottery, was also located near the coast.



(a) HS-67. Chafing dish. Late 10th–11th century. Rim with flange below lip. P.H. 0.031; est. Diam. (rim) 0.19 m. 7.5YR 8/3 (pink) with inclusions. Brown-green glazed on the interior.
(b) HS-1. Sgraffito plate. Late 12th century. Almost straight, flaring bowl and tapered, vertical lip. P.L. 0.07; est. Diam. (rim) 0.25 m. 7.5YR 7/3 (pink). White glaze on exterior, light green glaze on interior. Broad band of "Kufic" design between concentric incised, brown painted lines.
(c) HS-64. Amphora. 12th century. Wide body with shallow grooves tapering to short neck with deeper grooves and vertical, ridged handle; flaring, folded rim. P.H. 0.086; Diam. (rim) 0.085 m. 7.5YR 7/4 (pink).
(d) HS-131. Stand for amphora(?). About one-third preserved, with wall thickening toward the flat base. P.H. 0.051; est. Diam. (rim) 0.13 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow) with inclusions.
(e) HS-40. Stew pot. 13th century. Tapering wall with ribbing below rim, and vertical rim, triangular in section. P.H. 0.035; est. Diam. (rim) 0.10 m. Gray with inclusions.
(f) HS-1. Cooking pot. 12th–13th century. Tapering wall with shallow ribbing, and vertical rim, triangular in section, with deeply cut line below lip. P.H. 0.034; est. Diam. (rim) 0.17 m. 5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow).
(g) HS-57. Lekythos. Part of narrow, almost straight neck, and ovoid body with trace of vertical handle on shoulder. P.H. 0.099 m. 2.5YR 6/6 (light red) with dark gray core.

Figure 5.58. Medieval pottery from various sites. Scale 1:3. Drawings K. Sotiriou

(Middle Byzantine). The growth of both communities must have been influenced by the founding of a bishopric at Zemeno a century or two earlier. There are no visible remains of this bishopric, which was founded during the 9th century, partly because the 19th-century church was built on the same site.

Judging by the masonry, we can also assign to the Early Byzantine period at least one rural church, founded on an isolated hill (known as

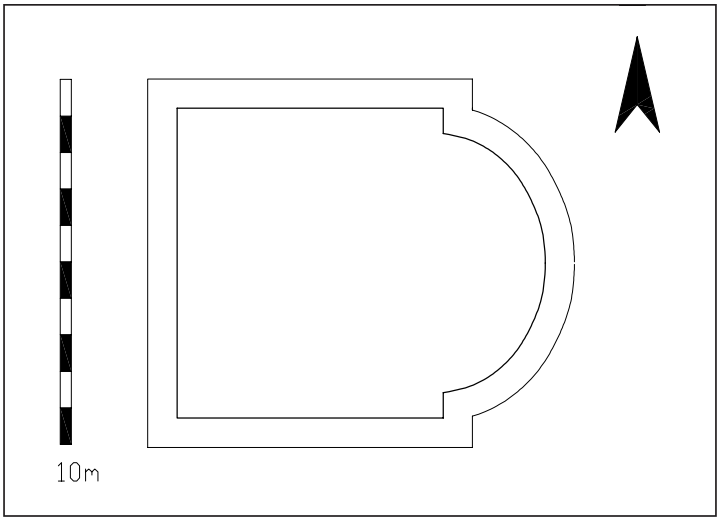


Figure 5.59. Plan of the Early Byzantine church at Litharia tou Rakka of Poulitsa (SP-30)

"Litharia tou Rakka") with a conspicuous view of the plain and the gulf (SP-30). This basilica-type structure, built of rubble, bricks, and tiles set in mortar, is of rather modest dimensions (W. 8.5 × L. 7.3 m), but did make use of monolithic column shafts of imported stone (Fig. 5.59).

How are we to explain the relatively large number of sizable settlement sites, with artifact scatters of over 10,000 m^2, alongside the persistence of small units, usually less than 2,000 m^2 in extent? Fortunately, a treatise on taxation that was composed between 912 and 1139 preserves a wealth of information about settlements of the Byzantine countryside.[227] Because of the importance of this text for our understanding of settlement patterns under the Byzantine empire, I offer here a translation of a section:

> The *ktesis* (κτῆσις) and the village (χωρίον) are the same in all other respects; but from long ago they have differed in this, namely that the seat of the village (τοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ καθέδρα) is one and the houses (οἰκίσεις) of the villagers are next to each other, whereas the seats of the *kteseis* are many and the households of the inhabitants are spread out and very much separated from each other, being where the holdings of each inhabitant lie. For that reason the ones living in the *kteseis* are considered to be landlords, or of landlords, and not merely villagers.
>
> Farm (ἀγρός) and *agridion* (ἀγρίδιον) are different things. Because a farm is any place (ἀγρός γὰρ ἐστι πᾶς κεκαλλωπισμένος χῶρος). But *agridion* is a subdivision of a large village, being partly embellished, and this is why it is called *agridion,* just like *polis* and *polidion.* The *agridia* came into being either because some of the villagers simply did not reside in the seat of the village, or because they did not acquire as many interior enclosures as the others (ἐνθύρια περιβόλα) and for that reason they transferred their houses away from the village, cultivated their fields, and lived there. [This may have come about] because perhaps the fathers of some who died leaving behind many children left to some of them

227. This so-called *Fiscal Treatise,* which is preserved on a manuscript of the Marciana at Venice (Cod. Marc. gr. 173), was first published as a simple text (Ashburner 1915); a detailed publication with *apparatus criticus* and commentary followed soon thereafter (Dölger 1927, pp. 113–156). Cf. Zakythinos 1953, pp. 182–183; Lemerle 1979, pp. 73–85; Lefort 2002.

> their properties within the village (ἐσώθυρα), and to others their properties outside the village (ἐξώθυρα). So the ones who inherited the outside holdings, being unable to live away from it, transferred there, and having improved their houses and the land they turned the place into an *agridion.* And others, having acquired greater numbers of either animals or slaves, or being distressed by the neighbors and therefore unable to live in the seat of the village, they did the same thing. And if you look, you would find many reasons for which the *agridia* came into being.
>
> And the *proasteia* (προάστεια) were born by the same process. But they differ from the *agridia* in that they are not inhabited by the masters themselves (μὴ τοὺς δεσπότας αὐτοὺς τὴν κατοίκησιν ἔχειν), but by their slaves or hired laborers (μισθίους) and others. But that is all about the *agridia* and the *proasteia* that are within the entire domain of the village (τῶν συμπεριοριζομένων τῇ ὅλῃ τοῦ χωρίου ὑποταγῇ).[228]

This invaluable testimony documents the existence of communes with scattered residences, villages with a nucleated settlement, and small estates or farmsteads on the periphery of a village. Thus, the *chorion* appears to be the principal organizational unit of the Byzantine countryside. Its domain included the center or seat of the village and the outlying small estates or farmsteads. The estates inhabited by the landlords themselves were called *agridia,* while the ones inhabited by slaves and tenants were called *proasteia.* Moreover, the author makes an effort to describe the possible origins of these farmsteads. Some of our large sites must represent *choria* on which our smaller sites, representing *agridia* or *proasteia,* depended.

Furthermore, it is conceivable that a few of the modern villages in the survey area date back to the Byzantine period. With no written testimonia and very little material evidence, our sole guide is the names of the villages. According to Max Vasmer, the names of seven or eight Sikyonian villages have a Slavic origin: Velo, Velina, Vlantoussa (modern Stylia), Voivoda (modern Titane), Zemeno, Bozika, Poulitsa, and possibly Valtsa.[229] Two of these, Zemeno and Voivoda, are particularly significant. The foundation of the bishopric at Zemeno in the 9th century may have come after the establishment of a *chorion* there, originally by Slavic settlers. As for Voivoda, the formation of a *chorion* here already in the 8th or 9th century would explain the large number of sites scattered around it. Concerning the estates (κτήσεις) mentioned in the treatise, these were a familiar feature of the Corinthian countryside during the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods. According to the "Book of the Conquests," the area of Corinth had fiefs ("casaux de parçon") which "the noble Greek man of the emperor had and shared with the Frank noblemen."[230]

The Middle Byzantine period also witnessed the erection of many churches throughout Greece, and our study area was no exception. Some must have been modest buildings in both size and material, occasionally using ancient spolia in their masonry (e.g., HS-104?, SP-23). One of the very few Medieval churches still functioning in our study area is the Church of the Transfiguration between the villages of Kokkoni and Tarsina (SP-28).

228. This passage makes up almost all of folio 277r.

229. Vasmer 1941, pp. 124–125. Zakythinos (1953, pp. 164–165) rightly points out the dangers of extrapolating historical data simply from the names of villages.

230. Zakythinos 1953, p. 193. My interpretation of the treatise is somewhat different from that offered by Dölger (1927, pp. 133–136), who understands κτῆσεις as "farmsteads" *(Höfe)* and ἀγρίδια as "hamlets" *(Weiler).*

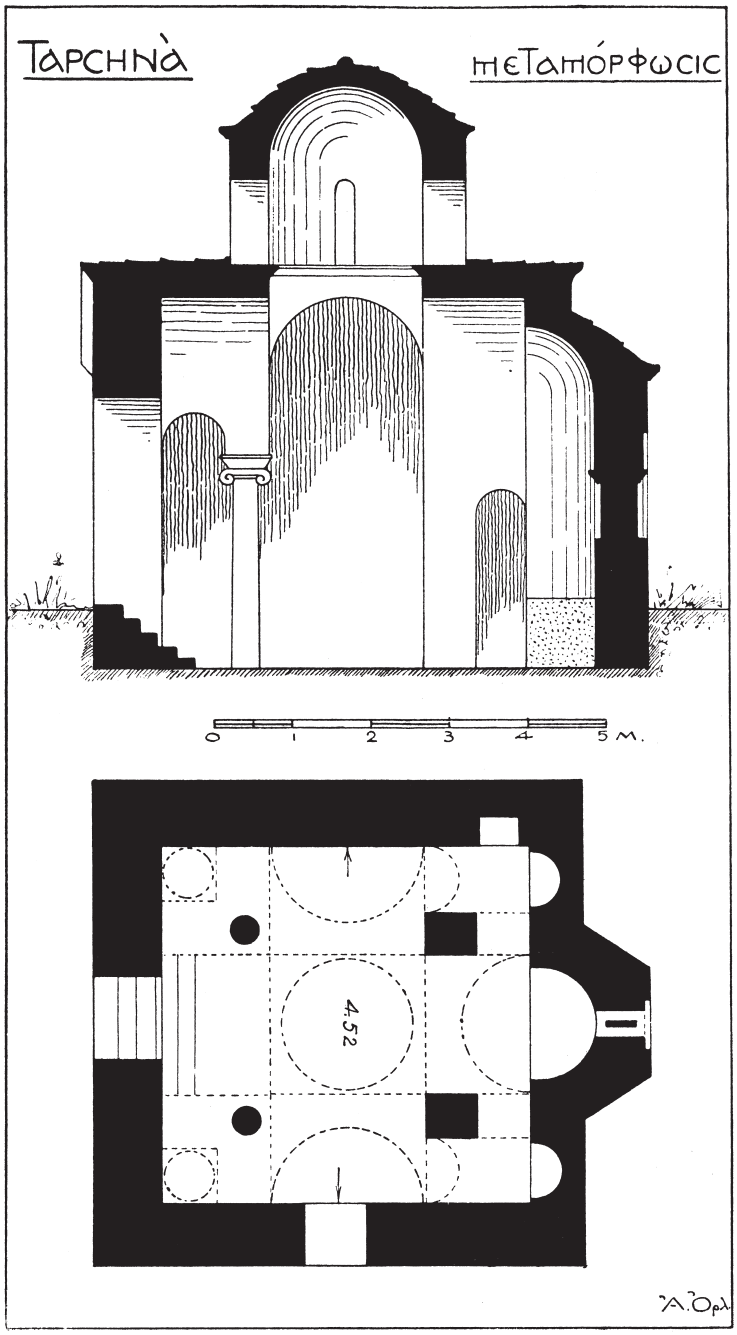


Figure 5.60. Plan of the Church of the Transfiguration near Tarsina (SP-28). Orlandos 1935b, p. 92, fig. 2

It has a cross-in-square plan, with octagonal dome and ancient spolia in its masonry (Ionic capitals and column shafts), and dates to the late 12th century (Figs. 3.15–3.17, 5.60). Perhaps the most important ecclesiastic foundation of this period is the monastery of Lechova, built on the Vesiza mountain (SP-27). The *katholikon* of the monastery, still preserved, is dated to the 12th century and preserves some of its original decoration (inlaid marble floor and sculptures) (Figs. 5.61–5.63). The monastery had a very large territory around it, which covered a considerable part of Vesiza. The economic value of this large mountainous estate lay in its cattle-breeding

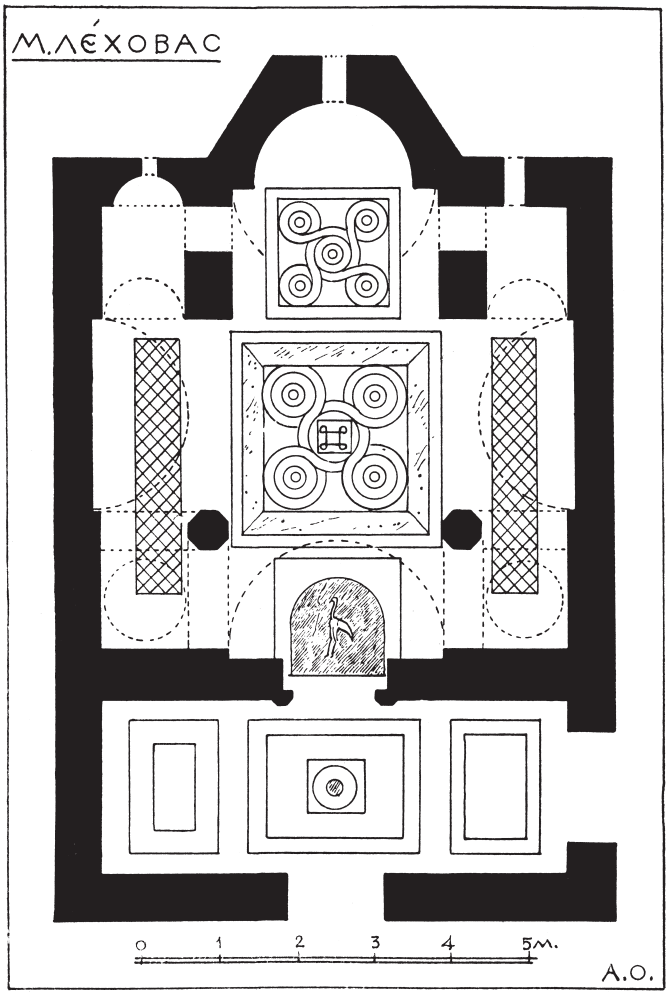


Figure 5.61. Plan of the *katholikon* of Lechova near Kryoneri (SP-27).
Orlandos 1935b, p. 95, fig. 5

capacity.[231] Yet the level land around the monastery was certainly used for cultivation, as a much later list of monastic holdings indicates: in 1829, in addition to many sheep and goats, and a few cows, oxen, mules, and horses, the monastery possessed over 13 ha of cultivated fields in the surrounding area and as far as the village of Paradeisi.[232] The Italian engineer Giusto Emilio Alberghetti included a Lechova in his list of villages in the territory of Corinth in 1704. We located Medieval remains at a small site, 400 m to the northeast of the monastery, on the foot of the Vesiza range (HS-148). There should be little doubt that the few pottery fragments and roof tiles, along with the irregular stone blocks and rubble, belong to this hamlet, which developed within monastic territory in the Middle Ages.

Lechova lies not far from Titane (HS-67), where Byzantine artifacts found on the east terrace include a late-10th- or 11th-century chafing dish and a glass bracelet, along with stew pots and a relief pithos fragment. Titane somehow remained a pole of attraction throughout Byzantine and Frankish times, as we encountered material from this period at seven sites in its broader area.[233] At one of these sites, Kriepepa 2 of Paradeisi (HS-64), we recorded a complex in *opus testaceum* consisting of two apses probably deco-

231. The control of numerous flocks and herds by monasteries is documented from Medieval up to modern times; see Forbes 2000a, pp. 55–56.

232. Salapatas 1986, pp. 31–32.

233. HS-59, HS-60, HS-62, HS-64, HS-65, HS-71, HS-81.





Figure 5.62 *(top)*. **The** *katholikon* **of Lechova (SP-27) from the northeast**

Figure 5.63 *(bottom)*. **The** *katholikon* **of Lechova (SP-27) from the southwest**

rated on the interior with marble revetment (Fig. 5.64). A terracotta pipe brought water to this complex, which must have been a bath; the structure can be dated to the 11th or 12th century based on the associated pottery. Circa 160 m east of this complex we recorded a large multiperiod settlement site (HS-65), but the topographical and chronological relationship between the two sites is not clear. Nonetheless, the presence of a bath complex at Kriepepa indicates that the countryside in this part of the Corinthia may not have been as impoverished as our sources lead us to believe.



Figure 5.64. The complex at Kriepepa 2 of Paradeisi (HS-64): view of one of the apses

Of the 44 sites with Medieval pottery, no more than 11 yielded characteristic Frankish pottery of the 13th century.[234] This may be due in part to our inability to narrow the date for some of our Medieval sites that have no fine ware; it may also indicate either that the house of the Villehardouins did not pay much attention to the Sikyonian countryside, or that the Frankish lords amassed large properties at the expense of small landholders, or both.[235] The accumulation of land in the hands of a few powerful men probably started earlier, as is shown by the example of Leon Sgouros.[236] It is possible, although we lack definite proof, that the growth of land estates during this period was the result of high taxation imposed upon the small- and average-size property owners. The century prior to the Ottoman invasions (14th century) yielded almost no recognizable pottery, with the exception of a single vitreous glazed sherd (HS-102). This may not be accidental, or the result of our limited knowledge of the ceramics of that period. The Peloponnese experienced a demographic crisis in the second half of the 14th century, caused mainly by the Ottoman invasions, the fights between Byzantines and Franks, and a mid-14th-century plague, and many villages were abandoned.[237] It is possible that this crisis forced the Despot of Mystras to accept 10,000 Albanian immigrants into the Peloponnese.[238] Another phenomenon of the Late Byzantine Peloponnese that relates to the general feeling of insecurity is the relocation of towns from the plain to mountainous regions.[239] This has been historically attested for

234. HS-1, HS-6, HS-16, HS-18, HS-23, HS-25, HS-40, HS-62, HS-65, HS-103, HS-104.

235. In fact, even Corinth, the most important city in the Frankish Corinthia, experienced a period of decline during the first half of the 13th century and from the early 14th century onward (Williams 2003, pp. 425–426). In contrast, the arrival of the Franks in the southern Argolid caused no change in the settlement pattern (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 407). The same seems to hold true in southwest Boiotia, where Frankish fiefs adapted to the preexisting settlement system (Bintliff 1995, p. 114).

236. See above, p. 85.

237. Panagiotopoulos 1985, p. 43. On the plague, see Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 61–68. Cf. the decrease in settlement density in Late Byzantine Lakonia (Cavanagh et al. 2002, pp. 369–372).

238. Cf. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 84–85.

239. Kordosis 1998.

some important towns of the peninsula, and we have already seen that in the mid-14th century both Corinth and Vasiliko were abandoned because of the fear of the Turks. If we assume that coastal villages such as Velo and Poulitsa were already in existence, then we could easily imagine that the military and political upheaval would have seriously affected them.

Post-Medieval Period (Ottoman and Early Modern)

The area of Vasiliko fell to the Ottomans probably in the 1460s. The northwest Peloponnese then became part of the Ottoman empire until the 1820s, save for a short period of Venetian rule (ca. 1686–1715). What consequences did this have for the settlement pattern? Does the common opinion that population withdrew to mountainous areas, first for safety and then for taxation purposes or in order to avoid the "Ottoman draft," hold in our part of Corinthia?[240] The Turkish invasions of the Corinthia, including the capture of the castle of Vasilika, are relatively well documented by chronicographers of the fall of Byzantium. On the contrary, we are still in the dark concerning the three and a half centuries of Ottoman rule.[241]

Material remains from these centuries, especially coarse wares, are equally obscure and hard to identify in the field. Only two sherds were dated with some confidence to the 17th century: a base of an incised sgraffito ware (HS-42) and a white-glazed sherd (HS-59). The other 23 post-Medieval sites contained small amounts of fine pottery assigned to the Late Ottoman and mainly early modern periods (Fig. 5.65).[242] At many of these sites we found fragments of Grottaglie plates (from southern Italy, late 19th/early 20th century) and some early modern lead-glazed sherds among unidentifiable coarse and plain wares, as well as roof tiles with coarse undersides (Fig. 5.66). From three sites in the area of Titane (HS-67, HS-71, HS-74), we retrieved late-19th-century pieces of Didymoteicho ware (from Thrace), and an early modern imitation of Italian majolica. At Frangoklisi of Stylia (HS-87) we observed remains of a rectangular structure built of brick, rubble, and mortar, with a central vault on its northwest wall (Fig. 5.67). The width of the structure comes to 5.8 m but its length cannot be determined. The interior preserves traces of waterproof cement, which suggests that this secular structure may have been a covered cistern. The pointed arch of the vault in conjunction with its masonry style point to a post-Medieval date. Early modern pottery found immediately below this structure could be associated with a small settlement serviced by the cistern.

240. For the migrations from the lowlands and plains toward the mountainous regions, see *IEE,* vol. 10, 1974, pp. 70–73; Frangakis and Wagstaff 1987, pp. 163–165.

241. Mohammad Shariat Panahi is now in the process of studying a large corpus of Ottoman documents lodged in the *Başbakanlık* archives in Istanbul and referring to the *kaza* of Corinth. These documents, which total 1,204 pages and cover the period between 1450 and 1821, include accounts of population, products, and land-taxes *(Tapu Tahrir Defterleri),* accounts of *zeamets* and *timars* given to officials *(Timar Zeamet [Ruznamce] Defterleri),* accounts on financial matters *(Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri),* earlier and later accounts of *vakf* properties (*Evkaf* and *Cevdet Evkafi*), lists of naval affairs *(Cevdet Tasnifi Bahriye),* lists of judicial affairs *(Cevdet Tasnifi Adliye),* lists of military affairs *(Cevdet Tasnifi Askeriye),* accounts on capital tax *(Bab-i Defteri Cizye Muhasebesi),* and reports on various aspects of the minor fortifications of the empire *(Küçük Kale Kalemi).*

242. HS-1, HS-2, HS-12, HS-14, HS-16, HS-18, HS-20, HS-21, HS-26, HS-28, HS-52, HS-57, HS-60, HS-67, HS-71, HS-74, HS-80, HS-86, HS-87, HS-96, HS-146, HS-147, HS-148.

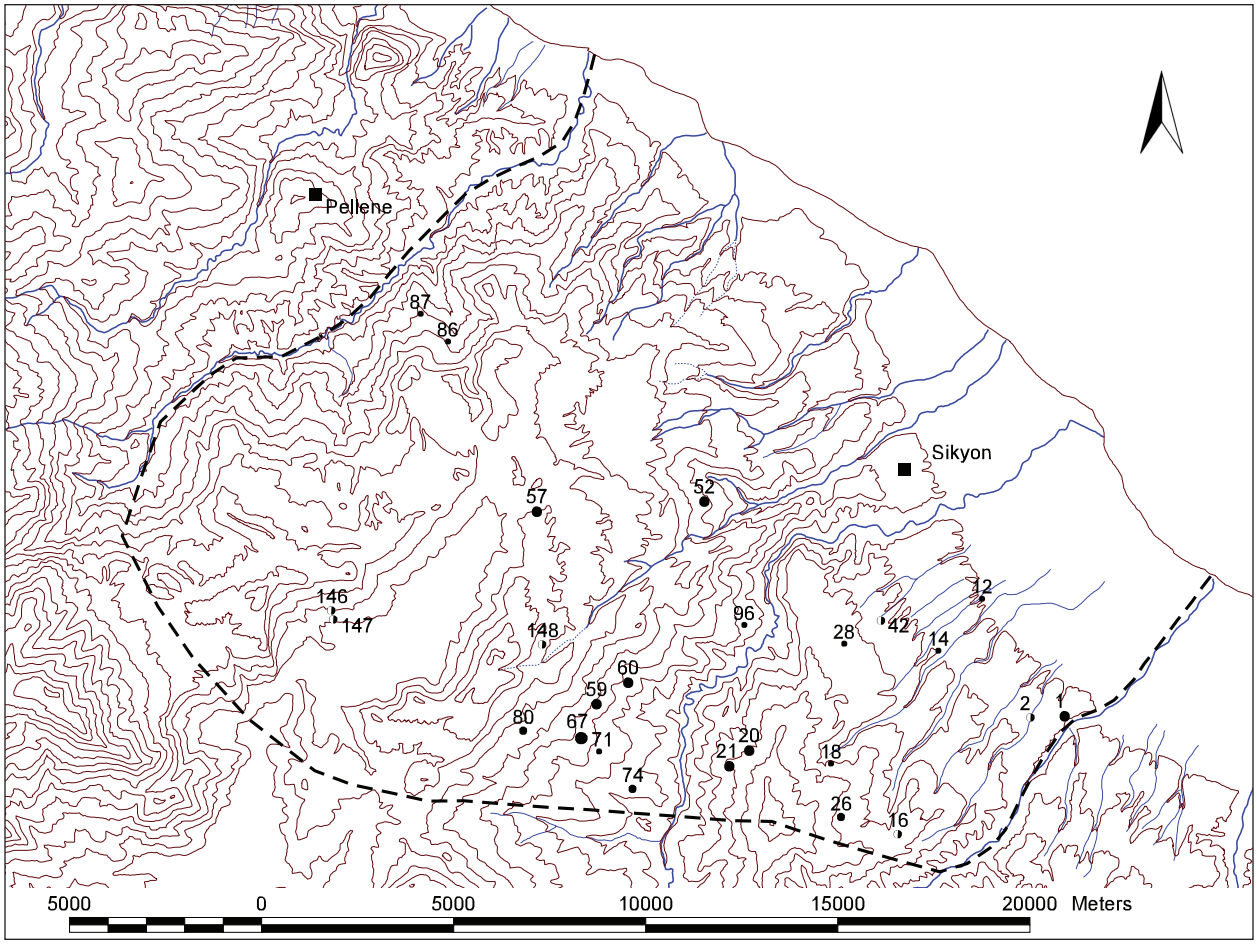


Figure 5.65. Map of post-Medieval sites

Our limited material evidence from the Sikyonian countryside in the Ottoman era may not be accidental, or simply the result of our inability to identify it. It is also due to the fact that there were no substantial settlements outside the boundaries of the present-day villages, which our survey did not cover (Map 1).[243] This phenomenon is not confined to our study area but seems to apply to many parts of Greece. Written sources indicate that settlement became increasingly concentrated during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, and it is thanks to this development that the present-day villages of Greece came into being.[244]

Our main problem is how to date the formation of most of the 40 settlements that presently occupy the territory of the ancient city-state. Panagiotopoulos suggests the Franco-Byzantine period (13th–14th century) as the most likely period for the formation of such settlements in the Peloponnese, but he does so without substantial evidence.[245] The earliest known documents referring to the villages of our area were composed during the second Venetian occupation (1687–1715). These documents are mostly inventories, drawn by order of the superintendents of the Morea on behalf of the Serenissima, and all are now stored in the State Archives of Venice, except for one. This is the so-called Nani Archive, which was purchased by the National Library of Greece, and was one of my three available sources

243. Surface survey within the built space of a village is very difficult, if not impossible, for obvious reasons. The only way to explore the archaeology of a village is through an examination of its extant structures—churches, houses, pens, industrial installations (olive and wine presses, mills), etc. A survey of this kind was carried out by an American team in the northwest Peloponnese, with impressive results; see Cooper 2002.

244. See Antoniades-Bibicou and Guillou 1988, pp. 50–51.

245. Panagiotopoulos 1985, p. 92.



Figure 5.66. Pottery from Frangoklisi of Stylia (HS-87), including an almost complete Grottaglie plate. Scale 1:4



Figure 5.67. Part of the structure (possibly a cistern) at Frangoklisi of Stylia (HS-87)

of information. My second source was the codex Grimani, which contains the results of the census of the Peloponnesian population in 1700, and was published by Panagiotopoulos (1985). In Table 5.1, I list the villages of our survey area as they appear in the codex. It is apparent that Grimani's list, at least as it is published by Panagiotopoulos, is not complete: what must have been the most important and sizable settlement of the area, Vasiliko, is not included, and the same holds for the villages of Vochaiko, Kokkoni, Velina, Manna, and Bozika, all of which are mentioned in the Nani Archive. These six villages combined would have probably added as many as 500 to the total number of inhabitants in the survey area.

The Nani Archive is a detailed cadaster *(catastico particolare)* compiled under the direction of Antonio Nani, superintendent *(provveditore)* of the Morea from 1703 to 1705. The archive is organized in many volumes (manuscripts) containing a wealth of information on the land and the people of the peninsula. Kordosis, who has studied this archive, has published the

TABLE 5.1. NAMES OF SIKYONIAN VILLAGES FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Modern	*Codex Grimani (1700)*	*Nani Archive (1703–1705)*	*Alberghetti (1704)*	*Expédition scientifique de Morée (1832)*	*Miliarakis (1886)*
Bolati (Μπολάτι)	Bolati	Bollati Megalo, Bollati Mikro	Bolati	Bolati	Μπολάτι
Bozika (Μποζικά)		Bosichieus	Bozzichieus	Bozika	Μποζικά
Diminio (Διμηνιό)		Dimignó		Diminion	Δημινιό
Ellinochori (Ελληνοχώρι)					Λιμοχῶρι
Evangelistria (Ευαγγελίστρια)		Deli Mustaffà?		Hadji Moustapha	Χατζῆ Μουσταφᾶ
Gonoussa (Γονούσα)		Lopessi	Lopesi	Liopesi	Λιόπεσι
Kaisari (Καίσαρι)	Gesari	Chiessari	Chiessari	Kaesari	Καίσαρι
Karyotika (Καρυώτικα)				Karyati	Καρυώτικα
Kiato (Κιάτο)	Giàtu	Chiatto	Chiato	Kiaton	Κιάτον
Klimenti (Κλημέντι)	Climendi	Clemendi	Clemendi	Klimendi	Κλημέντι
Kokkoni (Κοκκώνη)		Cocogni		Khokoni	Κοκῶνι
Krinai (Κρήναι)	Braim Bey	Braim bei	Braim Beì	Ibrahim Bey	Ιμπραίμ Μπέη
Kryoneri (Κρυονέρι)	Mezani	Machi[- - -]		Matsani	Μάτζανι
Lalioti (Λαλιώτη)	Lalotti	Lalloti	Lalotti	Lalioti	Λαλιώτη
Manna (Μάννα)		Marcassi	Marcazi	Markasi	Μάρκασι
Megali Valtsa (Μεγ. Βάλτσα)	Valza Megali	Valza megali	Valzagrande	Valtsa megali	Μεγάλη Μπάλτζα
Melissi (Μελίσσι)					Μελίσσι
Mikri Valtsa (Μικ. Βάλτσα)		Valza Mikri	Valza picciola	Valtsa mikri	Μικρή Μπάλτζα
Moulki (Μούλκι)				Moulki	Μοῦλκι
Nerantza (Νεράντζα)	Netrizza	Neranza	Narunzè	Nerandza	Νεράντζα ή Τρικαλίτικα
Panariti (Παναρίτι)	Panariti	Panariti	Panariti	Panariti	Παναρῆτι
Paradeisi (Παραδείσι)	Paradisi	Paradissi	Paradisi	Paradisi	Παραδεῖσι
Pasio (Πάσιο)		Passù?			
Poulitsa (Πουλίτσα)	Pulica	Polizza	Polizza	Poulitsa	Πουλίτσα
Souli (Σούλι)	Suli	Sulli		Souli	Σοῦλι
Stimanga (Στιμάγκα)	Stimagua	Stimanga	Stunancha	Stimanga	Στημάγγα
Stylia (Στύλια)	Viladusa	Vlandussa	Valandussa	Vlantousa	Βλαντοῦσα
Sykia (Συκιά)				Pyrgos Sykia	Συκιά
Tarsina (Ταρσινά)					Ταρσινὰ
Thalero (Θαλερό)	Folero	Folerò	Felero	Tholero	Θολερό
Throphari (Θροφαρί)		Troffari		Throphari	Θροφαρή
Titane (Τιτάνη)	Voivoda	Voivodeus	Voivodeas	Voivoda	Βοιβοντᾶ
Vasiliko (Βασιλικό)		Vassilicà	Vassilicò	Vasilikon	Βασιλικό
Velina (Βελίνα)		Velines	Velines	Velina	Βελίνα
Velo (Βέλο)	Velo	Vello	Vello	Valou	Βέλλου
Vochaiko (Βοχαικό)		Cassan Agà		Hassan Aga	Χασὰν Ἀγᾶ
Vrachati (Βραχάτι)	Brachatei	Vracatei	Vracat Beì	Vrakhati	Βραχάτι
Xylokastro (Ξυλόκαστρο)		Xilocastro		Xylokastro	Χυλόκαστρον
Zemeno (Ζεμενό)	Sameno	Semeno	Zemenò	Zemeno	Ζεμενό

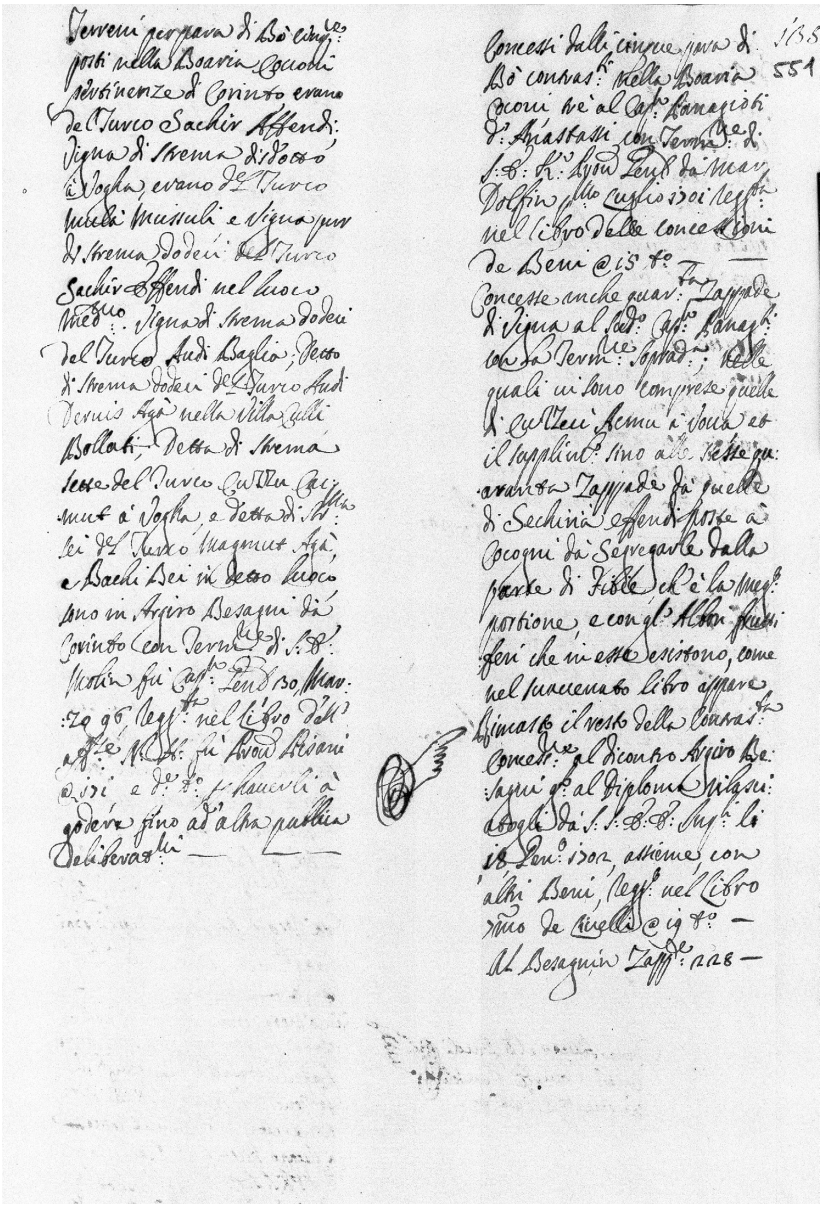


Figure 5.68. Nani Archive: b.3927, f.551r

names of the villages and hamlets listed under the Corinthia, but none of the accompanying information.[246] I had the opportunity to see the manuscripts, which are written quite legibly on both sides of each folio (Fig. 5.68). Three refer to the territory of Corinth *(territorio di Corinto),* one listing the auctions, another the tenancies, and a third the distributions of properties.[247] I have already stressed the value of these documents for our knowledge of agricultural products in Venetian times.[248] The names of the villages as they appear in the manuscripts are included in Table 5.1, where it becomes obvious that this list is more complete than the one offered by Grimani. Of great importance are the holdings of Ottoman officers prior to the arrival of Venetians, to which I refer later in this section.

To these two sources we should add the catalogue of villages of the *territorio di Corinto* compiled by the engineer Alberghetti, who served as superintendent of the Cadaster of Morea *(sopraintendente al Catastico di*

246. Kordosis 1981, pp. 395–398.

247. Auctions *(incanti di Morea):* b.3924, f.287–324; tenancies *(Affitanze della Morea):* b.3925, f.236–277; distribution of properties *(Dispositioni Beni nella Regno Morea):* b.3927, f.546–601. For citations to archival sources, b. = *busta* (file), f. = folio.

248. See above, p. 47.

TABLE 5.2. NAMES OF SIKYONIAN SETTLEMENTS NO LONGER EXTANT

Modern	*Codex Grimani (1700)*	*Nani Archive (1703–1705)*	*Alberghetti (1704)*	*Expédition scientifique de Morée (1832)*	*Miliarakis (1886)*
Balgouri (Μπαλουγκούρι)		Bulgur			
Kapandri (Καπανδρί)		Capandriti?			
Kyparissi (Κυπαρίσσι)		Chiparissa?	Ciparis	Kyparissi	
Kyrillou (Κυρίλλου)	Girilo	Chirillo	Cerillo		
Lechova (Λέχοβα)			Lechova		
Phrygani (Φρύγανι)	Frigagni	Frigagni	Frigagni		
Rapsomati (Ραψομάτη)		Rapsomati		Rhapsomati	
Skrapani (Σκραπάνι)		Scrabuglà		Skrapani	Σκραπάνι
Stylia (Στύλια)		Stiglia			
Varella (Βαρελλά)	Varellà	Varella	Varella	Varela	
Zanglivani (Ζαγκλιβάνι)		Sanglivani			
Zorzi (Ζωρζή)		Zorzù			

Morea) by order of the Venetian senate (Table 5.1).[249] The villages *(ville)* are listed in three columns below the *Città* of Corinth, and most of them appear to be grouped geographically. Vassilicò is listed first, undoubtedly because of its importance, then come the villages to the west of Vasiliko (Chiato, Cerillo, Lalotti, Gholas, Felero, Valzagrande, Acoli, Valza picciola, and Zemenò), followed by the southern group (Paradisi, Lopesi, Bozzichieus, and Voivodeas) and the coastal villages (among which are Vracat Beì, Bolati, Varella, Polizza, Vello, Narunzè, Ciparis, Braim Beì), while further down we encounter the southwest group with Panariti, Valandussa, Velines, Tricala, and Marcazi. A few villages seem to be listed out of place, such as Lechova (between Limnes and Chalci) and Stunancha (between Steffagni and Sapandi), but generally the geographical order is respected. This is important to understand if we are to define the approximate location of some *ville* that have not survived today.

Overall, 32 of the 40 modern settlements are mentioned in our documents of ca. 1700. The same documents also mention at least a dozen more place-names from our area, most if not all of which must refer to villages or hamlets of that period that no longer exist (Table 5.2). Four of them, namely Kapandri, Kyrillou, Zanglivani, and Zorzi, eluded our efforts to locate them, but have given their names to specific areas of Sikyonia. Thus, Kapandri refers to the entire terrace to the southwest of Pasio, Kyrillou to the eastern side of the terrace of Pasio (along the Kyrillou *rema*), Zanglivani to the terrace north of Throphari, and Zorzi to the valley formed along the west bank of the Helisson River around the church of Panagia of Moulki. The sites of three more hamlets, namely, Balgouri, Kyparissi, and Varella, two of which are marked on the *Carte de la Grèce,* were positively located, but yielded no material evidence (AS-8, AS-10, AS-11). At the remaining five, Lechova (HS-148), Rapsomati (HS-57?), Phrygani (HS-146), Skrapani (HS-20), and Stylia (HS-86), we encountered scanty remains

249. Given as an appendix to Pacifico 1704.



Figure 5.69. Corner of a building at Paliochori of Stylia (HS-86)

of roof tiles and rubble, and occasionally architectural remains and coarse pottery probably of the post-Medieval period (Fig. 5.69).

The names of the villages and hamlets, both present and past, in our survey area, as well as the language spoken in these villages up until the first half of the 20th century, could push us further back in time, into the 15th and 16th centuries. Some of the villages (including Klimenti, Liopesi [modern Gonoussa], Souli, and Stylia) and many place-names (such as Kiapha and Paliokatounti and the ones ending in -[ë]za) have a recognizable Albanian etymology, while others such as Ibrahim Bey (modern Krinai), Hadji Moustapha (modern Evangelistria), Moulki, Voivoda (modern Titane), Hassan Aga (modern Vochaiko), and Vracat Beì (modern Vrachati) have a clear Turkish origin.[250] The Albanian element eventually came to dominate many areas of the Peloponnese, including the Corinthia, giving rise to the *Arvanítika* language spoken in the region until a few decades ago. Albanian-speaking villages in our survey area include Bozika, Kaisari, Klimenti, Ellinochori, Matsani (modern Kryoneri), Megali Valtsa, Mikri Valtsa, Moulki, Panariti, Paradeisi, Pasio, Souli, Stimanga, Stylia, Tarsina, Throphari, Titane, Vasiliko, Velina, and Zemeno.[251] It is a logical assumption that most of these villages were formed after the coming of the Arvanites and the Ottomans during the 15th and 16th centuries. Some of them, such as Vasiliko and Zemeno, replaced Byzantine *choria,* but for the rest this cannot be ascertained without material evidence. It is suggestive that among our 25 extra-village sites with post-Medieval material evidence, 14 also have a Byzantine and Frankish component.[252]

In Sikyonia, most villages of Albanian origin are located inland, whereas villages of Turkish origin tend to cluster along the fertile coastal plain. The name of the village of Moulki, from Turkish *mülk* meaning land property, probably indicates how most of these coastal villages were formed. They started out as "privileged fields" *(hassa çiftlik),* fields granted by the central

250. See Vagiakakos 1975, pp. 72–75, 89–90; Poulos 1960.

251. Poulos 1950, map between pp. 96 and 97.

252. HS-1, HS-2, HS-16, HS-18, HS-20, HS-21, HS-57, HS-59, HS-60, HS-67, HS-71, HS-87, HS-96, HS-148. Compare this to the situation in southwest Boiotia, where the Albanian settlements from 1300 onward seem firmly based on the earlier settlement pattern (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, p. 149).

Ottoman administration to high officers, but were occupied and cultivated by Greeks who had already been there.[253] On the contrary, the Albanian immigrants, mostly preoccupied with pastoral activities, gravitated toward the mountainous areas.[254] Thus, the two racial groups, Greeks and Albanians, were in a rather complementary relationship.[255] Yet, their villages in their original forms must have been quite different. An Ottoman register *(mufassal defter)* of 1461/3 concerning an area of the northwestern Peloponnese reveals some very interesting information: (1) a roughly equal number of Greek and Albanian families; (2) a tendency for the Greek population to cluster in small fortified towns and large villages, as opposed to the preference of the Albanian population for small settlements of usually one to 10 families; and (3) the social superiority of the Greek element to the recent immigrant group, which means that the amenities of the numerous small Albanian settlements spread in the countryside were rather basic.[256] Chalkokondyles, who experienced the wave of Albanian immigrations, writes that "this race is all nomad, and does not stay anywhere for a long period of time."[257] Thus, we can imagine that most of the Albanian villages started as clusters of a few families, which later grew into larger units. The existence of these temporary encampments, called *catune,* has been attested for many areas of Greece.[258] The ephemeral and basic nature of these settlements would explain the dearth of material evidence from the 14th to 16th century in our survey area. The Northern Keos surveyors attributed the lack of finds of the late 13th to the 16th century in their survey area "to the fact that in the fourteenth century ceramic vessels were totally replaced by wooden barrels as the chief transport container in the eastern Mediterranean."[259] The same reason may lie behind the scarcity of finds in our area. Besides, we should not forget that the Sikyonian territory then was no more than the countryside of the sacred *kaza* of Corinth, and that it was in that city that the majority of the population lived.[260]

In the case of the mountainous villages of Klimenti and Kaisari, oral tradition combined with field survey helped us to understand how these villages developed from the first half of the 15th century onward. Originally, small groups of pastoral huts existed in a few spots around the valley, the names of which collective memory has preserved to this day: Chasnathi, Balgouri, Phrygani, Moleza, Paliokatounti, and so on. Some of these toponyms, such as Balgouri and Phrygani, also appear in the Nani Archive (Bulgur, Frigagni), and have post-Medieval material evidence (tiles and coarse pottery), albeit of scanty nature. We can imagine that in the course of the 15th or 16th century the residents of these tiny shepherd communities would leave their huts and concentrate in one place: the future village.

The 16th century was a period of recovery and demographic growth for the Mediterranean and the Balkans as a whole. The problem is that the written sources on the Peloponnese, let alone the Corinthia, during this period are very few, and are reduced to almost none in the following century until the return of the Venetians. A catalogue of the bishoprics of the Peloponnese composed ca. 1550 mentions "over 7,000 Christian houses" for the entire Corinthia, which corresponds to approximately 32,000 people.[261] The problem, of course, is that we do not know how this population was

253. For the various forms of Ottoman land holdings, see McGrew 1985, pp. 24–32.

254. See Zakythinos 1953, p. 33.

255. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 98–100.

256. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 85–100.

257. Chalkokondyles 2.170: εἰσὶ δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο νομάδες ἅπαντες καὶ οὐδαμῇ σφίσι χρονίαν τὴν διατριβὴν ποιούμενοι; cf. Zakythinos 1953, p. 33.

258. See Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 409.

259. Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 357.

260. Çelebi writes that the city of Corinth had five quarters, 500 houses, five mosques, seven schools, three tekes, 100 small shops, two khans, and a bath: Kostakis 1981, p. 247. (On the unreliability of Çelebi's numbers, see above, p. 89, n. 199.) Similarly, the urban population in five cities of central Greece for the period 1466–1570 represented three-quarters of the population of their respective *kaza*s: Karydis 1993, pp. 68–72.

261. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 120–121.

distributed in the vast territory of Corinth. Yet, we can assume with a fair degree of certainty that the villages and hamlets of Sikyonia, both those that existed prior to the Albanian influx and those that formed thereafter, increased in population during this time. This is particularly true of the mountainous villages, which eventually grew to outnumber in population the villages on the coast. The Grimani data reveal clearly a concentration of population in the semimountainous and mountainous areas (Table 5.3). This process, noticed elsewhere in Ottoman Greece, had started a century earlier (early 17th century), when various factors forced the Greek farmers of the fertile lowlands to withdraw to the mountainous interior.[262] In this way, the high officers of the Ottoman government progressively expanded their land holdings in and above the coastal plain.[263] The Nani Archive lists the properties of Ottoman officers along the coast prior to 1686. Turkish aghas, pashas, and effendis have owned lands *(terreni)* at Vocha, Diminio, Vasiliko, and Kokkoni and Bolati.[264] Pouqueville mentions the "tchiftlik de Passo," and Leake writes that the lands cultivated by the inhabitants of Vasiliko belonged to Nuri Bey, son of Kyamil Bey.[265] Kyamil was no doubt the richest landlord in the western Corinthia, owning an immense property on the coastal plain. When we compare the population data of 1700, the 1800s, 1851, and 1878 (Table 5.3), we realize that once Turkish officers enlarged their possessions on the coastal plain, population in these areas began to rise, presumably under the direction of the Ottoman administration in order to secure a labor force.[266] Thus, whereas in 1700 the population of the plain was one-quarter the population of the mountainous and semimountainous areas (266+ versus 1,080+), by the 1800s the former group outnumbered the mountain dwellers (1,600+ versus 1,500+), but 50 years later it was reduced to less than half its mountainous counterpart (2,173 versus 4,403). The explanation must lie in the proprietorship of the plain fields, many of which passed from Turkish hands to the Greek state after the War of Independence. It is thanks to this development that King Otto was later able to grant 100 stremmata of national currant vineyards located around the village of Sikya to the Hydrian admiral Kriezis as a recompense for his great services to the country.[267] The example of Kriezis shows that the state was slow in distributing these fields, which may have forced the Greek peasants to withdraw to the interior. Thus, when Clark came to the area, he was struck by the fact that "the plain between Sicyon and Corinth, in old days proverbial for its fertility, is now sparsely planted with vine and olive, and sown in patches with corn. It appears to have

262. According to the Nemea valley surveyors, the gradual depopulation of lowland areas was the result of the increasing demands of the Turkish landlords from the Greek peasants working their estates (Wright et al. 1990, pp. 596–597). In the Pylos region during the second Ottoman period, the villages with the highest populations were also at the highest elevations, away from the Turkish fort of New Navarino (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000, pp. 374–375).

263. Karydis 1993, pp. 37–47. In Ottoman Crete, *çiftlik*s owned by absentee landlords and worked by tenant farmers under a manager *(subasi)* grew in fertile plains: Brumfield 2000, pp. 38–41.

264. Vocha: b.3927, f.568r; Diminio: b.3924, f.291v; Vasiliko: b.3925, f.261v and b.3927, f.549v, 565v, 571r; Kokkoni and Bolati: b.3927, f.551r, 556v, 598r.

265. Pouqueville 1826, p. 442; Leake 1830, p. 357.

266. A downward movement of population in the course of the second Ottoman period has been attested for many parts of the Peloponnese: Frangakis and Wagstaff 1987, p. 188; cf. Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff 1992.

267. McGrew 1985, pp. 88 and 185–186.

TABLE 5.3. POPULATION FIGURES FOR SIKYONIAN SETTLEMENTS (1700–2001)

*Settlement**	*1700*	*1800s*	*1851*	*1878*	*1920*	*1961*	*2001*
Bolati (P)	8	100	120	183	315	513	667
Bozika (M)			161	269	474	532	349
Diminio (P)		30	191	420	733	451	1,761
Ellinochori (M)				75	119	254	361
Evangelistria (P)		50	176	90	201	245	261
Geliniatika (P)					351		524
Gonoussa (M)	127	150	201	298	542	436	273
Kaisari (M)	34	200	437	679	710	602	517
Karyotika (P)							557
Kiato (P)	28	50	137	796	2,041	6,147	9,743
Klimenti (M)	59	200	710	882	783	314	323
Kokkoni (P)		120	99	224	511	919	1,179
Krinai (P)	39	120	202	286	457	570	691
Kryoneri (M)	35		457	560	945	1,067	961
Kyparissi (P)		40	(with Kokkoni)				
Kyrillou (P)	42						
Lalioti (M)	92		149	204	363	422	432
Manna (M)			339	609	908	909	589
Megali Valtsa (M)	107	200	272	432	553	608	508
Melissi (P)			125	398	596	785	956
Mikri Valtsa (M)		75	148	220	394	371	359
Moulki (P)		200	252	395	738	749	1,389
Nerantza (P)	13	60	(with Kokkoni)	136	175	409	616
Panariti (M)	92	250	323	549	758	730	472
Paradeisi (M)	33		(with Gonoussa)	100	80	147	150
Pasio (P)		30				522	1,122
Phrygani (M)	45						
Poulitsa (P)	20	60	(with Evangelistria)	153	265	604	719
Rapsomati (M)		50					
Souli (M)	25	75	233	368	520	529	530
Stimanga (M)	210	150	173	275	616	985	1,068
Stylia (M)	64		152	205	360	421	196
Sykia (P)			39	92	132	352	601
Tarsina (P)				145	205	322	421
Thalero (M)	61		86	149	197	200	268
Throphari (M)				114	178	156	135
Titane (M)	38		92	135	120	282	310
Varella (P)	16	20					
Vasiliko (P)		300	359	538	857	957	1,002
Velina (M)		150	272	351	254	191	243
Velo (P)	51	120	116	417	1,136	2,232	3,041
Vochaiko (P)		100**	130	225	489	845	966
Vrachati (P)	49	200	227	303	563	1,672	2,951
Xylokastro (P)				467	1,608	4,569	5,390
Zemeno (M)	58		198	288	532	550	402
Total	1,346+	3,100+	6,576	12,030	20,779	32,569	43,003

Sources: 1700 = Codex Grimani (Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 240–243); 1800s = Pouqueville 1827, pp. 182–184 (using a hearth-multiplier of 5); 1851 = Rangavis 1853, p. 380; 1878 = Miliarakis 1886, p. 115; 1920, 1961, 2001 = data obtained from the National Statistical Service of Greece (ΕΣΥΕ).

*Settlement names appended with a "P" are located in the plain; those appended with an "M" are located in semimountainous or mountainous areas.

**The list of Pouqueville reads "Sagrihassan" between "Viachataica" and "Balati," probably referring to Hassan Aga between Vrachati and Bolati; "sagri" in Turkish means "ridge."

owed its renown rather to careful tillage than natural richness."[268] After the mid-19th century and the settlement of property issues in the plain, population picked up again so that by 1878 the difference between the two groups was drastically reduced (5,268 versus 6,762).

Turkish properties, however, were not limited to the plain, but extended to the mountainous villages. The Nani Archive lists Turkish properties at Voivoda, Megali Valtsa, Panariti, Stimanga, Kaisari, and Liopesi.[269] A difference here is that the majority of the Turkish owners bore no title, which means that they were low officers and were accordingly given land in poorer areas. On the other hand, the presence of Turkish landowners in these mountainous villages casts some doubt on the theory of Greeks fleeing to these areas in order to escape Turkish oppression.[270]

The lack of sites dating to the second period of Venetian rule can be explained by two factors: (1) the very low population density observed throughout the Peloponnese, as a result of both the Turco-Venetian War and the plague that repeatedly hit the Morea;[271] and (2) the concentration of this population in the villages already formed during the previous centuries. It suffices to compare the population density per km^2 attested for the entire *territorio di Corinto* in 1700 with my low estimate of the density during the 4th century B.C. in our survey area—that is, 16.8 versus 100—to realize the extent of the Late Medieval and early modern ολιγανθρωπία.[272] Regarding the second factor, the Venetian registers make it clear that population concentrated in villages of modest size.[273]

Between the 1700s and the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821, the population of the Morea more than doubled.[274] This trend certainly affected the Corinthia, and our survey area in particular, as shown by the cadaster published by Pouqueville.[275] It was given to the French traveler by the *voivode,* and lists the villages and the corresponding number of families. When we compare it to the list drawn by Grimani more than a century earlier, and to the one drawn by Rangavis half a century later, we realize that Pouqueville's list is not complete. At least seven villages are omitted, which would have added as many as 1,000 people to the overall estimate.

268. Clark 1858, p. 344.

269. Voivoda: b.3924, f.297v; Megali Valtsa: b.3924, f.306v; Panariti: b.3924, f.312v and b.3927, f.582v, 594v; Stimanga: b.3925, f.238v and b.3927, f.555v, 556v, 596r, 596v, 597r; Kaisari: b.3927, f.570v; Liopesi: b.3927, f.593v.

270. Using Ottoman Imperial registers referring to central Greece, Kiel (1999, pp. 195–200) has seriously challenged this traditional view. Frangakis and Wagstaff (1987) have also contested this view by examining the data of the Venetian census of ca. 1700 (the codex Grimani) in conjunction with the French census of 1830 for the entire Peloponnese. They concluded that in ca. 1700 the lowland areas of the peninsula (i.e., the areas below 100 masl) contained a sizable proportion of the settlements (20.8%), whereas the zone above 1,000 masl contained a small number of settlements in proportion to its geographical extent. Although the authors' main point, that the lowland of the Morea was far from deserted, is right, their research method presents two serious problems: (1) contour lines alone are not a safe indicator of the geomorphological setting of settlements (Forbes 2000b, p. 218), and (2) their treatment of the Peloponnese as a whole leads them to flatten out considerable differences among the various provinces. These differences spring from local factors that the authors rarely take into account.

271. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 123–133.

272. For the population density in 1700, see Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 170–182 (p. 176 on the Corinthia).

273. Panagiotopoulos counted only 15 settlements of more than 1,000 people out of 1,532 settlements attested for the entire Peloponnese in ca. 1700; 93.6% of these villages had 1–69 households: Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 188–197; cf. Forbes 2000a, pp. 48–49.

274. In 1700, there were 176,844 inhabitants, versus 400,000 in 1821: Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 170–173.

275. Pouqueville 1827, pp. 182–184.

A second problem with Pouqueville's table is that it lists the number of families, not the number of individuals. The problem of estimating the average number of people per household, thereby translating the numbers of families into approximate population figures, is a much-debated one. Scholars have suggested various numbers between four and five as a hearth-multiplier for the Peloponnese during the second Venetian occupation.[276] For the early 19th century we are probably at the upper end of this range. I base my argument on Rangavis's table for 1851, where both the households and the inhabitants are listed. For my survey area, I observed that the villages on or near the plain show 4.7 inhabitants per household, and the semimountainous areas 5.3. Thus, we are probably close to the five as hearth-multiplier in the early 1800s. Be that as it may, the total estimates presented in Table 5.3 show the demographic explosion: from 1,346 plus ca. 500 inhabitants in the early 1700s, we reach 3,100 plus ca. 1,000 in the early 1800s, which represents a more than twofold increase.

Pouqueville's table attests the parallel growth of both inland and coastal villages. Klimenti and Kaisari combined counted 400 individuals, and its dependent community above the coastal plain, Pasio, appears already in the Nani Archive. The example of Klimenti was later followed by a few important mountainous villages, such as Karya and Tarsos, which sometime after the War of Independence founded dependent communities on apparently unclaimed marginal areas closer to the gulf. Thus, the people of Tarsos settled in modern Tarsina, and the people from Karya occupied the plateau of Ellinochori and Karyotika (above Xylokastro). In Rangavis's census of 1851, Tarsina and Ellinochori are listed as country sites (θέσεις αγροτικαί), which consisted of a cluster of huts (καλύβια Ταρσινών and Λιμοχώρι).

The depopulation of the mountainous areas accelerated from the late 19th century onward, and especially after the 1940s. Thus, whereas in 1878 the population of the plain was lower than the mountainous population (5,268 versus 6,762), by 1920 it was clearly ahead (11,373 versus 9,406), and today (2001) it outnumbers the population in the mountains by a factor of four (34,557 versus 8,446). This massive relocation from mountain to plain is a phenomenon observed throughout Greece, including the province of Corinthia.[277] Migration, both past and present, is responsible for the steady demographic decrease in these villages. In the late 19th century, the intensive cultivation of the raisin everywhere along the coast attracted labor from the upland areas, so that Kiato, which in 1700 counted only 28 inhabitants, rose to 796 inhabitants by 1878. The same is true for the hamlet of Bolati, which had just 8 inhabitants in 1700 and 183 inhabitants in 1878. Since the late 19th century this trend has accelerated, with Kiato and Xylokastro, along with other coastal villages, receiving the bulk of the migrating population. Thus, in the last census (2001) the villages of Klimenti and Kaisari combined numbered just 840, while the town of Kiato had reached almost 10,000. Since a large percentage of the recent urban population are farmers who still have fields and houses back in their villages, they tend to inhabit these houses only during the periods of intense agricultural activities (i.e., harvest, pruning, plowing). In other words, what used to be their permanent domicile is now turning into a seasonal residence.

276. Panagiotopoulos 1985, pp. 203–206; Forbes 2000a, p. 45.

277. Alexopoulos 1971, pp. 378–384; McGrew 1985, pp. 192–193.



Figure 5.70. *Kalyvi* at Bathiza of Kryoneri



Figure 5.71. *Kalyvi* at Bathiza of Kryoneri: view of the interior. Note the partition "wall" made of sticks, mud, and plaster.

This brings me to the issue of seasonal residences in the countryside, a phenomenon observed in many parts of Greece. In the Corinthia, as in other areas of the Peloponnese, Greeks call them *kalyvia* (καλύβια) and *achouria* (αχούρια); these are usually modest dwellings containing one communal living space and a kitchen, and only rarely a second floor.[278] Some are built entirely of stone, others with a stone foundation and mud-brick superstructure (Figs. 5.70, 5.71). They tend to be found in small groups close to agricultural or grazing fields, when the village is located some distance away. A group of *kalyvia* constitutes a hamlet called a *zevgolateio*, which was also inhabited for part of the year. The term derives from the word "plowman" (ζευγολάτης) and is strongly connected with the cultivation of land.[279] In contrast, the word *achouri*, originally used for animal pens, denotes pastoral activity. Single fieldhouses are rare, but do occur. We encountered clusters of *kalyvia*, as well as single *kalyvia* and *achouria*, outside most of our semimountainous villages. Kryoneri alone had two clusters, one (Valathra) toward the Helisson River, and the other (Bathiza) toward the Asopos. Since the appearance of trucks and the subsequent opening of country roads, which facilitated transportation from the village

278. Cf. Mee and Forbes 1997, p. 102; the term *kalyvia* is used at Methana.

279. Forbes 2000a, pp. 51–53. The modern meaning of ζευγολατειό is not to be confused with the Late Byzantine ζευγηλατεῖο, which designated a considerable estate with habitations and dependencies; see Zakythinos 1953, pp. 181–182.

to the fields, these fieldhouses have ceased to be used as seasonal places of living. Some were abandoned and ruined; others were turned into simple storerooms. Based on oral tradition and examination of material remains, some of these houses must date to the early 19th century, if not earlier. It is even conceivable that the extant *kalyvia* replaced older *kalyvia*, pushing the origin of this type of residence even further back in time. Indeed, such shelters for temporary residence are mentioned in various Venetian documents.[280] At least some of the 10 names that appear in the Nani Archive for our study area must refer to *zevgolateia*-like hamlets, seasonally occupied by dependent peasants *(paroikoi).*

The difficulty in dating these houses springs from the dearth of material found in and around them. We would expect to find early modern pottery in some quantity, but this was rarely the case, as it was common practice for people to take all movable items with them when abandoning their *kalyvi*. Before the invention of less-expensive, industrial tiles, the owners of these fieldhouses would even take the roof tiles, which explains the low numbers of early modern tiles on the sites today. In retrospect, this may also explain the low density of finds in at least some of our ancient and Medieval "farmstead" sites.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN SIKYONIA

I do not claim that our extensive survey of 2001 and 2002 fully covered the sizable territory of the ancient city-state. However, I believe that our results do give a rough outline of the demographic trends in the area since prehistoric times (Fig. 5.72), an outline not so distorted by biases and limitations as to be unreliable.

We have seen that 10 of our 18 prehistoric sites were founded close to the gulf, with two important ones in the area of the later city. Seven seem to have been occupied earlier than the LH period (from the Neolithic to the Middle Helladic), whereas LH II and III material was definitely the most abundant of all prehistoric material observed in the survey. The Geometric period was represented by a handful of artifacts at only nine widely scattered sites, including Titane. Twenty-six sites with moderate to low artifact density were positively identified as belonging to the Archaic period, 10 of large and medium and 16 of small, very small, or indeterminate size. The scarcity of Geometric and Archaic artifacts at our settlement sites may indicate that the population during these periods was concentrated on the fertile coastal plain and the city itself. Settlements in the country reach a climax in number, size, and density of material distribution in the Classical period. We assigned with certainty 45 sites to this period, and 47 more sites to Archaic through Early Hellenistic times. Our sites of the 5th and 4th centuries represent at least one town-size settlement, as many as 15 village-size settlements, and well over 60 "farmsteads" and fieldhouses. The combined number of Archaic through Early Hellenistic sites, namely, 101, was not surpassed in any other period of Sikyonian history (Fig. 5.73). The 2nd century saw the gradual abandonment of hamlets and single "farmsteads" in favor of larger units and possibly the city itself. Of the 22

280. The Venetian documents also list *boaria,* as opposed to villas (villages). It is likely that *boaria* and *zevgolateia* are synonymous (Forbes 2000a, pp. 50–52). In Crete, most seasonal residences, locally called *metochia*, are on sites also occupied in the Venetian period (Brumfield 2000, pp. 57–58).

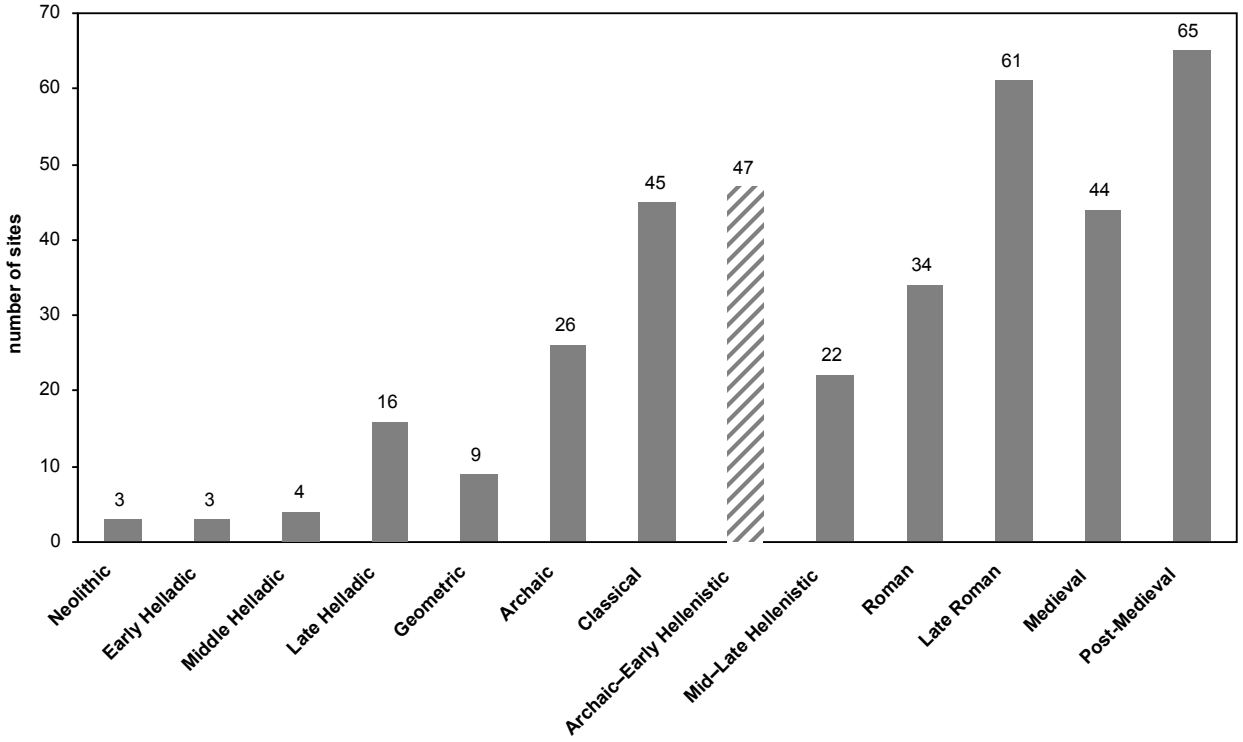


Figure 5.72. Habitation sites in Sikyonia by period

sites with Hellenistic material, more than half are of medium and large size (12 versus 10). The Roman period is represented rather thinly in 34 sites. When we compare this number to the number of Archaic through Early Hellenistic sites (34 versus 101), we realize the degree of urbanization that took place under the Roman empire, a well-attested phenomenon in Achaia and many other provinces. The Late Roman period witnessed the weakening of the *urbs* as a political, economic, and social center and the return of the population to the countryside. No fewer than 61 sites reveal evidence of occupation during this period, and half of them show a moderate to high density of material scatter. Life in the countryside continues during Medieval times, as attested by our 44 sites, many of which we have assigned to the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods. The majority of these sites are found in the semimountainous districts to the south of the gulf, and almost never show a high density of material scatter. Finally, the Ottoman and early modern periods are represented at 25 sites, only two of which certainly belong to the second period of Venetian rule. These centuries witnessed the creation of the majority of the 40 villages that occupy the Sikyonian territory today, since 32 of these *ville* are mentioned in documents of the second Venetian occupation. To these we should add the early modern *zevgolateia,* namely, groups of fieldhouses *(kalyvia),* a familiar feature of the Sikyonian countryside in the pre–World War II era.

The settlement history that I have presented generally agrees, *mutatis mutandis,* with the tendencies emerging from surveys in other parts of Greece: an expansion of settlements in the LH period, a sheer drop in the Geometric and a steady rise from the Archaic to the Classical periods, followed by a falloff in the number of sites during the Late Hellenistic

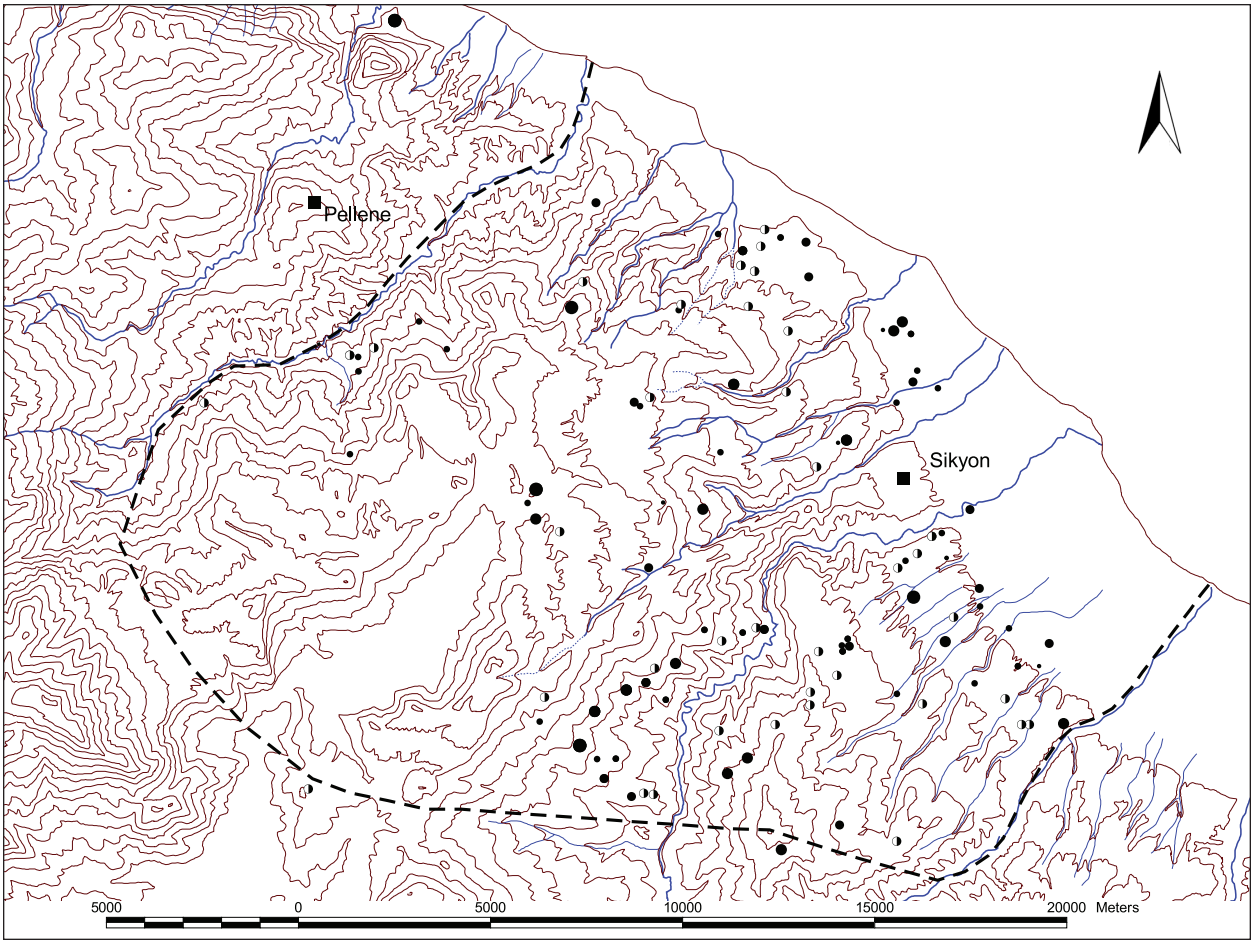


Figure 5.73. Map of Archaic through Hellenistic sites in Sikyonia

and Roman periods, and a recovery in the Late Roman and Middle Byzantine era. The Classical period is dominant over all others in the number of sites, especially small ones, while the Byzantine "Dark Ages" and the period between the 14th and 16th centuries left major discontinuities in the archaeological record. This pattern has been established with rather minor variations in many surveyed areas, including northern Keos, the southern Argolid, and the Berbati-Limnes area.[281] On the other hand, a number of surveyed areas yielded a different picture: in prehistoric periods, the Nemea valley and north-central Lakonia show thin occupation in the Late Bronze Age as opposed to the dense settlement during EH I and especially EH II periods.[282] Regarding the period of the polis culture, notable exceptions to the pattern observed in Sikyon and elsewhere are Messenia, central Lakonia, the southern *chora* of Megalopolis, and western Achaia. In Messenia, sites increase in the Hellenistic period, probably as a result of their emancipation from Spartan rule.[283] The flourishing of Methana in

281. Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 327–364; Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 348–414; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 179–445. In the southern Argolid, the number of "third-order" sites increases between 350 and 250 B.C. (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, p. 383). Similarly, the Berbati-Limnes area witnessed a peak of scattered farmsteads during the late 4th and early 3rd centuries (Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 279).

282. Wright et al. 1990, p. 609; Cavanagh et al. 2002, pp. 128–150.

283. Davis et al. 1997, pp. 455–457; Davis 1998, pp. 158–162.

Hellenistic times has been attributed to the Ptolemaic garrison stationed on the peninsula.[284] In central Lakonia, the total number of habitation sites decreases sharply in the Classical period, and increases between the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.[285] In the southern *chora* of Megalopolis, the Archaic and Classical settlements continue well into Hellenistic times, despite the foundation of the "large city."[286] In western Achaia, Archaic sites were found to be even less numerous than Geometric sites, and the Classical period is definitely not the heyday of Achaian history. It seems that the number of large "farmsteads" increases during the Late Hellenistic period and again during Middle Imperial times, with a subsequent dropoff in the Late Roman period. This has been interpreted as the result of the installation of Roman veterans in the area, many of whom were assigned a parcel of land.[287] In the post-antique era, southwest Boiotia stands out for having experienced a "golden age of population growth and economic upsurge" during the 16th century.[288]

CONCLUSION

Examination of the sites against their physical setting has revealed a predilection for natural terraces and plateaus as opposed to hillsides. This is true for all periods from the prehistoric to the Medieval era. Thus, in the LH period, all of the sizable settlements, including Litharakia 1 (HS-39), Ethniko (HS-98), and Magoula of Thalero (HS-120), were founded on flat ground. Three periods in Sikyonian history—the Classical, Late Roman, and Medieval—witnessed population expansion into marginal lands in the form of country houses, found either singly or in groups. Some of these "farmsteads" occupied unclaimed lands on hillsides. For the Classical period, which gave us the largest sample, approximately one-third of the very small sites were located on slopes of considerable gradient. The great majority of sites in the next-larger category, that of "small" sites covering an area between 1,000 and 8,000 m^2, were founded almost exclusively on level ground or gentle slopes; thus there is a definite correlation between the size of sites and their physical setting. Likewise, the majority of the large settlements grew on more or less flat areas, with the notable exceptions of Titane (HS-67) and two neighboring settlements (HS-59, HS-60). The expansion of living space there involved the construction of large-scale retaining walls. What is true of the Classical period is also true of the Late Roman and Medieval eras, when settlements in the countryside again experienced a revival. Flat country is generally preferred, while hillsides and ridge crests are usually occupied by independent farmers and shepherds.

The fertility of the land was a serious consideration in the selection of a settlement site. The lower the gradient of the ground, the greater its moisture retention capability. Flat areas usually contain more nutrients, and therefore they are more fertile and serve the purposes of agriculture better than hillsides. Sikyon itself, from prehistoric times, grew in one of the most fertile plains of the Peloponnese, and other settlements now buried under the alluvium followed its example. Exceptions are few for the pre-Ottoman periods. On the contrary, the great majority of the villages that grew to

284. Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 69–76.

285. Cavanagh et al. 2002, pp. 175–182, 274–286. A decrease in sites during Classical and Hellenistic times has also been observed on Melos: Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, pp. 143–144.

286. Pikoulas 1988, pp. 230–235.

287. Dalongeville, Lakakis, and Rizakis 1992, pp. 59–75; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994. One wonders, however, about the accuracy of the published results of this survey. In the 1992 monograph (p. 70), the authors notice a "déclin indéniable" of the rural habitation during the Late Hellenistic period, whereas in the 1994 article (p. 198) the authors maintain that the main feature of the Late Hellenistic phase is an "increase of rural settlements, now scattered over the whole region." Perhaps the strangest result of this survey, presented in the 1992 monograph (p. 73), is the almost total absence of Byzantine sites, an unlikely phenomenon given the proliferation of Byzantine sites in most surveyed areas of Greece.

288. Vroom 2003, pp. 763–768.

the south of the coastal plain during the 15th and 16th centuries are laid out on a slope. The fields of their residents were often at a considerable distance from the center of the village, and this gave rise to the *kalyvia* and the *zevgolateia* mentioned above. A satisfactory explanation for the setting of these villages is not forthcoming. Natural springs must have certainly played a role, because they are prominent features in the villages today.

The importance of water in the choice of a site is difficult to assess. In the case of post-Medieval villages, it is a rather straightforward task, since springs and fountains are still visible today. This is not so for earlier periods; the absence of springs now does not mean that they never existed. Considering that many springs have dried up in the course of the 20th century, we can easily imagine that many more were lost through the centuries without leaving a trace of their presence. Certain copious springs, however, were tapped from antiquity to the present day. Water sources such as Se at Megali Valtsa and Melisiklias near Kryoneri, which fed the aqueducts to Sikyon, and numerous water mills of the Ottoman and early modern eras, are still tapped today for the needs of nearby villages and the irrigation of their fields. Likewise, the springs of Loutro at Lalioti and Mikri Valtsa, which in the Late Roman period fed cisterns that supplied the nearby settlements, serve irrigation purposes today. The fact that so many of our large ancient settlements are on sites lacking such abundant water sources indicates that water was not the determining factor in the choice of a site. Water certainly existed in the vicinity of the site, either within walking distance, or at a higher elevation from which it could be brought to the site by means of aqueducts. The examples of Litharakia 1 near Krinai (HS-39), Thekriza of Kryoneri (HS-54), Tsakriza 1 of Souli (HS-50), and Plakes Kokkinias above Vochaiko (HS-1), which are large settlements of the prehistoric, Classical, Late Roman, and Medieval periods, respectively, illustrate the point. This is also true of the two poleis of our area: Sikyon itself and Taratses of Kamari (HS-97). Springs in both cities were not enough to cover their needs, therefore the inhabitants brought water from a distance and tapped the aquifer by digging wells.

Defensibility of the site in relation to major roads and passes was a determining factor in the choice of setting of these two cities, as well as of many large settlements of our survey area. This is true in all periods, including the Ottoman. In the overwhelming majority of cases, important roads carrying wheeled traffic did not go through large settlement sites but passed near them. Accordingly, the coastal road to Achaia (R2) passed from east to west below the Medieval settlement of Plakes Kokkinias (HS-1), the prehistoric settlement of Litharakia 1 (HS-39), the acropolis of Sikyon, the pre-Roman and Late Roman villages or hamlets of Kokkinies (HS-101, HS-138), and the town of Taratses (HS-97). The "direct road" to Phlious (R3) along the Asopos River passed below, from north to south, the village-size, multiperiod settlements of Kriepepa 1 (HS-65), Agios Dimitrios (HS-60), Gourkioni (HS-59), and Titane (HS-67). Likewise, the major road to Stymphalos (R9) passed below the important Late Roman settlements of Tsakriza 1 (HS-50) and Kaminia 1 (HS-102), the Classical settlement of Thekriza (HS-54), the sizable Mycenaean site of Mastrogianni (HS-11), and the Late Roman settlement of Chasnathi

(HS-84). The fact that important settlements are close to important arteries leading out of the state suggests that it was these arteries that determined the location of the settlements. During the Ottoman period, many of the coastal villages and a few of the semimountainous and mountainous villages were on a major road leading from Corinth to Trikala (via Vasiliko, Souli, Velina, and Manna), shown on the *Carte de la Grèce.* Other villages, however, stood away from this artery, presumably for security reasons.[289]

We have noticed the frequent commanding position of settlements in relation to the roads. Protection was a serious concern, and in some cases it was further ensured by the construction of forts and towers in heavily inhabited areas. This is illustrated best in the case of Kastro of Gonoussa (DS-3), which does not seem to have played a key role in the defensive network of the state.[290] Its existence can be explained as a refuge for people living in the surrounding area when threatened. Even in cases of forts and towers that were vital for the defense of the state, such as Titane (DS-2), Thekriza (DS-10), and the lost towers of Ellinochori (AS-6, AS-7), there is no doubt that they also served the surrounding population during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Some areas of the ancient state seem to have been devoid of large settlements. I am particularly referring to the mountainous land bounded by the modern villages of (in clockwise order) Kaisari, Manna, Stylia, Zemeno, Throphari, and Megali Valtsa, which included the pine forest *(Pinus halepensis)* and deciduous oaks *(Quercus pubescens)* of Moungostos and the Aleppo and black pine forests of Velina. This area exceeds 6,000 ha in size, and seems to have been reserved for pastoral and lumbering activity. The same applies to the Vesiza range, bounded by the valley of Klimenti-Kaisari to the west and the Bozikochoria to the east and containing over 1,500 ha of Greek fir *(Abies cephallonica)* and deciduous oaks (especially *Quercus pubescens*). A few medium- to large-size settlements did make their appearance there during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods (e.g., HS-80, HS-102, HS-131), but it was not until the Ottoman period that there was real village growth in these mountainous areas, the result of the pastoral nature of the Albanian settlers.[291]

The Arvanites may have been the first to inhabit these specific mountainous lands, but we have seen that settlements in other mountainous and semimountainous districts of Sikyonia date back to the prehistoric period. The question is how much of the population lived in the coastal plain, and how much inhabited the semimountainous and mountainous areas. Unfortunately, survey data are almost nonexistent for the entire Sikyonian plain of ca. 3,500 ha because of the sediment that has accumulated over the centuries. Ancient texts and rescue excavations testify to the existence of settlements here both in antiquity and during the Late Roman period, but evidence for their size is lacking. It is not until the arrival of the Ottomans that we begin to get some material evidence for settlements in the plain. We stressed above the need for publication of the Ottoman *defters* referring to this part of the Peloponnese; until these precious documents come forth we will have to rely on the Venetian cadasters of ca. 1700. Of the 32 villages and hamlets mentioned in these lists, half are located in or just above the coastal plain. Yet their population, as it is given in

289. Anoyatis-Pélé (1985) concludes that many villages of the Macedonian–Thrace region were at great distances from main arteries so that they could avoid the obligation to accommodate postmen, troops, officials, and their escorts. This explains the large number of *khans* built along the roads, which were meant to provide precisely these accommodations.

290. See above, p. 231.

291. Some preference for hilly country in the Late Roman period has been observed in the southern Argolid as well (Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 401–402).

Alberghetti's fragmentary list, was one-quarter of the population of semi-mountainous and mountainous villages. Within a century, the two groups had balanced out, possibly under the encouragement of the Ottoman administration, as suggested above. During the first half of the 19th century, the population of the mountainous group doubled in relation to that of the plain, as a result of specific socioeconomic conditions. With the settling of property issues and the explosion of the raisin market in the late 19th century, the population of the plain grew at a rapid rate. Thus, from ca. 1700 to ca. 1900, the lowland/highland relationship in terms of population figures was drastically overturned four times. Similar demographic fluctuations certainly occurred before the Ottoman period, but their frequency and extent will remain unknown.

The relationship between city center and the periphery across the centuries is relevant to the issues of population distribution and settlement patterns. We have seen that ancient Sikyon (Medieval and early modern Vasiliko) has been the most sizable settlement of Sikyonia probably since prehistoric times. Were settlements located closer to the *urbs* larger and richer than those located further away? I have already made the point that in prehistoric times, two important settlements were founded in the surroundings of Sikyon-Aigialeia. Yet, we encountered other important settlements away from the center and the coastal plain. In the Classical period, the four largest settlements (HS-54, HS-59, HS-67, HS-69), including the one at of Thekriza, were located far from the city. In the Late Roman and Byzantine periods we have a few sizable settlements near the city, but the majority are again further away. In short, during all these periods Sikyonia is a rather decentralized area in terms of population distribution. Its countryside appears dotted with various types of settlements, from simple "farmsteads" to hamlets and large villages.

On the contrary, in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Frankish periods, when the number of settlements drops, the city seems to become the focus of activity. The Early Hellenistic period saw the creation of the new city, with its fortification walls, urban planning, and public monuments. Furthermore, judging from the artifact scatter on the plateau, we know that the entire surface of the lower plateau, ca. 170 ha in total, was inhabited during this and the following (Roman) period. The number and size of Roman constructions that I mapped on the plateau, including four bath complexes and a monumental aqueduct supplying the water, reveal that the city had significant resources under the empire. The partial rebuilding of the castle of Vasiliko by the Franks shows Frankish interest in the city. The results of the intensive urban survey of 2004–2009 will help to clarify the relationship between the city and the countryside during this and other periods of Sikyonian history.

Some of the large-size settlements, either *komai* or small towns, reached a certain degree of prosperity, particularly during the Late Helladic, Archaic/Classical, Roman/Late Roman, and Middle Byzantine/Frankish periods. The number and kind of imported artifacts and the remains of monuments, solidly built either of ashlar or brick, serve as our basic guides in measuring the settlements' economic vitality. For the LH period, Litharakia 1 (HS-39), which is the largest site of this period documented on

Sikyonian soil, yielded many pieces of imported pottery. Likewise for the Archaic and Classical periods we encountered imported pottery, mainly Attic kylikes, kraters, and skyphoi, almost exclusively at large sites such as Taratses (HS-97), Titane (HS-67), Thekriza (HS-54), Gourkioni (HS-59), and Paliampela (HS-105), where we also observed substantial architectural remains. Again for the Roman–Late Roman period sizable hydraulic installations, probably cisterns, were built by large communities such as the ones at Valathra (HS-52), Loutro of Lalioti (HS-106), and Loutro of Thalero (HS-121). The problem here is that surface evidence does not allow us to date these buildings to one specific period. Concerning the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods, we recorded imported fine ware, such as chafing dishes and sgraffito plates, and occasionally glass objects and architectural complexes at sizable settlements, such as Plakes Kokkinias (HS-1), Agios Athanasios (HS-18), Kriepepa (HS-64 and HS-65), Titane (HS-67), and Lakiza (HS-127). With the exception of Litharakia and Plakes, none of these prosperous sites are close to either the city or the coast.

As the relationship of the *asty* to the *chora* is bound to have changed over the centuries, so did the settlement pattern in the countryside. Some periods favored nucleated settlement in villages and hamlets, others dispersed settlement in single or groups of "farmsteads." In the LH period, there are as many medium and large sites as small sites (6 versus 5). On the contrary, small sites dominate in the Late Archaic through Early Hellenistic periods, being almost three times the number of medium and large sites (88 versus 30). The proliferation of small sites in the 5th and 4th centuries, documented here as well as in most surveyed areas of the Greek world, has been associated with the democratic regime.[292] During the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods the number of small sites shrinks drastically and matches again the number of medium and large sites (10 versus 22 in the Hellenistic period, 18 versus 16 in the Roman period). The southern Argolid surveyors attributed a similar phenomenon to the rise of large estates in the countryside, which replaced the individual landholders of the Classical age.[293] The revival of settlements in the countryside during the Late Roman and again in the Middle Byzantine period is characterized by a comparable number of small to medium and large sites (17 versus 12 for the Late Roman period, 7 versus 6 for the Middle Byzantine period). In the fragmentary list of Alberghetti (1700s), only three villages have more than 100 inhabitants (i.e., more than 20 to 25 households), while the remaining 21 have a population of less than 100, and often less than 70 people; in the fragmentary list of Pouqueville (1800s), of the 26 villages 11 have less than 100, and 15 over 100 inhabitants (Table 5.3). Thus, we can argue that during the centuries of Ottoman rule, our area progressively moved from a pattern of small hamlets to large hamlets and villages.

Site continuity is difficult to ascertain based on surface survey data for two main reasons: (1) rarely are all subperiods represented or readily identified; and (2) even some large periods, particularly the earlier ones, are poorly represented, as they lie deeper under the surface. In addition, we have 47 sites that we broadly dated between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, therefore we cannot take them into account here. Given these problems, our observations as to the continuity or discontinuity of

292. Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 465–466.

293. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 394–397.

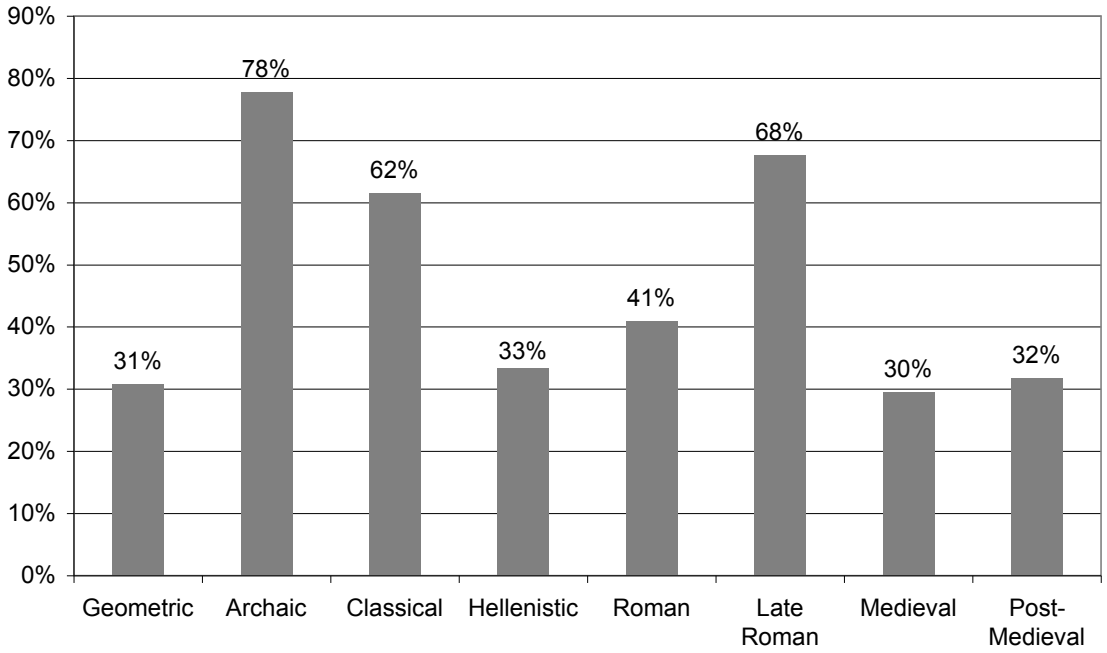


Figure 5.74. Percentage rate of site continuity by period

settlements can only be tentative (Fig. 5.74). Geometric sites have the highest percentage of representation in the following (Archaic) period, namely, 78% (7 of the 9 Geometric sites continue into the Archaic period), but this sample is too small to draw safe conclusions. The Roman sites follow with a 68% representation in the Late Roman period (23 of the 34 sites), Archaic sites come next with 65% (17 of the 26 sites), then the Hellenistic sites with 41% (9 of the 22 Hellenistic sites carry on into the Roman era), followed by the Classical sites with 33% (15 of the 45 Classical sites make it to the Hellenistic period), the Medieval sites with 32% (14 of the 44 are represented in the post-Medieval era), the LH sites with 31% (4 of the 13 sites), and finally the Late Roman sites, with a 30% representation rate (18 out of 61). Only 20 of the 148 settlements (14%) are represented in more than two sequential periods (Fig. 5.75). Among those, nine sites (a mere 6%) are represented in more than three successive periods, and of these only two, Titane (HS-67) and Gourkioni (HS-59), are represented in all periods. Among the other seven, Agios Dimitrios (HS-60) ranges from the Geometric to the Roman period, Taratses (HS-97) from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period, Livadia 1 (HS-28) from the Archaic to the Late Roman, Kato Bathiza 3 (HS-96) from the Classical to the post-Medieval era, Tsakriza 1 (HS-50) from the Classical to the Late Roman, and Kaminia 1 (HS-102) and Paliokalyva (HS-113) from the Hellenistic to the Medieval era. Of the remaining sites, those with three sequential periods, two are represented from the Geometric to the Classical era (HS-63, HS-114), two more from the Archaic to the Hellenistic (HS-62, HS-118), another two from the Roman period to the Middle Ages (HS-65, HS-103), and five from the Late Roman to the post-Medieval age (HS-2, HS-18, HS-21, HS-71, HS-87). There is a definite correlation between size and duration, since seven of the nine multiperiod sites are large settlements. Major discontinuities in the archaeological record are detected at the end

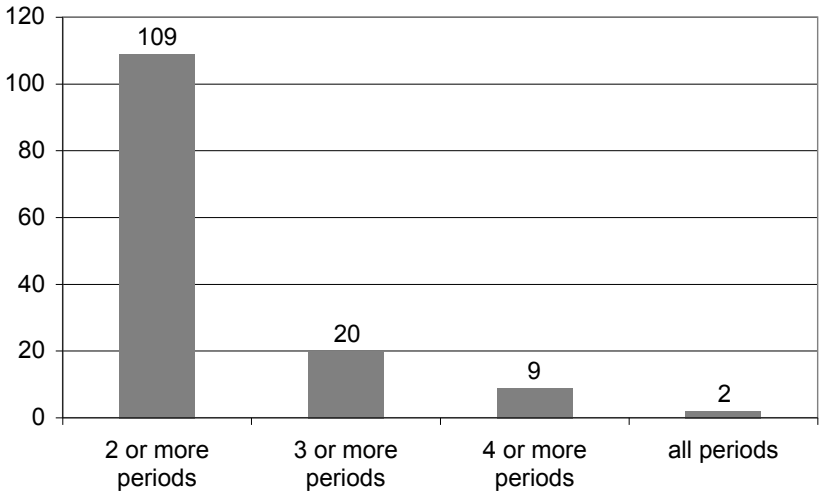


Figure 5.75. Number of sites represented in two or more sequential periods

of the Mycenaean, Classical, Late Roman, and Medieval periods. Only the sites of Geometric, Archaic, and especially Roman date survived without substantial losses to their numbers. Comparable results were obtained by the southern Argolid surveyors, who observed a high degree of settlement continuity (70%–80%) between the Archaic and Classical periods.[294]

Overall, site continuity is a limited phenomenon in our survey area. In contrast, the cases of reoccupation of earlier, mainly Classical, sites during the Late Roman and Medieval periods are numerous, as we have already stressed in the corresponding sections of this chapter. Late Roman and Byzantine settlers were attracted to these sites by the availability of building material, mainly stone blocks and possibly even roof tiles. In the case of some rural churches planted within ancient sites, free stone was not the only motivation. Planting the church on an ancient site and reusing its stones in the masonry of the church had the symbolic meaning of consecrating the pagan past.

Throughout the seven thousand years of human presence attested in the Sikyonian countryside, various factors influenced to a greater or lesser degree the location, size, and pattern of settlements: fertility of land, proximity to major roads, defensibility, water sources, previous remains, and the sociopolitical forces prevailing at the time. Ancient written testimonia occasionally complement the survey data, particularly for the Classical and Ottoman periods. For most periods, however, as in the case of the Late Roman and Medieval eras, sources are either minimal or nonexistent, and it is thanks to the surface survey that we can partially fill the gap and reconstruct the long-term settlement history of Sikyonia.

294. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 381–382.

CHAPTER 6

Sacra Sicyonia

In antiquity, each city developed its own articulation of the pantheon, emphasizing the cults of certain deities and heroes mythologically or historically connected to it. Our main, if not only, source of information on the Sikyonian cults is Pausanias, who is well known for his obsession with cults and rituals throughout his *Periegesis.* Frazer has given us an anthropological commentary on the religious beliefs and practices mentioned by Pausanias, and Skalet's monograph contains a chapter on the cults of Sikyon, also based on the testimony of the traveler.[1] My purpose here is to address the spatial dimension of the cults and to discuss the formation and location of the Sikyonian sanctuaries, as well as their interaction with the polis and beyond. Given that it was the polis that "anchored, legitimated, and mediated all religious activity," as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood once put it,[2] I will consider both the *asty* and the *chora,* and chronologically limit my discussion to the polis period. Evidence for religious activity in earlier and later periods, especially the Late Roman and Medieval eras, is presented in Chapter 5.

The main problem in reconstructing the sacred landscape of Sikyon is the lack of archaeological evidence. Of the 27 urban and suburban sanctuaries—either simple altars or temples—and hero shrines seen by Pausanias, only one has been excavated. Likewise, of the five sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias in the *chora* of Sikyon, three of which are in Titane, not one has been positively identified. The three sanctuaries that have been excavated are apparently not to be identified with any of the five, which means that Pausanias's description of sanctuaries, at least in the countryside, is not comprehensive. Finally, the extensive survey has occasionally produced evidence of cult activity in the countryside, but in almost all cases we are dealing with sanctuaries within the framework of a *kome,* and not with isolated units. There are a few more cases where we suspect the existence of a rural sanctuary, but the material evidence is not conclusive.[3]

My basic distinction in discussing the evidence, that is, sanctuaries in the *asty* versus those in the *chora,* is justified by the sources, as shown by a late-4th-century decree from Kolophon regarding the procedure for unifying the old and the new city. In this decree, the inhabitants appeal to the gods and heroes who dwell in their old agora, their present-day polis,

1. Frazer 1913, vol. 3, pp. 51–75; Skalet 1928, pp. 155–175.

2. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, p. 297.

3. The southern Argolid surveyors had a similar problem identifying ritual activity; see Jameson 2004, esp. pp. 156–158. This problem is accentuated for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when ritual pottery in sanctuaries becomes rare and is increasingly replaced by regular domestic pottery, both fine and coarse ware. Thus, at the Corinthian Asklepieion virtually no votives can be dated after 300 B.C., although the sanctuary continued to function well into Roman times. Similarly, ritual pottery is lacking from the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the Roman period; see Bookidis 2003, pp. 255–257.

and their land for a swift completion of this ambitious project.[4] To the Kolophonians, the three groups of gods were distinct, and the city belonged to them all. I use this example because it bears some resemblance to Sikyon, which also had an old agora and an old city by the harbor that was destroyed by Demetrios but was probably never forgotten. Did Demetrios destroy the sanctuaries of the lower town together with the walls, houses, and the rest of the city? We will never know for sure, and Pausanias says nothing on the matter. In the case of Megalopolis, old settlements were systematically depopulated through synoecism, but the sanctuaries often remained.[5] It is possible that the temple of Poseidon, seen by Pausanias not far from the Sikyonian harbor, goes back to the pre-Hellenistic period and was originally located within the walls of the Classical city. What is certain is that after the foundation of the new city, any remaining sanctuaries of the old town found themselves in the suburbs; accordingly, I discuss them in the "suburban" section.

URBAN SANCTUARIES

Acropolis

Pausanias (2.7.5) mentions two sanctuaries on the acropolis of his day, that is, on the terrace that rises to the southwest of the theater: one is dedicated to Tyche Akraia and the other to the Dioskouroi. Their statues are described as *xoana*, objects of admiration for our traveler.[6] Neither of the two has been identified, but ca. 6–7 m west of the upper edge of the cavea I recorded remains of a structure oriented east–west and built of ashlar blocks. The structure shows above ground the line of its southern and eastern walls, as well as an inner north–south cross-wall. Its visible dimensions are 12 m (E–W) by 5 m (N–S), and the distance between the two north–south walls is 4.5 m. These remains are certainly what Robinson described as temple foundations with cella and portico "just above the theater."[7] He gives the portico depth as ca. 15 feet, which corresponds to the distance between the two north–south walls, and the dimensions of the structure as ca. 40 (L.) × 18 feet (W.). Skalet tentatively identified the structure with the temple of Fortune. Without epigraphical evidence we cannot be certain, but the testimony of Pausanias points to this area for the location of both sanctuaries.[8] Roux reminds us that the association of Tyche and the Dioskouroi was not uncommon in the Greek world, especially in maritime cities.[9]

4. Meritt 1935, pp. 361–362 (lines 12–21); cf. Cole 1995, pp. 296–297.

5. Jost 1994, pp. 226–227.

6. Pausanias refers 97 times to *xoana* in his *Periegesis,* presumably because he considered most of them to be "ancient" (Pritchett 1998–1999, vol. 1, p. 204). On the "antiquity" of the *xoana* mentioned by Pausanias, see Bennett 1917, pp. 16–17, and Donohue 1988, pp. 144–147.

7. In Skalet 1928, p. 11 and fig. 5. Roux (1958) confesses to not finding these remains.

8. Our intensive survey of 2004–2009 has recorded from this area fragments of a Doric temple which may well belong to the foundations located to the west of the theater. On the other hand, magnetic survey in the field where these foundations lie did not produce clear results.

9. Roux 1958, p. 138.

Between the Theater and the Agora

As Pausanias makes his way from the theater to the agora, he first mentions a temple of Dionysos with a gold and ivory statue of the god and marble statues of Bacchai (2.7.6). Leake reported seeing fragments of a small temple "just below the proscenium of the theatre," and tentatively assigned them to the Dionysion.[10] These remains may be the "Grundmauern alter Gebäude" that Curtius saw "in der Nähe des Theaters."[11] A wall made of large conglomerate blocks lies ca. 10 m to the northeast of the stage building; it is 6.5 m long and has a northwest–southeast orientation. Given its location, it may be part of the fragments that Leake saw and assigned to a temple of Dionysos but only excavation can confirm this. The proximity of temples of Dionysos to theaters is well known from many cities in the Greek world. Earle argues that the marble statue of a youth found in the theater excavations represents Dionysos and dates from the 3rd century B.C.[12] A nocturnal procession to the temple of Dionysos, described by Pausanias in the same passage, involved a building called the "Kosmeterion," of which we hear nothing else.

Past the Dionysion, on his way to the agora, Pausanias saw the ruined temple of Artemis Limnaia, with its roof collapsed and the statue of the goddess missing (2.7.6). It is possible, as Griffin suggests, that the cult was transferred from the lower city, where the temple was originally built near a marshy area.[13] Philadelpheus, who was the first to excavate the temple to the south of the Roman baths, suggested that it belonged to Artemis Limnaia, and his successor, Orlandos, endorsed this view.[14] I have already shown that the temple lies well within the agora of Sikyon, and therefore cannot have been the temple of the goddess, which Pausanias saw before entering the agora.[15]

Agora

The sanctuary of Peitho is the first that Pausanias mentions upon entering the agora. It was thought to be the place where Apollo and Artemis returned after being persuaded by the Sikyonians to do so. The gods, having experienced a terror in a place called Phobos, fled to Crete, and a plague hit Aigialeia. In order to appease them and persuade them to return, the Sikyonians sent a procession of seven boys and seven girls to the Sythas River. In Pausanias's day the procession was still taking place during the

10. Leake 1830, pp. 369–371.

11. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 491.

12. Earle 1889b. The statue's effeminate aspect, dress, pose, and surface treatment all point to Dionysos and are compatible with an Early Hellenistic date.

13. Griffin 1982, p. 16. In the course of the geophysical survey of the agora area (part of the Sikyon Survey Project of 2004–2009), we discovered a sanctuary located between the theater and the excavated temple, directly north of the palaistra complex. It consists of a II-shaped stoa surrounding a small temple. On the basis of Pausanias's description, we can assign this sanctuary either to Artemis or to Dionysos.

14. Philadelpheus 1926a; Orlandos 1937.

15. Roux (1958, pp. 143–144) was the first to question the identification and to assign the temple to Apollo, a view shared by Griffin (1982, p. 10) but with no conclusive arguments. They did not convince Musti and Torelli (1986, p. 242), who maintain that the attribution to Artemis was made "con buoni argomenti." For the identification of the area of the agora, see above, pp. 279–282.

festival of Apollo: children would go to the Sythas and bring back the statues of the gods to the sanctuary of Peitho and thence to the temple of Apollo, a journey of some 14 hours total.[16] The legend establishes the connection between the heart of the city and the countryside, and between the two cults in the agora. Pausanias uses the term *hieron* (ἱερόν) for Peitho and *naos* (ναός) for Apollo, and this may indicate that Peitho had just a sacred peribolos in the agora, not a temple proper.[17] Pausanias mentions the sanctuary of Peitho immediately after the temple of Artemis, which must have stood just outside the agora. Per Odelberg points out that Artemis was often associated with Peitho.[18]

The cult of Apollo held a preeminent place in the Sikyonian pantheon, and its temple must have been one of the oldest and most venerated monuments of Sikyon. Polybios (18.16) refers to the sacred land of Apollo, which Attalos I ransomed on behalf of the Sikyonians at considerable expense:

> Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος ἐτιμᾶτο μὲν καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Σικυωνίων πόλεως διαφερόντως, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐλυτρώσατο χρημάτων αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγων.

It is possible, as Frank Walbank suggests, that the land in question was pledged to raise money during the First Macedonian War.[19] The high amount that Attalos had to pay for its release suggests that it may have been an extensive area of prime agricultural land, perhaps covering part of the fertile coastal plain. Pausanias speaks of two temples on the same spot. The earlier one housed the spear of Meleager and the flutes of Marsyas, which were no longer there, having burnt with the temple. This is surely the ἀρχαίος νεός of Apollo mentioned in the Aristotelian corpus.[20] According to the philosopher, the temple housed a statue (ἀνδριάς) made of high-quality bronze imported from the Carthaginian island of Demonesos. The temple that Pausanias saw was built later, and the statue was dedicated by Pythokles, who may be the mid-2nd-century B.C. sculptor mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 34.51). Our best candidate for this temple lies to the south of the Roman baths (Fig. 6.1). It is centrally located within the agora, and its excavation revealed two phases: an original Archaic phase, which explains its long and narrow plan (38.07 × 11.55 m), and a later Hellenistic phase.[21] Eric Østby reconstructs an Archaic prostyle temple with two rows of four columns across the front, and a Hellenistic peripteral temple, of 6 × 18 columns.[22] Archaic antefixes found in the fill of the temple's foundations are, according to Winter, the earliest antefixes of Corinthianizing style outside the Corinthia, and are tentatively dated around 530 B.C.[23] In a later fill associated with a dismantled Early Christian wall, Krystalli-Votsi recovered a right hand made of marble (Fig. 6.2).[24] The hand, holding a mesomphalos phiale, is part of an over-life-size statue, with an estimated height of 3.5–4 m. The excavator dates it to the 1st century A.D. and assigns it to a libating god or priest. Yet, on the basis of the surface treatment, the hand may equally belong to the Hellenistic period and could possibly be part of an Apollo making or receiving libations.[25] During the Augustan era, the temple attracted mainly Roman visitors. Ampelius says that the temple of Apollo in the forum of Sikyon held treasured relics of glorious men of antiquity, such as the shield and sword of Agamemnon, the chlamys and cuirass of Odysseus, and the oars of the Argonauts (*Liber memorialis* 8.5).[26]

16. Paus. 2.7.8; see the insightful commentary on this passage in Frazer 1913, vol. 3, pp. 57–58. On the travel time needed, see above, p. 175.

17. To my knowledge, a study of the use of the terms ἱερόν (675 times), ναός (443 times), and τέμενος (55 times) by Pausanias has never been published.

18. Odelberg 1896, p. 177.

19. Walbank 1967, pp. 570–571.

20. [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 834b24.

21. Philadelpheus 1926a, pp. 46–47; Orlandos 1938. The existence of two superimposed temples, of Archaic and Hellenistic date, was confirmed by Krystalli-Votsi (1988, 1991a, 1991b); see also Petrakos 1989.

22. Østby 1992, pp. 161–162, fig. 4.

23. Winter 1993, p. 91.

24. Krystalli-Votsi 1991b. Curiously, the excavator calls it a "left hand."

25. I thank Andrew Stewart and Peter Schultz for their expert opinions.

26. For the Sikyon temple as a museum, see Scheer 1996.



Figure 6.1. Sikyon: the temple in the agora, looking east



Figure 6.2. Over-life-size marble hand found near the temple. Photo courtesy Athens Archaeological Society

Attalos I, on account of his benefaction, received a colossal statue 10 cubits high, which the Sikyonians set "next to the Apollo in the marketplace": παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν (Polyb. 18.16). Near the northeast corner of the temple, Krystalli-Votsi excavated the foundations of a rectangular structure, which she tentatively called an altar.[27] One would expect the altar to be east of the temple, but no excavations have been carried out in this area. Unfortunately, Krystalli provides no dimensions for or any description of the monument, which I measured as 8.53 × 8.62 m. Its interior does not seem to be solid, but since it is presently covered with earth and vegetation, we cannot be certain. Its location παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα makes it a suitable candidate for being the foundations of a monumental base supporting the colossal statue of Attalos, but we will not know for sure until it is cleared and properly excavated.

27. Krystalli-Votsi 1991a, p. 68; 1991b, p. 31.

Pausanias reports four more monuments from the agora—the precinct of the Roman emperors, the heroon of Aratos, the altar of Poseidon Isthmios, and the sanctuary of Apollo Lykios—amid many freestanding statues. The first three he relates to the sanctuary of Peitho. Near that sanctuary (τὸ ἐγγὺς) he saw a temenos dedicated to the imperial cult, once the house of the tyrant Kleon (Paus. 2.8.1). Before this house (πρὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας), he saw the heroon of Aratos, where according to Plutarch the Sikyonians sacrificed twice a year (Paus. 2.8.1, 2.9.4; Plut. *Arat.* 53). This was the second time that the Sikyonians buried a fellow citizen within the walls, against their ancient law that prohibited it. The first was the elder Euphron, who, according to Xenophon, was buried in the agora of the Classical city and was honored as "founder" (*Hell.* 7.3.12). None of these monuments have come to light, and since we do not know the precise location of the sanctuary of Peitho, their whereabouts remain unknown.

It is not quite the same with the altar of Poseidon, which Pausanias (2.9.6) mentions seeing after the heroon of Aratos (μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀράτου ἡρῷον), in the area of the council chamber. Since the bouleuterion was positively identified to the south of the temple of Apollo and east of the gymnasion, it is in its environs that the altar of Poseidon must be sought. It is possible, as Roux and Griffin suggest, that the cult of Poseidon Isthmios was introduced after 146 B.C., when Sikyon was given the presidency of the Isthmian games.[28]

A ruined sanctuary of Apollo Lykios is the last sanctuary that Pausanias reports from the agora (2.9.7). We have no way of knowing where it might have stood because Pausanias places it in relation to two freestanding statues.

Elsewhere on the Plateau

Outside the agora, Pausanias mentions 11 structures, including shrines, temples, burial mounds, and altars, along with a number of freestanding sculptures. Seven of these structures seem to have been clustered in the area of the Sacred Gate, but the traveler gives no hint as to the location of the other four. These include the sanctuary of Herakles Paidizen, an Asklepieion and an Aphrodision, and a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Pheraia.

The sanctuary of Herakles, which stood in the middle of its sacred peribolos locally called Παιδιζήν, was topographically unrelated to the gymnasion and the agora (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους, Paus. 2.10.1). Skalet writes that "in Vasiliko Professor Robinson saw a marble altar with club and lion's skin in relief."[29] The altar is not in the museum, and I could not locate it in the village today. Even if we accept that it comes from the sanctuary of Herakles Paidizen, the fact that Robinson saw it in the eastern district of the plateau where the village lies is not conclusive as to its original location. Architectural and sculptural blocks move great distances, especially when a modern community lies in the vicinity.

From the sanctuary of Herakles, Pausanias followed a street to the Asklepieion, where he began to describe the arrangement of the sanctuary, along with the statues and curiosities of its peribolos (2.10.2–4). According

28. Roux 1958, p. 146; Griffin 1982, p. 18.

29. Skalet 1928, p. 173.

to the foundation myth, the cult was introduced from Epidauros, which means that it must postdate the middle of the 5th century B.C. The gold and ivory statue of the god was a creation of Kalamis, but Pausanias does not specify whether this was the elder or the younger Kalamis. Both sculptors and their artistic creations are poorly known. The floruit of Kalamis the elder is placed in the second quarter of the 5th century, that of the younger Kalamis in the first quarter of the 4th century. We should probably exclude the early-5th-century date and place the introduction of the cult of Asklepios in the early 4th century. Whichever date is correct, it is clear that the sanctuary predated the foundation of the new city by Demetrios. Furthermore, the cult of Apollo Karneios in the adyton of the Asklepieion probably represents an even earlier—Early Classical or Archaic—phase of the sanctuary, when Apollo was still worshipped as a healing god.[30] In the Roman period, the sanctuary must have acquired a considerable reputation since, according to Appian (*B Civ.* 5.6.55), Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony and one of the noblest women of Republican Rome, was hospitalized there. A votive naiskos relief dedicated to Asklepios and dating to the Hellenistic period was found somewhere in Vasiliko, and is now in the Sikyon Museum.[31] In addition, Orlandos has restored an inscription carved on the base of a bronze statue dedicated to Asklepios in the Roman period, by joining two fragments together (*IG* IV 430 and 431).[32] Once again, the reported findspots of the fragments provide no hint as to the possible location of the Asklepieion; the first was said to be found "in the site of ancient Sikyon," while the second stone was seen by Fourmont "in moenibus Sicyonis."

The peribolos of Aphrodite, which was next to the Asklepieion, housed in its shrine a gold and ivory statue of the goddess made by Kanachos (Paus. 2.10.4–6). This means that the cult of Aphrodite in Sikyon goes back to at least the late 6th century, which explains her Oriental character.[33] From the Aphrodision, Pausanias took the ascending road to the gymnasion of Kleinias, and saw on his right the sanctuary of Artemis Pheraia. Here we are completely at a loss, since we cannot establish whether the gymnasion of Kleinias is the same as the one by the agora, and we do not know where the Aphrodision lay. Yet, the ascending direction of the traveler indicates that the sanctuary of Aphrodite was somewhere in the lower, eastern, perhaps even southeastern, side of the plateau, where we tentatively placed the Sacred Gate.[34] An inscribed base for a statue dedicated in the Aphrodision and found "to the SE of Vasiliko" supports this hypothesis.[35]

Not far from the Sacred Gate, Pausanias saw the temple of Athena, which according to local tradition was dedicated by Epopeus, one of the legendary kings of Sikyon (2.11.1).[36] The temple was superior to its contemporaries in size and decoration, but was burnt by lightning, and thus in Pausanias's time only the altar survived. From his story it becomes clear that Athena had an important cult in early Sikyon, and Pliny informs us that her statue was made by Dipoinos and Skyllis (*HN* 36.9–10). Athenaios (3.72b) mentions a temple of Kolokasia Athena in Sikyon, and perhaps this is the same as the Athena of Pausanias. The burial tumulus of Epopeus rose in front of the altar of Athena; local tradition credits the legendary king with erecting the nearby sanctuary (τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν) of Artemis and

30. Roux 1958, pp. 153–154.

31. Orlandos 1955, p. 394.

32. Orlandos 1937–1938, pp. 15–17, no. 12. Both the join and restoration seem plausible.

33. Farnell (1896, pp. 677–690) argues persuasively for the Sikyonian worship of Aphrodite as Ourania; see also Skalet 1928, pp. 162–163. Pirenne-Delforge (1994, pp. 135–136) argues, based on a figural scene of a Geometric aryballos found in Thebes, that the cult of Aphrodite had been introduced to Sikyon by the 8th century. However, the aryballos, which F. K. Johansen had ascribed along with other vases to Sikyon, is most likely a Corinthian product, therefore the connection of the vase scene to the early cults of Sikyon cannot be established.

34. See above, p. 210.

35. Orlandos 1937–1938, p. 14, no. 9.

36. Epopeus was not autochthonous, but came from Thessaly to seize power when king Korax died with no descendants (Paus. 2.6.1).

Apollo, and Adrastos with founding the Heraion next to it (τὸ μετ' αὐτὸ: 2.11.1).[37] Farnell argues that the joint cult of Apollo and Artemis goes back to Homeric times.[38] Neither the statues of Artemis and Apollo nor the statue of Hera survived in Pausanias's day. Adrastos was the alleged builder of two altars behind the Heraion that Pausanias did see: one was dedicated to Pan, the other to Helios. Finally, a short distance from the Heraion of Adrastos, Pausanias saw a temple of Apollo Karneios, where only the columns stood without the walls or the roof (2.11.2). The temple of Hera Prodromia, founded by Phalkes, son of Temenos, was in similar condition (2.11.2), but Pausanias offers no clues as to its location.

The antiquity and the poor condition of the sanctuaries that Pausanias saw near the Sacred Gate are striking. If we are to trust the testimony of the traveler and the contemporary traditions that he transmits to us, we can reconstruct here a cluster of religious monuments that once belonged to the acropolis of the Archaic and Classical city. Furthermore, the Sikyonians of the 2nd century A.D. believed that the area of the sanctuary of Athena was the citadel of Aigialeia, the city founded by the first and aboriginal inhabitant of this land (Paus. 2.5.6). We do not know when and under which conditions some of these sanctuaries fell into ruin, nor can we be certain that their cults were still observed in Pausanias's day. The fact is that they did stand there, presumably where they were first founded, as monuments of the venerated past. It is unfortunate that no archaeological evidence of any of these sanctuaries has ever been reported. If we are right in placing the Sacred Gate by Agia Trias, then we can imagine that the sanctuaries occupied the southeastern area of the plateau, exactly under the modern village of Vasiliko. In the previous chapter, we mentioned the many churches that are concentrated along the eastern edge of the plateau, and local tradition has it that some of these churches were founded on top of ancient temples. It is certainly coincidental that a number of ancient spolia were reported by the travelers in and around these churches, and a few are still visible today.[39]

SUBURBAN SANCTUARIES

As one descends toward the plain (καταβαίνουσι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον), Pausanias writes, there is a sanctuary of Demeter founded by Plemnaios (2.11.2). This is yet another sanctuary whose foundation story is connected to the Sikyonian royalty, since Plemnaios was a king directly descended from Aigialeus and he founded the sanctuary to honor the goddess who had reared his son, Orthopolis (2.5.8). Hesychios refers to the cult of Epopis Demeter, probably to be identified with the Demeter of Pausanias.[40] Curtius was the first to explain the epithet on the basis of the location of the sanctuary: guarding the acropolis, and overlooking the coastal plain.[41] The precise location of the sanctuary is unknown, but it certainly stood on the slopes of the acropolis, higher than the Archaic and Classical city. This is by no means unique; sanctuaries of Demeter were often founded at the base of a hill, between the acropolis and the fertile plain lying below.[42] We have stressed the fact that Asopeia was considered in antiquity one

37. Perhaps this was the temple of Hera Alexandros that a scholiast to Pindar (*Nem.* 9.30) attributes to Adrastos.

38. Farnell 1896, pp. 464–465.

39. See above, pp. 290–291. The Sikyon Survey Project of 2004–2009 included a dedicated survey of the spolia in the village of Vasiliko. See the project's website: <http://extras.ha.uth.gr/sikyon>.

40. Hesychios, s.v. Ἐπωπίς; Skalet 1928, pp. 163–164.

41. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 496; Skalet 1928, p. 164; contra Odelberg (1896, pp. 88–89), who argues for the metaphorical sense of the epithet (*late prospiciens*).

42. See Cole 1994 for discussion and comparanda.

of the most fertile areas of Greece, which could have hardly left Demeter indifferent. According to the compiler of the *Etymologikon Magnum,* the otherwise unattested Sikyonian village of Μηκώνη owed its name to the fact that Demeter found the first poppy seed there.[43] Pausanias offers no clue for dating the sanctuary, nor does he describe the condition in which he found it. The earliest cult activity in the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore dates from the second half of the 8th century, if not earlier.[44]

In the plain between the Asopos and Helisson rivers, Pausanias mentions three sanctuaries belonging to Hera, Poseidon, and Zeus Olympios. The Heraion, allegedly founded by Proitos, lay to the left of the road that descended from Sikyon to the sea (2.12.2). Its topographical relationship to the sanctuary of Demeter is not known because Pausanias mentions the two temples in separate sections. In his day the roof and cult statue of the temple were no longer preserved, which is a sign of its antiquity. It is possible that this Heraion was built within the walls of the Archaic and Classical city. Likewise, the sanctuary of Poseidon was probably another civic sanctuary that, after 303 B.C., found itself in the peri-urban zone. Pausanias encountered it near the harbor, a little above (to the left of) the *leophoros* that led to Pellene, and before crossing the Helisson River.[45] The 5th-century basilica that Orlandos brought to light at Panagia of Kiato lies less than 300 m to the southwest of the site of the ancient harbor.[46] In the foundation courses and the walls of the basilica a large amount of ancient material had been reused, including column drums and ashlar conglomerate blocks from the entablature and the architrave of a Doric temple (Figs. 6.3, 6.4). Dowel holes and clamps are visible on the blocks of the foundation courses of the basilica, but they do not correspond to each other; in other words, the basilica does not have the same foundations as its predecessor. Surprisingly enough, Orlandos says very little about these spolia and does not discuss their provenance.[47] Due to their number and size, it is unlikely that they were carried there from far away. Their present location fits Pausanias's description concerning the sanctuary of Poseidon. Its position in relation to the harbor and the *leophoros* to Achaia was not uncommon; major sanctuaries of Poseidon were situated so as to "control rights of man, either by land or sea."[48]

Pausanias saw the Olympieion to his right as he was approaching Sikyon from Corinth (2.7.3). Unfortunately, nothing more is known of this sanctuary. It is worth mentioning in this context the presence of eight fluted column drums lying in the courtyard of the church of Agios Nikolaos (Fig. 6.5). The church, founded in 1578, is to the left of the road as one approaches from the Asopos.[49] The column drums are fragmentary, with a maximum height of 0.57 m and diameters of 0.45–0.62 m. The profiles of the flutes can hardly be made out, because of the heavy plaster masking them and the weathering of their surface, but they are preserved enough to indicate that the columns were of the Doric order. The remains were previously reported by Vischer, who, in addition to the column drums, saw an ancient altar and a Corinthian capital inside the church.[50] Two monolithic, unfluted columns topped by Corinthian capitals of Early Byzantine date support the dome of the church, but I found no trace of an altar-shaped stone block in the vicinity. The mere presence of the Doric column drums

43. *Etym. Magn.* 1666F (s.v. Μηκὼνη).

44. *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 17.

45. See above, p. 159.

46. See above, p. 285.

47. With the exception of a poros bathtub, which according to the excavators, must have been taken from a gymnasion: Orlandos 1969, pp. 154–155.

48. Schachter 1992, p. 46; for discussion and comparanda, see pp. 47–48.

49. On the foundation date, see Appendix VII, pp. 601–602.

50. Vischer 1857, p. 274.

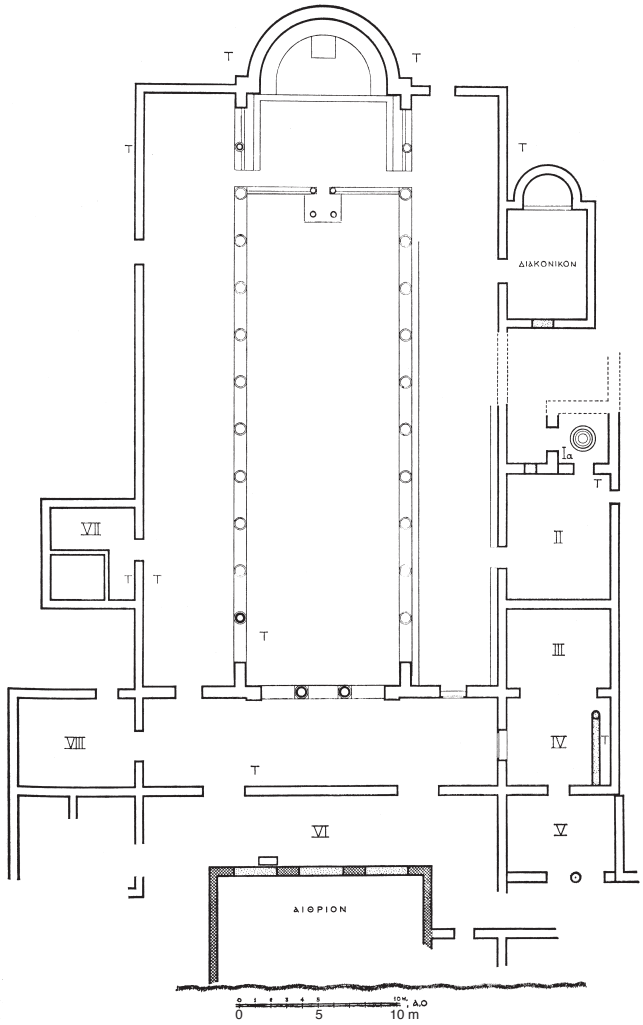


Figure 6.3. Plan of the basilica of Kiato. Orlandos 1969, p. 149, fig. 1



Figure 6.4. Basilica of Kiato: view of the central nave, looking southeast



Figure 6.5. Plastered column drums outside the church of Agios Nikolaos of Vasiliko

around the church, clearly playing no functional role, indicates that a colonnaded building once stood in the area. The possibility that the columns belong to a civic building—for example, a stoa—is not very likely, as the building would have been located well outside the Classical *asty.* It is better, I believe, to assign these columns to a temple, perhaps the Olympieion of Pausanias.

EXTRAURBAN SANCTUARIES

I have already stressed the importance the Sikyonians placed on the fertility of their land, particularly of their coastal plain. The Asopos River contributed to this fertility, and was accordingly worshipped in both Sikyon and Phlious (Ael. *VH* 2.33). Two of the three sanctuaries that Pausanias visited in the *chora* relate to notions of fertility and fecundity. In this section I discuss the three extraurban sanctuaries visited by the periegete, as well as a few others that are not mentioned in his account.

Sanctuary of Demeter Prostasia and Kore

A path branching off to the left of the "direct road" to Phlious brought Pausanias to a grove called Pyraia, where there was a sanctuary of Demeter Prostasia and Kore (2.11.3). Men celebrated here separately, while women were allowed to celebrate in the so-called Nymphon, which had statues of Dionysos, Demeter, and Kore with only the faces exposed. The festival here may have been a local version of the widespread Thesmophoria, which celebrated the fertility of the upcoming harvest.[51] The name of the grove derives from πυρός, meaning "wheat," and the epithet of the goddess precisely evoked her role as protector of the crops.[52] Similarly, the word νυμφών, which derives from νύμφη, meaning "bride," evokes Demeter's patronage of marriage. A number of Early Hellenistic terracotta figurines

51. Odelberg 1896, pp. 88–90; Farnell 1907, p. 100; see also Skalet 1928, p. 164.

52. On the meaning of this epithet, see Pritchett 1998–1999, vol. 2, p. 232.

from the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore show young women carrying piglets. According to Gloria Merker, the statuettes are likely to express a bridal ritual addressed to Demeter.[53]

Unfortunately, the word νυμφών referring to a building is a *hapax,* so we have no idea how this structure may have looked. My reconstruction at the end of this chapter of the route of Pausanias after he left the city points to the area of Megali Lakka for the location of the grove called Pyraia. Our extensive survey documented here the existence of at least four sites clustered at Livadia (HS-28 thru HS-31), of which at least one seems to have been occupied from the Early Classical to the Middle Roman periods (HS-28). The extent of this site is ca. 1,300 m^2, and the finds consist primarily of fine tableware, which may indicate sacred activity. From the area of Livadia come column shafts and a capital of the Doric order, now kept in the basement of an Ellinochori resident. I could not verify the exact findspot of these pieces, and there is again no evidence that the sanctuary to which they probably belonged was in the Pyraia. But at least we now have some material evidence of possible cult activity from this area, and it is conceivable that it was Demeter Prostasia and Kore who were worshipped here. With the exception of the coastal plain and the plain of Kaisari, the plateau of Megali Lakka is the only other large, flat area in Sikyonia, ideal for the cultivation of wheat.[54]

Temple of the Eumenides

The grove of prickly oaks to which Pausanias comes next provides a different natural setting. In this grove there was a temple of the Eumenides and an altar of the Fates (2.11.4–5). Every year, in a one-day festival, the Sikyonians sacrificed pregnant sheep and offered libations with watered honey and flowers instead of wreaths. This custom recalls a passage from Sophocles where Oedipus offers a libation of water and honey to the Eumenidai (*OC* 466–492). It is clear, as Farnell argues, that the Eumenides of Sikyon were local forms of the earth goddesses, and the kind of sacrifice made to them indicates that they were honored here as protectors of fecundity.[55] Furthermore, if I am right in placing the grove on the western slopes of Trikaranon, the sacrifice of pregnant sheep at this location may reflect the pastoral activities practiced in the area. Until the 1950s the majority of the inhabitants of Stimanga were shepherds who had divided the extensive territory of their village into pastures; we would expect a similar situation in antiquity. It is unfortunate, at least from an archaeological perspective, that the entire district of Stimanga and most of the Trikaranon range have been subject to intensive cultivation in the last 30 years. Bulldozers have leveled steep slopes, and vineyards have taken the place of dense thickets and maquis vegetation. Vague information on ancient remains around the sites of Dardiza (Ντάρδιζα) and Koudouni (Κουδούνι) is given by Yannis Balaphoutas, a teacher from Stimanga, and Panagiotis Pyriovolis.[56] In our extensive survey we investigated these sites and spotted three more on the same western slope of Trikaranon opposite Titane. Our findings were scanty, undoubtedly because of the modern large-scale landscaping operations. At none of these sites did we find unquestionable traces of

53. See *Corinth* XVIII.4, pp. 117–124 and 337–338. I thank Nancy Bookidis for the reference.

54. Indeed, until the 1950s, Megali Lakka was a continuous carpet of wheat.

55. Farnell 1909, p. 442.

56. Balaphoutas 1995, p. 28; Pyriovolis 1986, p. 300, n. 56 (Koudouni) and p. 316, n. 80 (Dardiza).

cult activity of the pre-Roman and Roman eras. The only site that yielded Roman pottery was Paliokatounti (HS-21), but we observed ancient tiles at three more: Skrapani (HS-20), Dardiza (HS-22), and Koudouni (HS-24). At the latter site, and more precisely in the vineyard of G. Georgiou, Pyriovolis reported seeing in 1965 foundations of an ancient building. In the same field, in 1973, plowing brought to the surface fragments of a fluted column, a marble slab, and a dressed ashlar block. None of these remains are visible today, but one cannot exclude that they were indeed the remains of the temple of goddesses.

Titane (HS-67)

The third extraurban sanctuary visited by Pausanias was the site of Titane; he describes it as a "summit of a mountain," off the road to Phlious, which took its name from Titan, the brother of Helios:

> ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβᾶσί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἥξασιν, ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Τιτᾶνα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡλίου καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι Τιτάνην τὸ χωρίον. (2.11.5)

Sought by travelers in the early 19th century, the site was positively identified by Ludwig Ross in 1840 on the eastern slopes of the Vesiza range, near the village of Voivoda (now renamed Titane).[57] The low hill, immediately to the northeast of the village, where the church of Agios Tryphon stands (elev. 590 masl), is precipitous on its east and the south sides, indeed resembling, to someone coming from the Asopos, the summit of a mountain (Fig. 6.6).[58] This was one of the arguments used by Ross for the identification of the site, together with the impressive fortifications on the hill and its distance from both Sikyon and Phlious, which agree more or less with the distances given by Pausanias.[59] Confirmation of Ross's identification came in 1879, with the publication of a Roman dedicatory inscription to Asklepios that had been built into the church of Agios Tryphon.[60]

Pausanias, having come to the "summit of the mountain," described at length the Asklepieion, which was founded by Alexanor, a descendant of Asklepios. The peribolos of the sanctuary was planted with cypress trees, contained a temple and a stoa, and was filled with statues, including a *xoanon* of Koronis, the mother of Asklepios.[61] This goddess did not have a temple in the peribolos, but was worshipped in the sanctuary of Athena (2.11.5–8). The traveler then goes on to talk about the sanctuary of

57. Ross 1840, pp. 26–28. Gell (1817, p. 17) had placed it on the hill of Prophetes Elias of Paradeisi, while Leake (1830, p. 376) thought that the summit of Vesiza was Mount Titane.

58. Langdon (2000), having examined ancient testimonia referring to ὄρη, concluded that the term does not necessarily designate what we would call a mountain today, but rather a prominent height. To use his own words, "if a hill was especially prominent at a particular locale, it could be called a mountain" (p. 462).

59. For the distances and the road from Titane to Phlious and Sikyon, see above, pp. 128–134.

60. Martha 1879, pp. 192–193; *IG* IV 436. I date the inscription to the Roman period based on the lettering and the abbreviated postscript. The slab is broken in its upper part, so that the name of the dedicant is not fully preserved: [Z]ω[τ]ι̣κὸ̣ς|Εὐκαίρου|Ἀσκληπιῶι|Τειτανίω[ι]|χαριστήριον|ψ(ηφίσματος) β(ουλῆς).

61. Cf. the cypress grove in the Asklepieion of Cos: Sokolowski 1969, p. 250, no. 150A.

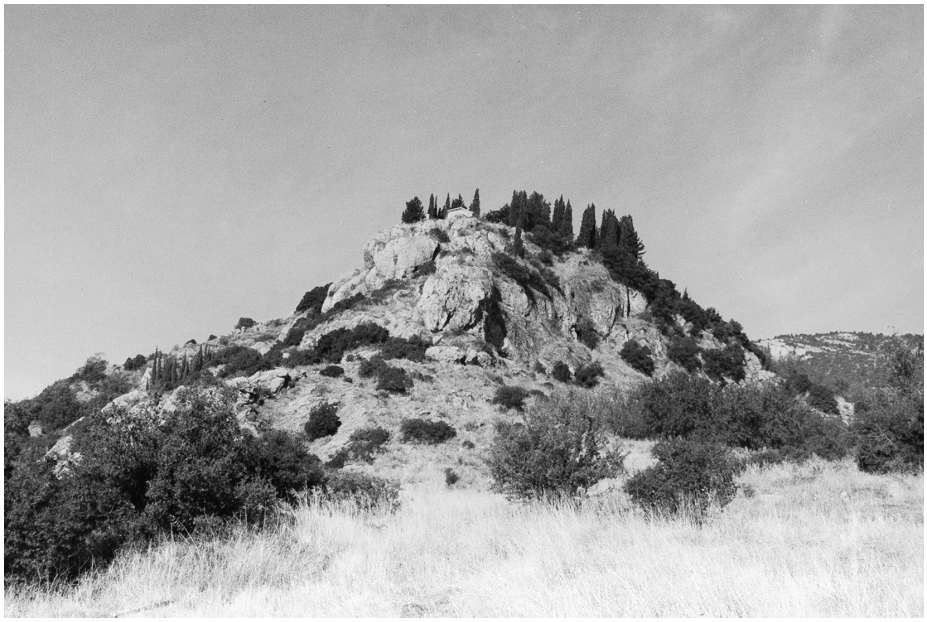


Figure 6.6. Titane (HS-67): the hill of Agios Tryphon, looking west, as one approaches from the Asopos

Athena, which was built on a hill, and the altar of the Winds below it. There was a procession that involved carrying the wooden statue of Koronis from the Asklepieion up to the shrine of Athena:

> Ἐν δὲ Τιτάνῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐς ὃ τὴν Κορωνίδα ἀνάγουσιν· . . . ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόφου καταβᾶσιν—ᾠκοδόμηται γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν—βωμός ἐστιν ἀνέμων, . . . (2.12.1)

It is clear from the text, as Frazer explains, that Koronis formed the religious connection between the two sanctuaries.[62]

The precise location of the above sanctuaries and the altar has yet to be ascertained. The sanctuary of Asklepios has been sought on the hill of Agios Tryphon, on the terrace immediately to the west and south of it, and on the terraces to the northeast, toward the Asopos.[63] The temple of Athena was almost unanimously placed on the hill of Agios Tryphon, while the altar of the Winds was placed on the terrace below (i.e., northeast of the hill).[64] Meyer argued that the Asklepieion, the temple of Athena, and the altar of the Winds are described in topographical order, as Pausanias proceeded from the κορυφὴν ὄρους to the hill of Athena and then to the βωμός of the lower terrace:

> Da aber Pausanias zunächst den Weg von Sikyon her beschreibt, dann (11.5) die κορυφὴ ὄρους, zu der man hinaufsteigt, darauf das Asklepieion und anschliessend den λόφος mit dem Athenatempel und im Abstieg von Athenatempel am Weg nach Phlius den Altar der Winde, so scheint mir durch diese Reihenfolge die Ansetzung des Asklepieions auf der oberen Hochfläsche genügend gesichert zu sein. . . . Den Altar der Winde vermutete Rangabé wohl mit Recht in den erwähnten Fundamenten unter der Akropolis.[65]

I agree with Meyer's interpretation of the topographical sequence from the description of Pausanias and its significance for the location of the

62. Frazer 1913, vol. 3, pp. 72–73; see also Odelberg 1896, pp. 162–163.

63. *RE* VI², 1937, col. 1490, s.v. Titane (E. Meyer). Roux (1958, p. 160), for example, suggests that the sanctuary of Asklepios "doit être cherché soit hors des murs, sur l'une des terraces qui s'étagent au-dessus de l'Asopos, soit dans le perimètre de la ville." Rangabé (1857, p. 409) places the Asklepieion on the site of Agios Tryphon. Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 503) tentatively places the Asklepieion on one of the lower terraces near the Asopos. Ross (1840, p. 28) vaguely places it on the platform to the west of the hill.

64. Ross 1840, p. 28: "Cette colline c'est la petite acropole: le sanctuaire de Minerve a été remplacé par la chapelle de St. Tryphon, et les fragmens d'ordre dorique et des petites dimensions, que j'ai décrit plus haut, appartenaient à ce sanctuaire." Cf. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 502; Bursian 1872, p. 31; Martha 1879, p. 193.

65. *RE* VI², 1937, col. 1490, s.v. Titane (E. Meyer).

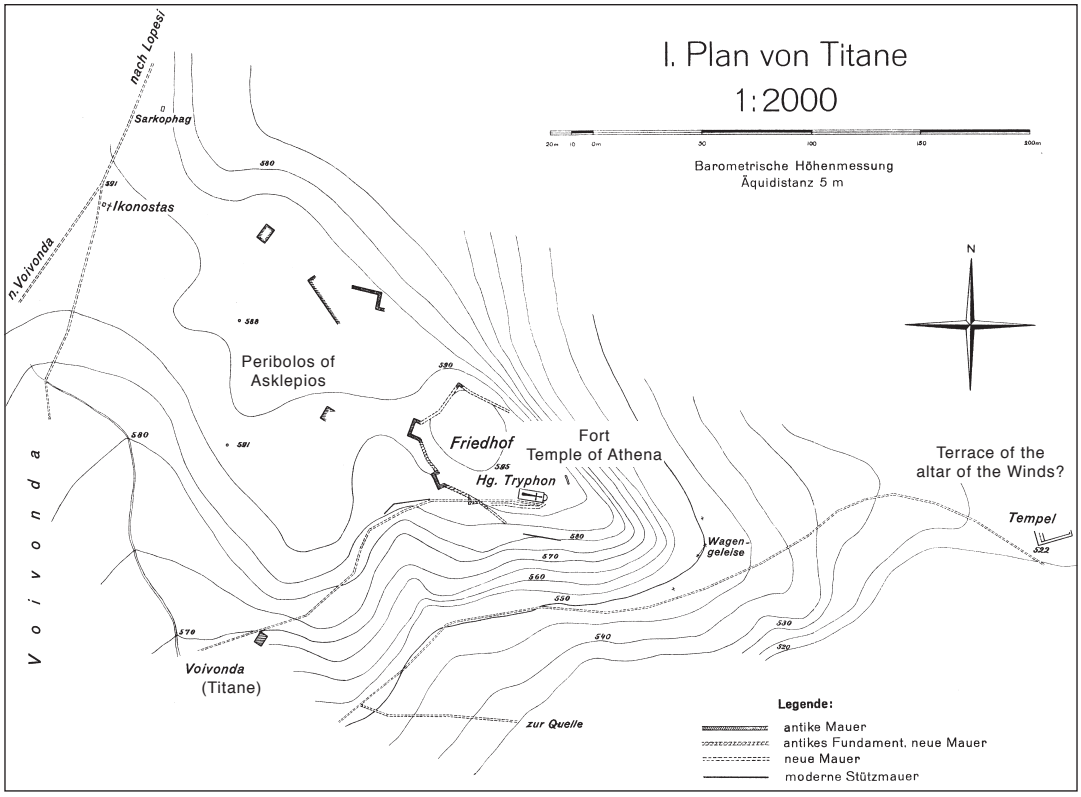


Figure 6.7. Plan of Titane (HS-67).
After Meyer 1939, plan I

sanctuaries. Accordingly, I would place the Asklepieion on the terrace to the northwest of the hill, the sanctuary of Athena on the hill itself, and the altar of the Winds on a terrace northeast and below the hill (Fig. 6.7).

The almost flat terrace that extends to the north and west of the hill of Agios Tryphon is supported on its northern side by a wall of ashlar blocks, almost 19 m long and consisting of two parts joined at an angle (Figs. 6.8–6.10; for a plan of the remains, see Fig. 4.45, above). The wall is today preserved to an average height of 2 m, but it must have stood higher in antiquity since blocks from it can be seen lying north and east of the wall. Rangabé, Meyer, and Roux thought that this stretch of wall formed part of the fortifications of the lower terrace. Moreover, Rangabé drew a tower at the eastern extremity of this wall, which I investigated and found to be a later addition (Fig. 4.44).[66] It is difficult to understand the efficacy of a fortification wall on this side, unless we assume that the terrace was originally fortified on all four sides. Rangabé observed and drew a spur of the enclosure wall at the southern side of the terrace (marked "h" on his drawing), and concluded that "le petit fort n'était que la citadelle d'un lieu habité, occupant cette langue de terre, et également entouré d'un mur."[67] Today, there are no remains of the southern part of an enclosure wall, and Rangabé's description of it is so vague that it is unclear whether it dates to the same period as the stretch to the north.[68] I would submit that the extant northern stretch may be part of the peribolos of the sanctuary of Asklepios mentioned by Pausanias.[69]

On the hill to the east of the terrace, and in and around the church of Agios Tryphon, Ross and Rangabé saw numerous architectural blocks

66. The tower is constructed of mortar and rubble, and may be contemporary with the Medieval repairs to the fortifications of the hill; see above, p. 221.

67. Rangabé 1857, p. 407.

68. Meyer (1939, pp. 14–15) was also unable to find traces of what he called "Verlauf der Stadtmauer," but he accepted Rangabé's description.

69. Meyer (1939, p. 16) estimates the included area to have been ca. 230 m in length and 100 m in maximum width.



Figure 6.8. Titane (HS-67): the upper terrace from the hill of Agios Tryphon, looking west



Figure 6.9. Titane (HS-67): stretch of the wall supporting the northern side of the upper terrace



Figure 6.10. Titane (HS-67): retaining wall of the upper terrace, looking west



Figure 6.11. Titane (HS-67): the church of Agios Tryphon, looking northeast

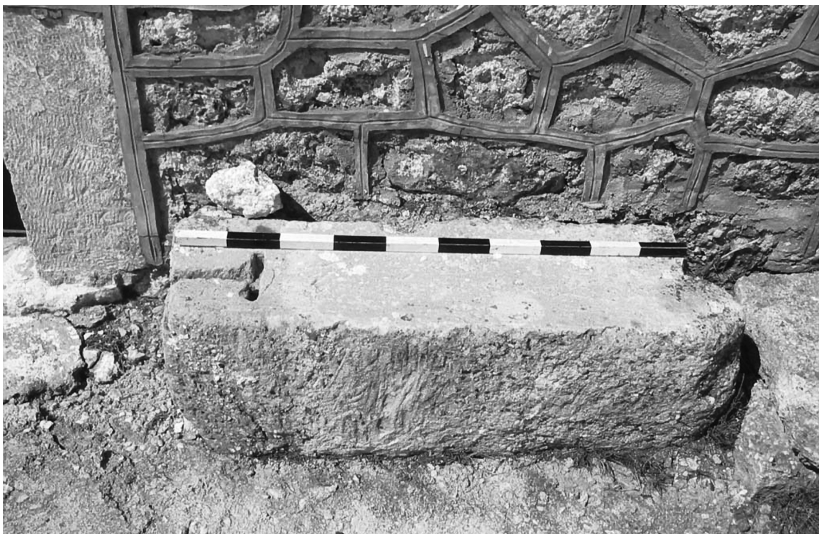


Figure 6.12. Titane (HS-67): the ashlar block bearing T-shaped clamp cuttings outside the church of Agios Tryphon

(including two column fragments, one of them fluted, triglyphs 0.4 m high, and metopes 0.33 m wide), which they assigned to the temple of Athena.[70] The temple fragments have since disappeared, and only one ancient block, bearing T-shaped clamp cuttings on its short sides, can be seen outside the rebuilt church today (Figs. 6.11, 6.12).[71] I believe, along with Meyer, that there should be little doubt in identifying this hill with the λόφος of the sanctuary of Athena, since from the terrace to the west it indeed looks like a hill, and no other formation in the surrounding area can be described as such.[72] Accordingly, the ceremony of ἀναγωγή of the statue of Koronis from the sanctuary of Asklepios to the sanctuary of Athena would have involved traveling the short distance from the western terrace up to the hill.

The remains of the fortification wall, which once surrounded the hill except along its eastern side, have been interpreted as the "acropolis" of Titane. The wall is carefully built in trapezoidal masonry with two projecting towers. I suspect that it is because of the considerable size of these fortifications that early as well as modern scholars have assumed that

70. Ross 1840, p. 27; Rangabé 1857, p. 407.

71. Meyer (1939, p. 14) could not find the temple fragments either; it should be noted that the surface of this hill has been severely disturbed by the village cemetery. The Archaeological Service has recently ordered the removal of the cemetery from the hill.

72. Cf. *RE* VI², 1937, col. 1490, s.v. Titane (E. Meyer): "Letzteres [i.e., the λόφος] weist ziemlich sicher darauf hin, das es auf dem Tryphonhügel gestanden hat, dann kann man die oben erwähnten kleinen dorischen Gebälkstücke auf den Athenatempel beziehen."

Titane was an ancient town, when Pausanias calls it just a *chorion.* I argue below that Titane was an extraurban healing sanctuary of Sikyonia, with a small settlement around it, and that the hill of Agios Tryphon was merely a fort, and part of the defensive system of Sikyonia. The fort would protect the Sikyonian borders toward Phlious, provide safety to the people living around the sanctuary, and serve as the connecting link between the fort of Kokkinovrachos to the west, the tower of Paradeisi to the north, and the city of Sikyon itself.

Within the peribolos, Krystalli-Votsi excavated a Roman bath complex, a building commonly found in healing sanctuaries.[73] Water was brought to the Asklepieion from two copious springs, one near the summit of Vesiza, and the other at Anavara, above the village of Bozika. The clay pipes of these underground aqueducts have been unearthed (and destroyed) in many places during the cultivation of the fields and the opening of country roads. I observed a segment of the first underground aqueduct running along a country road that leads from Titane to Lechova (at a place called Bota); the terracotta pipe has a cylindrical section, and an interior diameter of 0.14 m. Locals confirm that the second aqueduct bringing water from Anavara is of similar form, but I have not seen it. In addition to the bath complex, we recorded two more structures within the peribolos. A cistern lies to the southwest of the fort, cut in the bedrock and lined with mortar; it measures 1.3 × 0.92 m, and its visible depth is 0.9 m. A building to the northwest of the fort, oriented northwest–southeast, consists of rubble and mortar and measures 7.62 × 5.2 m. Neither its date nor its function can be established, but it surely belongs to the Roman or post-Roman era. Dislocated parts of a wall in *opus testaceum* preserved at the west edge of the plateau must also date from the Roman period. Yet evidence of activity on this terrace, as well as on the adjacent terrace to the west of the hill, can be traced back to at least Mycenaean times.[74] We recorded abundant sherds from LH III bowls, goblets, and kraters; fragments of Geometric, Archaic, and Classical skyphoi, kotylai, and a few kraters; and examples of Roman red wares and Middle Byzantine glazed pottery. Another significant discovery from the upper terrace is a marble fragment from the right arm of an under-life-size statue.[75]

On the southern side of the hill, Rangabé noticed the existence of rock-cut niches, one of them resembling a sarcophagus, which he interpreted as tombs.[76] According to Meyer, similar graves were found at Thera and were dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[77] Rangabé's "niches" are still visible today, but their function cannot be determined. On a narrow and rocky terrace below and to the east of the hill, Curtius first reported the existence of wheel-ruts of an ancient road, and Meyer drew them on his map (Fig. 6.7); in Chapter 3, I argue that the ruts belong to a road leading north to Sikyon and south to Phlious.[78]

Further to the east, the lower terrace contains the foundations of a rectangular building, oriented east–west, which Meyer calls a "temple" (Figs. 6.13, 6.14).[79] Meyer describes the foundations as rough polygonal, measuring 17 × 7 m. We confirmed Meyer's measurements, and recorded a maximum height of 1.5 m, which corresponds to three courses above the surface. The cross-wall that Meyer described as separating the "naos" from the "pronaos" is set 3.70 m east of the west side of the structure, but its

73. The bath was located on the western side of the hill, in the Karmoyannis lot: Krystalli-Votsi 1983; cf. Papachatzis 1976, p. 111, pl. 104. The site of the excavation is today marked by a hollow in the ground and a stretch of a thick rubble, brick, and mortar wall. Parts of mortar walls seen and drawn by Meyer (1939, p. 15) on this terrace must have belonged to the bath complex.

74. Hope Simpson (1965, p. 36) claims to have found a few EH sherds on the western terrace in 1959; see also Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 68.

75. I found the piece in 1997, when I visited the site with Yannis Pikoulas and some of his students; we turned it over to the Corinth Museum.

76. Rangabé 1857, pp. 407–408.

77. Meyer 1939, p. 15.

78. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, pp. 500–501; Meyer 1939, plan I. For the proposed road, see above, pp. 131–134.

79. Meyer 1939, pp. 15–16.



Figure 6.13. Titane (HS-67): the lower (eastern) terrace from the hill of Agios Tryphon, looking east



Figure 6.14. Titane (HS-67): the rectangular building on the lower (eastern) terrace, looking northeast. Arrows mark the remains of the cross-wall.

purpose cannot be ascertained beyond the fact that it is a partition wall. No columns or other temple fragments have been reported or are today visible in the vicinity. If we accept that the hill of Agios Tryphon is the *lophos* of the shrine of Athena, then it is on this lower terrace that the altar of the Winds must be sought. What is puzzling, however, are the pottery and other objects that we observed around the structure. These consist mainly of coarse pieces of the Middle to Late Roman and Medieval periods, and include a Roman/Late Roman round-mouth pitcher and pedestal krater, a 5th-century amphora, and fragments of 11th–12th-century stew pots. On the other hand, this eastern plateau yielded rather luxurious items, including a late-10th–11th-century chafing dish (rare outside urban centers), a Byzantine glass bracelet, a base from a glass beaker, and a mysterious ceramic relief fragment bearing an animal motif. The evidence so far indicates prosperous activity on this eastern terrace during the Middle Byzantine period, with which we should probably associate Meyer's "temple."

Finally, we come to the question of the identity of Titane. That it was part of Sikyonia is made clear from its foundation story, as told by Pausanias (2.11.5): when Alexanor, son of Machaon, son of Asklepios, came to Sikyonia, he founded the Asklepieion at Titane. In a different context, Pausanias refers to Titane of the Sikyonians, presumably as opposed to a Titane in Thessaly.[80] What is not clear is the status of the site. Ross calls it a "petite ville," Curtius "ein Städtchen und Kurort," Martha a "ville antique," the editor of *IG* IV an "*urbs*," Jost a "pays," and Meyer distinguishes a "Stadtmauer" from an "Akropolismauer," followed by Roux ("acropole" versus "ville basse") and Pharaklas.[81] Pausanias, however, followed by Herodian and Eustathios, calls Titane simply a χωρίον, and focuses on the Asklepieion that stood there, adding that more people live around it, most of them worshippers of the god: περιοικοῦσι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ τὸ πολὺ οἰκέται τοῦ θεοῦ (2.11.6).[82] Accordingly, I argue that Titane was neither a *polisma* nor a *kome,* but simply a sacred place in Sikyonia, with a small settlement around it.

A synoptic discussion of the term *chorion* in Pausanias is in order here. Χωρίον in Greek is a general term that may have several meanings according to the context, including that of a "fortress."[83] The term occurs in the *Periegesis* 173 times. In some cases, it is used generically and almost abstractly, to denote vast territories as well as portions of land, or the ground itself: τὰ ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου χωρία (6.7.6), τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων (1.29.7), ὅσον χωρίον περιεχόμενον (6.20.7), ἔχοντες ἐμπείρως τῶν χωρίων (10.23.5), ὁμαλές χωρίον (10.36.5), and so on.[84] In a few cases, it refers to specific areas within a city or a sanctuary: χωρίον Κεραμεικός in Athens (1.3.1), or χωρίον Κῆποι near the Athenian Olympieion (1.19.2).[85] In the overwhelming majority of cases, though, *chorion* applies to specific places in the countryside. Most of these *choria* are described as sites associated with religious or mythological traditions, with or without buildings and monuments, such as sanctuaries, temples, tombs, altars, or sacred groves and caves: ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον (2.15.2); τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὀνομάζεται Βᾶσσαι (8.30.4 and 8.41.7); ἐν δὲ Ἀραΐνῳ καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ τάφος Λᾶ (3.24.10); Αὐλαὶ καλούμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον (10.32.6).[86] Φόβος, the place in Sikyonia where terror struck Apollo and Artemis as they sought purification after the murder of Python, was a *chorion* (2.7.7). Others are sites of particular political or historical significance, such as battlefields or border zones: χωρίον ἐστίν ἔνθα ἐμαχέσαντο (2.38.5); χωρίον

80. Paus. 7.23.8: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ τῆς Σικυωνίων τὸ αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὑγείαν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι. A Thessalian Titane is mentioned by Eustathios (ad *Il.* 2.735 [1.519.13–15 van der Valk]).

81. Ross 1840, p. 28; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 501; Martha 1879, p. 192; *IG* IV 436; Jost 1985, p. 100; Meyer 1939, p. 14; Roux 1958, p. 158; Pharaklas 1971, app. II, pp. 35–36.

82. Herodian, *Καθολική Προσωδία* 3.1, p. 383; *Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας* 3.2, p. 592; Eust. ad *Il.* 2.735 (1.519.13–15 van der Valk).

83. By the Middle Ages the term had acquired the meaning of "village" (χωριό in modern Greek), which it did not have in antiquity (contra Petronotis [1985–1986, p. 389], who argues that χωρίον in Pausanias "may also mean a small village").

84. See also 1.41.1, 2.8.6, 2.35.10, 3.26.6, 4.24.7, 4.26.7, 4.31.5, 4.36.6, 5.6.4, 6.20.10, 8.10.1, 8.11.10, 10.12.7, 10.13.1, 10.13.2, 10.21.2.

85. See also 1.18.4, 1.19.6, 1.20.1, 3.13.6, 5.10.2, 7.20.8, 9.12.3.

86. Also 1.29.2, 1.37.7, 2.7.7, 2.11.5, 2.12.4, 2.14.4, 2.18.3, 2.20.7, 2.25.2, 2.28.3, 2.28.6, 2.32.9, 2.34.6, 2.36.3, 2.38.4, 3.2.6, 3.10.6, 3.10.7, 3.14.2, 3.14.10, 3.15.2, 3.16.7, 3.18.2, 3.19.9, 3.20.2, 3.22.10, 3.23.2, 3.24.8, 3.25.7, 3.26.9, 4.3.2, 4.31.3, 4.34.7, 5.3.2, 7.3.4, 7.24.2, 8.9.4, 8.11.4, 8.23.6, 8.25.4, 8.34.2, 8.34.3, 8.35.5, 8.38.2, 8.38.11, 8.44.2, 8.53.9, 9.10.1, 9.19.1, 9.19.3, 9.20.3, 9.25.2, 10.4.6, 10.17.5, 10.32.14, 10.33.10.

Λυκουρίαν, καὶ ἔστι Φενεάταις ἡ Λυκουρία πρὸς Κλειτορίους ὅροι τῆς γῆς (8.19.4).[87] *Choria* also refer to natural formations, such as springs, hills, and mountains, the latter sometimes fortified: τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἔνθα αἱ πηγαί, Γλυκείας ὀνομάζουσι (7.27.4); Ἀγχισία ὄρος (8.12.8); ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρόν· ἡ γὰρ Ἰθώμη μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὀρῶν (4.9.2).[88] Sometimes Pausanias uses *chorion* to denote the place where a town or a deme was founded: τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα ἡ πόλις ᾠκίσθη (10.4.7).[89] In other instances, *choria* apply to the abandoned cities and towns in Pausanias's day, in other words, to what we would call today "archaeological sites": χωρίον ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ᾠκεῖτο (3.20.3).[90] I have found no instances where the word *chorion* is used interchangeably with *polis, polisma,* or *kome.*[91] Pausanias refers 48 times to *komai* and 65 times to *polismata,* and clearly distinguishes these from the *choria,* as the following three passages show:[92]

> ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας ὄρος Πάρνων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργείους ὅροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσίν· ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. (2.38.7)
>
> ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίῳ κώμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Λιμνάτιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος. (4.31.3)
>
> ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν πηγῶν, πρῶτα μέν σε ἐκδέξεται Μάραθα χωρίον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Γόρτυς κώμη τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα πόλις. (8.28.1)

Titane was an ὑψηλὸν χωρίον associated with the birth of Titan, and the seat of the most important extraurban sanctuary of Sikyonia. The exceptional quality of the material found in the survey, which includes a high proportion of pottery imported from Attica and a sculptural fragment, is another indicator of the importance of the site and its sacred character. The *psephisma* of the boule mentioned in the Roman dedicatory inscription likely refers to a measure passed by the Sikyonian council. The fact that the sanctuary lay near the Sikyonian borders with Phlious dictated the fortification of the hill of Athena in the Late Classical period. Pausanias witnessed a community living around the sanctuary, which could find refuge inside the fort in periods of danger.

How far back in time does the cult of Asklepios and the deities associated with him go? Pausanias (2.11.6) does not link this sanctuary to the Asklepieion at Epidauros, believing in the antiquity of the cult; he

87. Also 1.36.4, 2.24.7, 2.38.7, 3.12.6, 4.7.4, 4.15.8, 7.15.3, 7.15.6, 8.5.3, 8.11.11, 8.54.1.

88. Also 1.26.2, 1.41.2, 2.35.3, 2.38.1, 3.14.8, 4.17.10, 4.35.10, 5.6.1, 8.6.4, 8.12.4, 8.12.7, 8.23.2, 8.41.10, 8.50.9, 9.14.2.

89. Also 1.2.1, 1.31.1, 1.37.2, 2.15.5, 2.16.4, 2.33.2, 3.26.8, 4.27.5, 4.35.1, 6.22.1, 7.24.5, 8.8.6, 8.18.7, 8.44.1, 9.12.2, 10.37.5, 10.38.10. These examples (mentioning poleis and *komai* reduced to *choria* in Pausanias's time) argue against Alcock's (1995, p. 331) thesis that "sensitivity to transformations in a community's status . . . is precisely what is lost from Pausanias' retrospective vantage point." See also Hansen's (1995, p. 70) generalized statement that Strabo, Pausanias, Stephanos of Byzantion, and Plutarch "are notoriously unreliable as to site-classification, even site-classifications relating to their own age."

90. Also 2.25.4, 3.24.1, 6.24.5, 8.13.5, 8.15.9, 8.35.5–7, 9.25.6.

91. On the contrary, Pausanias seems to be using the term *polisma* synonymously with *polis* throughout his work: see Hansen 1995, p. 50 and n. 21.

92. Also 3.22.8 (πόλισμα versus κώμη); 4.34.7, 5.5.3, 5.6.1, 9.14.2 (χωρίον versus πόλις); 3.25.7 (χωρίον versus πόλισμα).

assigned the mysterious statue of Asklepios to Alexanor, the founder of the sanctuary.[93] According to Emma and Ludwig Edelstein, Alexanor and Euamerion, who had statues within the peribolos of the sanctuary, represent earlier healing deities later replaced by Asklepios.[94] To use Martin Nilsson's expression, "both were the ancient inhabitants of the sanctuary."[95] Koronis, the mother of Asklepios, must have been worshipped there as well, and we have seen that her *xoanon* was carried from the terrace of the Asklepieion to the hill of Athena, where she received special sacrifice (2.11.7). Pausanias does not fail to note the ἀρχαῖον ξόανον of Athena, struck by lightning sometime in the remote past (2.12.1). Nilsson argues that the whole ritual signifies that the *xoanon* of Koronis was originally placed in the sanctuary of Athena, and that this is why she continued to be worshipped there even later, when she would have normally been housed in the Asklepieion. In Nilsson's opinion, the different sacrifice made in her honor is another indication of the antiquity of her cult.[96]

The altar of the Winds, which Pausanias mentions last in his description of Titane, was located below the hill of Athena. We are told that one night each year the priest offered sacrifices to the Winds, and performed other secret rituals (ἀπόρρητα) in four *bothroi* to appease the wildness of the Winds, including, "as they say," singing the spells that Medea used (2.12.1). Farnell argued that the nature-worship and nature-magic characteristics of this ritual were a continuation of prehistoric religious practices that never died out in the historical period.[97] What is clear is that the Winds were treated in Titane as chthonic deities, as were Asklepios and his associates on the terrace above.[98]

We have noted above the high percentage of fine ware that was found around the hill of Agios Tryphon, and the fact that chronologically it stretches from the Mycenaean to Frankish periods. The LH III, Geometric, and Archaic periods seem to be best represented, which means that activity on the site during these periods was particularly strong. Although our material evidence does not allow us to confirm sacred activity at these early dates, at least we are now in a position to argue that the religious tradition that Pausanias preserves may be grounded in reality.

Pausanias completes his pilgrimage through Sikyonia at Titane and returns to the city. Not far from his route, at least as I reconstruct it at the end of this chapter, lay two sacred sites, one on the western slope of Trikaranon (SP-25), the other on the eastern slope of Vesiza (SP-6). The *periegetes* mentions neither site, perhaps because by his time both were abandoned.

93. See the commentary on this passage in Musti and Torelli 1986, p. 254. On the contrary, Roux (1958, pp. 160–161) sees Epidaurian influence on the Asklepieion of Titane, and assigns the establishment of his sanctuary here to the early 4th century.

94. Edelstein and Edelstein 1945, vol. 2, p. 87, n. 44: "There is hardly any doubt that Alexanor was made the son of Asclepius when he was superseded by Asclepius." Euamerion is only known from Pausanias, but his functional name, which may mean "the giver of good and healthy days," indicates his healing role: Edelstein and Edelstein 1945, vol. 2, p. 89, n. 50. See also Odelberg 1896, pp. 101–102.

95. Nilsson 1906, p. 410 (my translation).

96. Nilsson 1906, pp. 410–411.

97. Farnell 1909, pp. 415–417. A "Priestess of the Winds" is already found in Mycenaean Knossos: see Burkert 1985, p. 175, and Stengel 1900, with a special reference to the cult of the Winds at Titane.

98. The nocturnal setting of the ritual is appropriate for chthonian deities, as are the soothing performances conducted in four pits set into the ground; see Scullion 1994.

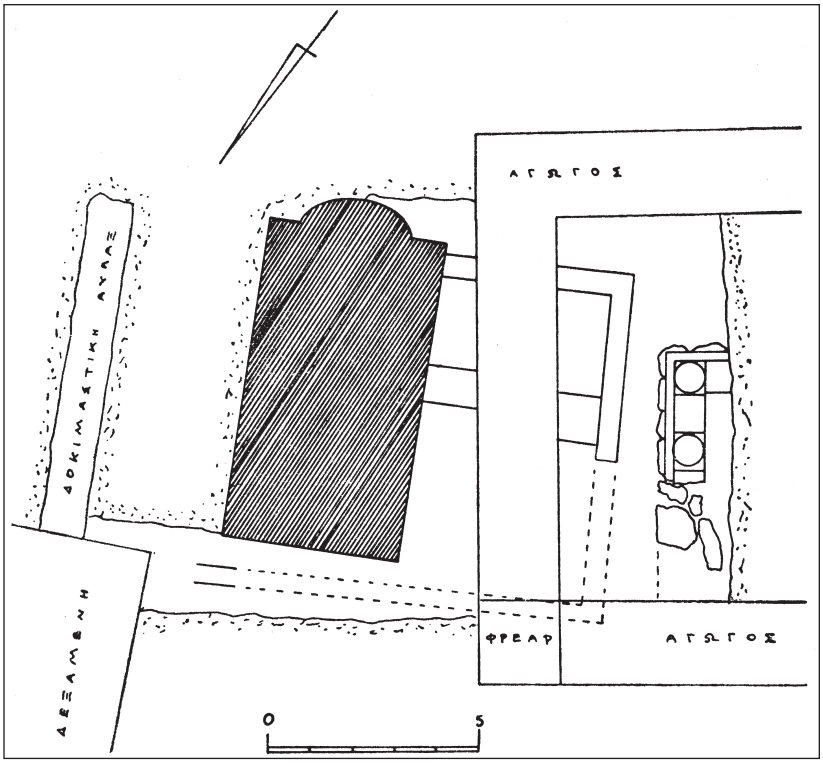


Figure 6.15. Agios Ioannis of Stimanga (SP-25): plan of the excavation. Alexandri 1965, p. 75, plan 1

Agios Ioannis of Stimanga (SP-25)

Roughly a kilometer to the west of the village of Stimanga, by the church of Agios Ioannis, Olga Alexandri excavated part of the foundations of a rectangular structure and the corner of what she called a "temple" just a meter to the west of it (SP-25; Fig. 6.15).[99] Only the western part of the structure could be excavated; the rest lies underneath the church. The excavator reconstructs a rectangular building, oriented a few degrees off the cardinal points, with its interior divided lengthwise by a wall. The short side of the building was ca. 8.2 m long, but its entire length, which was over 10 m, could not be established. Of the southeast corner of the "temple," the excavations revealed the foundations, the leveling course, and the stylobate, as well as fragments of two Ionic poros columns attached to their bases and found in situ along the eastern side (Fig. 6.16). One of these fragments was preserved to a height of 0.875 m, which means that the columns were either monolithic or were made in two or three tall drums.[100] If this is a temple, and given the small diameter of the column, which would correspond to a height of ca. 3 m, I am tempted to reconstruct it not as peristyle but as prostyle, with perhaps only four columns across the facade. Accordingly, we could suggest a rough dimension of 6 (W.) × 11 m (L.), and a total height of ca. 4 m.[101] The rectangular structure excavated immediately to the east of it, where we would normally expect an altar, could have been an ancillary building of the sanctuary, although Alexandri does not discuss its function or precise date. One possibility is that this building, which Alexandri calls "ancient" with a second—Early Christian—phase, was originally built after the "temple" had gone out of use. Another possibility is that the "temple" faced not east but south, and

99. Alexandri 1965.

100. As, for example, the columns of the peristyle of the palaistra of Olympia: see Mallwitz 1972, pp. 279–281. I thank Nancy Bookidis for suggesting this comparison. The Agios Ioannis columns have 20 flutes, 0.32 m in diameter, and the distance between them (from center to center) is 1.8 m. None of the remains are visible today, because they were reburied for protective purposes.

101. Alexandri does not record any roof tiles in her *Deltion* report.

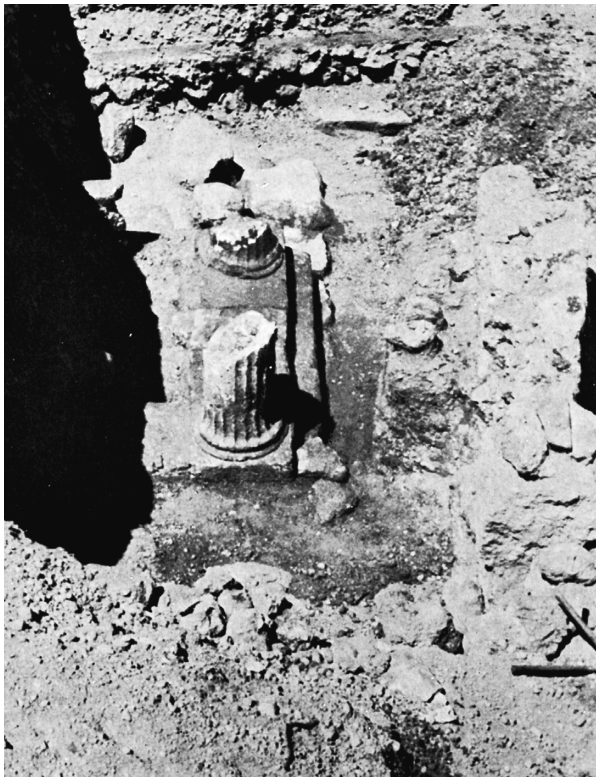


Figure 6.16. Agios Ioannis of Stimanga (SP-25): the corner of the ancient "temple." Alexandri 1965, pl. 91:α

had an Ionic porch two columns deep on this side.[102] A third possibility is that the excavated corner is not part of a temple but of a stoa, a building often found in sanctuaries.[103] It is clear that more excavation is needed in order to rule on the function and size of this structure, and to understand the arrangement of the sanctuary as a whole.

Eighteen meters to the south of Agios Ioannis, I observed a wall oriented a few degrees off the east–west axis, along the scarp of the modern country road (Fig. 6.17). The wall is made of irregular trapezoidal blocks of conglomerate stone, preserved in three courses to a maximum height of ca. 1.5 m, and it can be traced for a length of 11.5 m. The location of the site, below and north of a high vertical cliff, suggests that the function of this wall was to protect the sanctuary from rockslides (Fig. 6.18).[104]

The excavator gives a Hellenistic date for the "temple," but a 5th-century date for the naiskos relief that she found, along with a terracotta miniature female head and a statuette of Pan, between the temple and the rectangular structure. The naiskos relief—in reality a portico relief, since the scene takes place in a portico—is 0.35 m high, but its length is only fragmentarily preserved (Fig. 6.19). It represents a draped female divinity holding a torch in her left hand, moving to her right, and interacting with a smaller, frontal female figure, who carries a torch with her

102. I thank Nancy Bookidis for suggesting these possibilities.

103. I thank C. K. Williams II and the anonymous reviewer of my manuscript for this suggestion.

104. Curiously, Alexandri does not mention this retaining wall.



Figure 6.17. Agios Ioannis of Stimanga (SP-25): the retaining wall of the sanctuary, looking west



Figure 6.18. Agios Ioannis of Stimanga (SP-25): the setting of the sanctuary, looking southwest

right hand and raises her left hand. Alexandri identifies the divinity as Artemis or Demeter. Yet, it is clear from her drapery that the goddess is shown running, and Demeter is never depicted that way.[105] It is better to see here Artemis *dadophoros* or *phosphoros*.[106] Her hairstyle, which is that of a young woman, and her drapery, with its high girding, date this piece not from the Classical period, as the excavator suggested, but between ca. 320 and 280 B.C.[107] I cannot offer a suggestion as to the meaning of the scene since the smaller figure has been defaced, it is unclear what the

105. For the same reason she is probably not Kore. I would like to thank Andrew Stewart and Nancy Bookidis for helping me to interpret and date this piece.

106. Hekate, another possibility for the divinity shown, always carries two torches.

107. Cf. the representation of Artemis on a 4th-century marble slab from Athens: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 655, no. 417, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil).



Figure 6.19. Agios Ioannis of Stimanga (SP-25): the portico relief. Alexandri 1965, pl. 91:β

goddess does to her with her right hand, and the left part of the scene is missing.

As for the deity worshipped at Agios Ioannis, both Artemis and Pan would have been perfectly at home in this wild, natural setting.[108] The high, vertical cliff to the south, the copious spring, and the rich vegetation with pine trees, plane trees, and various plants combine to create feeling of wilderness. The ancient visitor here was far from the city and its cultivated areas.[109]

Cave of Lechova (SP-6)

The cave on the east slope of Vesiza (SP-6), just 550 m north-northeast from the monastery of Lechova and at an elevation of ca. 990 masl, is the only sacred cave of Sikyonia discovered so far.[110] Its exploration by the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology, between 1995 and 2003, came after the looting of the cave by clandestine diggers. Still, the excavators managed to recover a large number of offerings, primarily in terracotta but occasionally in bronze, made to the Nymphs during the Late Archaic and Classical periods.[111] They include sherds belonging to kylikes, skyphoi, kotylai, pyxides, lekanides, and phialai; miniature vessels, some of Attic origin; and hundreds of figurines depicting mostly females (Artemis and other female divinities wearing the polos), but also males (young shepherds, Silens and Satyrs, Pan) and animals (cocks, doves, dogs, and goats, among others). Of considerable value are groups of terracotta dancers with a flutist at the center. The bronze jewelry items are comparatively few, as are the animal bones and the roof tiles found in the cave. When all these items are published, they will contribute significantly to our knowledge of Sikyonian religious practices and artistic production. The nature of the offerings found in the cave betrays the bucolic nature of the cult. The names of the deities worshipped are known thanks to at least five inscribed potsherds found in the cave. Four simply read "Nymphs," but the fifth, dating to the

108. Pyriovolis (1986, pp. 310–311, 315) associates these remains with the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore seen by Pausanias and assumes that the "direct road" to Phlious ran above the eastern bank of the Asopos, and therefore closer to Stimanga. His assumption is clearly wrong, since the excavated sanctuary lies too far east of the Asopos to fit the 10 stadia reported by Pausanias.

109. Similarly, in Arkadia, sites sacred to Artemis, Hermes, and Pan are primarily found in the mountains: Jost 1992, pp. 210–214.

110. The view put forth by Larson (2001, pp. 149, 232–233) and others that the important cave of Pitsa (the so-called Saphtulis cave) was in Sikyonian territory is wrong. The cave of Pitsa lies deep within Achaia.

111. Kormazopoulou and Zygouri 2003; see below, Appendix V.

Early Classical period, preserves a complete graffito identifying the owner of the "sacred" cup: "the Nymphs who [dwell] in Gylis."[112] Nymphs play a certain role in the legendary history of the state. According to Pausanias, Συλλίς or Ὑλλίς was the nymph who, having slept with Apollo, gave birth to Zeuxippos, one of the early kings of Sikyon.[113]

Sykia

A third assemblage of cult offerings comes from a rescue excavation of a deposit at Sykia, ca. 11 km northwest of Sikyon. The assemblage, currently stored in the Sikyon Museum, consists of a large number of female terracotta figurines—standing and seated korai—that date from the Classical period. Unfortunately, no report has ever been published of this important excavation carried out in the 1970s. Consequently, we do not know to whom the sanctuary associated with this deposit may have belonged, or whether it was isolated or part of a settlement. Local inhabitants have reported the discovery of antiquities near the railway that runs through the upper part of the coastal plain. Given the nature of the offerings found in this deposit, we can argue that a female divinity, such as Artemis, Aphrodite, or again the Nymphs, was worshipped here. This was certainly not the only cult observed on the coastal plain, however. Somewhere along the shore, according to Hesychios (q.v.), the Sikyonians worshipped Hermes ἐπάκτιος.

The Cult of the Proitidai

In 1952, Orlandos published an inscribed bronze tablet allegedly found by a farmer in the plain of Kiato (Fig. 6.20).[114] The inscribed elegiac distichs commemorate the place where Melampous hid the drugs that cured the daughters of Proitos of their madness and where Iphinoe, the deceased daughter, rests:

> Ἐνθάδε ὑπὲρ Προίτου παίδων ἔκρυψε Μελάμπους
> βλαψίφρονος μανίας φάρμακα λυσίνοσα
> Ἥ τ' ἔθανεν παίδων, ὅτε δεῦρ' ἔμολον διὰ μῆνιν
> Ἥρας, Ἰφινόην ἥδ' ἀγορὰ κατέχει.
>
> It is here that Melampous hid on behalf of Proitos's daughters the drugs that delivered from brain-damaging madness. And this agora here possesses Iphinoe, who among the daughters died, when she came here because of the wrath of Hera.

The inscription provides yet another piece of evidence for the cult of the Proitidai and their divine healer, Melampous, in the Peloponnese. Sikyon, Arkadia, and Elis all claimed the spot where the three daughters of the legendary king of Tiryns were delivered from their sufferings.[115] Orlandos dated the inscription, on the basis of letter forms, to the 4th century B.C. Accordingly, he believed that the agora in question, where this tablet was presumably found, must be the old agora of Sikyon, prior to the transfer of the city by Demetrios. Pausanias, however, recounts the local tradition that the temple of Apollo "in the agora of his day" was originally built by Proitos,

112. I publish this fragment, in collaboration with Angelos Matthaiou, in Appendix VI.

113. Paus. 6.6.7. Barron (1961) argues that "Syllis" should be corrected to "Hyllis," as the sigma was added to the original manuscript. He also points out that, according to Stephanos of Byzantion, Hyllis was Callimachos's name for an Argive nymph.

114. Orlandos 1955, p. 395; 1956, p. 190.

115. See Jost 1985, pp. 177–180.



Figure 6.20. The bronze tablet referring to the healing of Proitidai. Orlandos Archive, courtesy Athens Archaeological Society

"because it is here that his daughters recovered from their madness" (2.7.8). This raises two possibilities: the Proitidai were commemorated either in both agoras, or only in the new agora. In the latter case, the inscription must belong to the 3rd and not the 4th century. Dating an inscription on letter forms is risky, and we do not have enough securely dated comparanda from Sikyon with which to work.

Modern local tradition presents us with another possibility to consider. The inhabitants of the village of Klimenti, which is situated ca. 15 km southwest of Sikyon, claim that the tablet was found near their village, at a place called Baltiza (Μπάλτιζα), and more precisely, in the fields of Christos and Kostas Spiliotis.[116] Baltiza is an upland basin, at an elevation of ca. 1050 masl and some 800 m north of Klimenti toward Velina (coordinates: 373580/4202887). It is not forested today, but is surrounded by a forest and has a perennial spring. The difficulty with accepting the local version of the discovery lies in the text's reference to "this agora here." In our extensive survey, we found no traces of settlement in Baltiza or its broader area. The site is isolated now as it must have been in antiquity. "This agora here" must refer to the agora of the city, which was far away. If we want to believe the story of the inhabitants of Klimenti, then we must suppose that Baltiza marks the site where the daughters of Proitos wandered in madness until Melampous brought them to the city, where he actually cured them and where Iphinoe was eventually buried. Although I realize that this hypothesis is arbitrary, it does work by analogy to the story of the Proitidai in Lousoi. Pausanias tells us that they resided in a cave on Mount Aroanios (modern Chelmos), where Melampous found them and led them down to Lousoi (8.18.7–8). We could imagine then a monumental *sema* of Iphinoe, inscribed with this elegiac distich, and erected in the Sikyonian agora, as well as an open-air shrine in Baltiza, housing the bronze tablet, and commemorating the remote natural dwelling of the demented Proitidai. The tablet would have simply repeated the text of the stone stele of Iphinoe set up in the Sikyonian agora.

Other Scattered Finds

In talking about the reuse of ancient building material from the Late Roman period onward, we mentioned the occasional finding of ancient temple fragments. We encountered such fragments, typically columns, in at least three and possibly as many as five sites of the *chora* (HS-95?, SP-18?, SP-26, SP-28, SP-29). All of them are less than 0.5 m in diameter,

116. Entering the community office (κοινοτικό γραφείο) of Klimenti, I saw a large framed picture of the bronze tablet hanging on the wall.

which means that they were part of small monuments.[117] Here is where the difficulty lies, for Pausanias described the templelike funerary monuments of the Sikyonians as he was approaching the city.[118] In other words, in Sikyon more than elsewhere the presence of column fragments is not a safe indicator of the existence of an ancient sanctuary, unless they are accompanied by other evidence, usually votive objects. The most impressive example is the Middle Byzantine Church of the Transfiguration near Tarsina, which has incorporated a number of column drums and Ionic capitals (SP-28; Figs. 3.15–3.17, above). For the rest of the sites, with the exception of Evangelistria (SP-29), we are struck by their remote location with regard to the city. If they belonged to sanctuaries, which I believe they do since they are not founded by or next to major routes, these sanctuaries were isolated and well into the *eschatiai* of the ancient city.

We detected sacred activity at two more sites, but these sanctuaries were part of contemporaneous settlements.

Thekriza of Kryoneri (HS-54)

At Thekriza of Kryoneri (HS-54), one of the most important ancient settlements of Sikyonia, we observed miniature fine pottery concentrated at the northeast corner of the plateau. The pottery included miniature skyphoi, kotylai, kalathoi, and kraters, all dating to the 5th century B.C. From the same hill comes a bronze tablet, 0.47 × 0.26 m, which was brought to the museum of Vasiliko in the 1930s and was subsequently published by Orlandos (Fig. 6.21).[119] The tablet, which was nailed to a surface in antiquity, is the longest complete inscription ever found in Sikyonia. It provides regulations for the members of an *hestiatorion,* along with the names of these members, and it dates, on the basis of letter forms, to the early 5th century.[120] The regulations are the following:

> Τούτονδε κοινὰ ἔστο τὸ ἐστιατόριον καὶ τὰ ὄρε καὶ ho χαλκιὸν καὶ τᾶλα, ϝοἰκέουσίν γα καὶ τὰ τέλε φέρουσιν· πολεῖν δὲ μεδὲ συναλάζεσθαι ἐξέστο.

The ἐστιατόριον is clearly a banquet hall, and ὄρη, according to Pollux (7.151), are the wooden basins of olive presses.[121] The exact meaning of

117. Although it is not possible to estimate the dimensions of a temple or a templelike monument based only on the diameter of a few column fragments, there is a definite correlation between the diameter of the columns and the size of the building. The Hellenistic temple of Asklepios at Corinth, prostyle tetrastyle of Doric order, has columns 0.56 m wide and 4.44 m high (ratio of the diameter to the height = 1:7.9), and measures 8.32 × 14.90 m (*Corinth* XIV, pp. 30–38). The early Hellenistic temple of Artemis at Epidauros, prostyle hexastyle of Doric order, has columns 0.56 m wide and 4.15 m high (ratio: 1:7.4), and measures 9.42 × 13.38 m (Roux 1961, pp. 201–222). Our columns belonged to even smaller temples, such as the Doric temples of Dionysos in the theaters of Athens and Thorikos, or the Ionic temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis (the latter measuring 5.4 × 8.1 m).

118. See above, p. 112.

119. Orlandos 1937–1938, pp. 5–12. The tablet is now stored in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Bronze Collections, AM 16355).

120. Orlandos (1937–1938, p. 12) suggested a date ca. 450, but Peek (1941, pp. 205–206) argued for an earlier date by comparing it to the inscription on the Sikyonian treasury at Olympia.

121. See the commentaries on the inscription by Orlandos (1937–1938, pp. 7–8), Peek (1941, pp. 201–203), and Lejeune (1943, pp. 185–186), and my recent reappraisal of the tablet (Lolos 2010). Tomlinson (1980, p. 223), based on the scholiast's interpretation of Aristophanes *Acharnians* 82, translates the ὄρη of our inscription as "chamber pots." I prefer the meaning given by Pollux since the consumption of olives and olive oil was a *sine qua non* at a *symposion.* In the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, the olive is the most common specimen among the remnants of communal meals (Bookidis et al. 1999, p. 51).



Figure 6.21. The bronze tablet found at Thekriza of Kryoneri (HS-54). National Archaeological Museum, Athens, AM 16355. Photo courtesy National Archaeological Museum

χαλκιών/χαλκεών is debated among the commentators. Homer and Hesiod use the words χαλκεών/χαλκεῖον for a bronze smithy, an attractive place for people to gather in winter because it was warm. Moreover, Homer uses the words χαλκήιος δόμος and λέσχη as alternatives in the *Odyssey* (18.328–329). Proclus, the Roman scholiast to Hesiod's *Works and Days,* commenting on λέσχη (line 493a), says that "the smithies in the old days had no windows, and whoever wanted went inside to warm up, and the poor people slept there," while "*lesche* is some public space for the ones who wanted to stay there."[122] These passages establish the connection between a *chalkeon/chalkeion* and a *lesche.* It is a possibility, then, that the *chalkeon* of our inscription is part of the *hestiatorion* establishment, and that the bronze tablet in question is a product of that smithy. On the contrary, Orlandos argues that such a meaning is not pertinent in this context and understands the word as "the whole of bronze cooking utensils," while Werner Peek and Michel Lejeune interpret this as the room housing these utensils (called "chaudronnerie" by Lejeune).

A clue as to the meaning of the word here is provided by an early-4th-century inscription found in Boiotia and listing sacred property of the people of Thespiai.[123] The list comprises a number of bronze utensils for the preparation, cooking, serving, and consumption of food. In his commentary on the inscription, Richard Tomlinson convincingly argues that the objects are "the equipment for a formal dining hall or hestiatorion and its kitchen," and translates the χαλκιών of our inscription as "bronze equipment."[124] In other words, we are dealing with regulations regarding a banquet hall and its belongings: "Let the banquet-hall and the wooden presses and the bronze equipment and the others be common to these [people] here, as long as they live here and perform their duties. And may it not be allowed to sell or exchange [these items]." A list of names follows in five columns, containing a total of 73 names.

122. Pertusi 1955, pp. 168–169 (my translation).

123. *SEG* XXIV 361. See the commentary by Tomlinson (1980, pp. 221–224).

124. Tomlinson 1980, p. 222.

The importance of this inscription, not only for the history of Sikyon but also for the history of communal dining in ancient Greek cities, cannot be overstated. To start with, this is by far the earliest occurrence of the word *hestiatorion* in Greek literature.[125] Second, this is the only time that we hear of the dependencies and belongings of a *hestiatorion*. The reference to wooden presses is to my knowledge unique, and may explain the absence of stone presses on Archaic and Early Classical sites in Sikyonia and elsewhere. The conditions for sharing the common property are to live in the community and to contribute the τέλη. ϝοικέουσίν refers not to Sikyon, as suggested by Lejeune, but to the large settlement where the *hestiatorion* was located and which was identified by our survey. The kind of τέλη that the members listed in the inscription were supposed to bring, or perform, is unknown; it could be either taxes or other services exacted by the community. As Peek argues, this unique clause provides a clear example of the interweaving of private and sacred spheres with the life and interests of the state.[126] As to the prohibitions contained in the last clause, they prove that both bartering and monetary exchange were practiced in early-5th-century Sikyonia.

The 73 names listed below the regulations bear no ethnics, which indicates to me that they were adults of the local community. This was a restricted group of people, possibly members of a single *genos,* as Peek has suggested, or of a phratry or *hetaireia.*[127] Seventy-three seems too large a number for a single *genos* of a rural town, therefore I would favor the other two possibilities. With regard to a phratry, one recalls the phratry of Klytidai in Chios whose members alone were entitled to share the sacred *oikos* of the phratry.[128] *Hetaireiai* were phratry-based associations, and our best examples come from Cyrene and Crete. According to a decree of the Cyreneans, the Therean newcomers to Cyrene were "to be appointed to a tribe and to a phratry and to nine *hetaireiai*" in accordance with the arrangements made by their respective ancestors at the time of the founding of Cyrene (late 7th century).[129] In the Cretan city of Lyttos, all the citizens were divided into *hetaireiai,* which they called *andreia,* and they organized common meals (συσσίτια).[130] The religious basis of this association is, I believe, a safe assumption since the majority of *hestiatoria* in literature are mentioned in the context of a sanctuary, and less often in connection with a civic agora.[131] Accordingly, it is likely that we are dealing with an association of *phratores* or *hetairoi* that looked after a specific public cult and assembled in a common banquet.

125. Noted by Schmitt Pantel (1985, p. 139; 1992, p. 316).

126. Peek 1941, p. 202.

127. Peek 1941, p. 206. According to Orlandos (1937–1938, p. 7), the men listed in the inscription belonged to "some type of association of private, political, or professional goal, and most likely of religious basis"; cf. Petrakos 1999, p. 425. Schmitt Pantel hypothesizes that the citizens listed here belong to "une subdivision officielle de la cité" (1992, p. 316).

128. The regulations are given in an inscription dated from the late 4th century B.C.: Sokolowski 1969, pp. 212–214, no. 118.

129. Meiggs and Lewis 1988, pp. 5–9, no. 5, lines 15–16. The decree is of the 4th century.

130. The information is provided by the Hellenistic writer Dosiadas: *FGrH* IIIB 458 F2.

131. See the examples cited by Schmitt Pantel (1992, pp. 328–329). The earliest reference to a banquet hall after ours is in Herodotos (4.33–35), who mentions the *hestiatorion* of the Keians on Delos. Peek (1941, p. 207) points to later examples of *hestiatoria* serving specific cults: the Iobakhai in Athens (*IG* II^2 1368, line 141) and the Ἀρτεμεισίων φράτορες in Naples (*BullÉp* 1914, p. 477; the inscription dates from A.D. 194). I would add to these comparisons the modern practice among villagers by which each extended family looks after a specific church or chapel, observing the cult and maintaining the building. For example, the many churches of Vasiliko, within and outside the village, are assigned to specific families who from generation to generation perform this honorary service.



Figure 6.22. The foundations at Agios Dimitrios of Gonoussa (HS-60) in the scarp of a country road

Last, but not least, this inscription adds tremendously to the Sikyonian prosopography, more than any other inscription found in Sikyon or elsewhere.[132] Furthermore, its provisions betray a high degree of social organization in a settlement that was so far away from the *asty,* and at such an early date.

Where was the banquet hall located, and what kind of building was it? I am tempted to place it, along with its dependencies, near the sanctuary that we detected at the northeast corner of the plateau. Locals have reported the existence of stone foundations on the lower, eastern slope of the hill by the road that led to Stymphalos, but these are no longer preserved. As to the form that the building might have had, I have no suggestion to offer because there does not seem to have been a standard type of *hestiatorion.*[133]

Agios Dimitrios of Gonoussa (HS-60)

At Agios Dimitrios below the village of Gonoussa, we identified a sanctuary within the ancient settlement (HS-60). The evidence consists of black-glazed kotylai and skyphoi, ribbed kantharoi, cups with folded handles, a number of kotyliskoi and krateriskoi, and a fragment of a terracotta horse statuette, all dating from the second half of the 5th to the 4th century. We also observed the outline of a foundation consisting of irregular stone blocks and preserved in two courses in the scarp of a modern dirt road (Fig. 6.22). This foundation may represent the width of a temple or altar,

132. See my discussion of the proper names (Lolos 2010, pp. 282–284). The inscription was published after Skalet's compilation of Sikyonian names in his 1928 study.

133. As argued by Roux (1973, p. 538). Roux offers a candidate for the *hestiatorion* of the Keians mentioned by Herodotos: an oblong rectangular structure, solidly built ca. 480–470 B.C., with two almost square rooms placed to the north and the south of a peristyle courtyard. All other examples suggested by Roux are much later in date, and include a peristyle or a stoa connected to a rectangular hall. Having examined various dining facilities, Bergquist (1990) distinguishes square, near-square, and non-square dining rooms, while Cooper and Morris (1990) discuss examples of round dining rooms. The common characteristic of all these different types is the provision for couches around the walls. See also the discussion of the term in Hellmann 1992, pp. 143–145. In the sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth, the dining rooms, which date between the late 6th and the mid-2nd century B.C., have a rectangular shape and small size (usually between 17 and 20 m^2). The excavators refrain from calling these unpretentious structures, built of modest materials, *hestiatoria*: see *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 393–420. In addition, a single square room, ca. 5.7 × 5.7 m with a hearth at its center, excavated in the Attic deme of Halai Aixonidai, may represent a banquet hall: see Lohmann 1992, p. 35 with nn. 26, 27.

oriented along the cardinal points, since much of the fine pottery and all of the miniature vessels were found in the layers directly above.

THE SACRED LANDSCAPE

Given the small number of sanctuaries known from the Sikyonian *chora,* either through survey or the literary sources, our data hardly allow a comparative treatment of the evidence. Nonetheless, they are enough to show the impact of the landscape on cults and their practices. Most characteristic in this regard is the juxtaposition of the location of the sanctuary of Demeter at Pyraia and the grove of *prinoi* and the temple of the Eumenidai, as well as to the Artemision on the slopes of ancient Thyamia. On the one hand, there is the extensive λάκκα of Ellinochori, offering opportunities for cereal cultivation, and on the other hand, the high, overgrown slopes and rugged landscape of Stimanga, which are good only for animal pasture. Demeter's role was to protect the crops, and the Sikyonians worshipped her near their wheat fields. The role of the Semnai and Moirai was to look after the reproduction of sheep and goats, and so they were honored in the appropriate places. Not far from their abodes, Artemis ruled over the springs and the natural grove of Agios Ioannis. Across the Asopos River, the Nymphs were worshipped in the cave of forested Gylis, along with other divinities of the wilderness. The approach to the cave was a strenuous walk or ride, a true pilgrimage, not unlike the pilgrimage to the monastery of Lechova from the Middle Ages onward. As for the Asklepieion, it has been suggested that its specific location on the eastern slope of Vesiza offered optimal climatic conditions, an important factor for a healing center.[134]

The small number of sanctuaries that Pausanias reported from the countryside is misleading, since we saw that he does not mention at least two more independent sanctuaries. Even so, the ratio of civic and periurban sanctuaries to sanctuaries in the *chora,* namely 27 to 7, is striking and quite suggestive. Madeleine Jost, in her authoritative study of the cults and sanctuaries of Arkadia, has shown how the character of a city reflects upon the formation of its sacred landscape.[135] Thus at Phigaleia, which is mountainous, urban sanctuaries are few as opposed to rural sanctuaries, precisely because the majority of the population lived in the countryside, mainly off animal breeding and hunting. On the contrary, the city of Mantineia, which is surrounded by a fertile plain, includes a large number of urban sanctuaries, because the population lived in the city, off the surrounding land. Sikyon seems to follow the Mantineian model: the *asty* accommodated the majority of the population, which lived off the rich coastal plain, and as a consequence civic sanctuaries were far more numerous than rural ones.

This does not mean, however, that the countryside was overlooked or abandoned. The umbilical cord connecting the city to the countryside was never cut, as is demonstrated by the procession of seven boys and seven girls to the Sythas River—the westernmost boundary of Sikyon—and back during the festival of Apollo (Paus. 2.7.6). The procession has a religious aetiology, but the fact remains that it crossed the entire northwest district of Sikyonia, all the way to its borders with Pellene. As Fritz Graf aptly writes, the "spatial arrangement of the *pompe* was aimed at establishing that the *polis* in its entirety was concerned by it."[136] I would argue that

134. Chaviara-Karachaliou 1984, pp. 48–56.

135. Jost 1992, pp. 218–228; cf. Jost 1994.

136. Graf 1996, p. 58.

the establishment of the sanctuary of Titane near the southern borders of the state also carries some meaning, that of the sacred demarcation of the state's extent. Considering the early foundation date of this sanctuary and its importance, both of which were established by our survey data, I would go a little further and suggest that the sanctuary at Titane contributed to the formation and development of the city itself. In this I follow François de Polignac's theory with regard to major extraurban sanctuaries in Greece and Magna Graecia and their relationship to their cities.[137] At some time, during the early 4th century, the cult of Asklepios was introduced into the *asty.* It is possible, although we cannot prove it, that Demeter's cult was also brought to the city from its original location at Pyraia. The maternal sanctuaries were not abandoned, since Pausanias witnessed their "ancient" rituals observed in his time. Furthermore, if the bronze tablet of the Proitidai was indeed found in the upland western district of Sikyonia, we have additional evidence of the religious ties of the *asty* to its countryside, since Iphinoe was eventually buried in the agora of the city. The appearance of these cultic duplicates and the procession to the borders of the state's territory show the symbiotic relationship of rural and urban sanctuaries, and they are the physical expression of the city embracing its countryside. This explains why a bronze statuette of Hermes Kriophoros, showing the god wearing a shepherd's hat and carrying a ram under his arm, was found in a civic context.[138]

In discussing Kleisthenes' hostility toward Argos, I mentioned the elimination of the cult of Adrastos—the legendary Argive hero and founder of the Sikyonian Heraion.[139] Doubtless Adrastos was credited with importing to Sikyon the most important Argive cult, that of Hera. But Argos was not the only city to have influenced the shaping of the Sikyonian pantheon. In Pausanias's day, locals believed that a Sikyonian woman called Nikagora brought Asklepios from Epidauros to the city on a pair of mules (2.10.3). Earlier we saw that the statue of Artemis Pheraia was brought from Pherai in Thessaly, perhaps by Epopeus—one of the legendary kings of Aigialeia. Theban influence must have been quite strong, if we may judge from Sikyonian toponyms (Asopos and Plataiai) and from the cults of Dionysos Baccheios and Lysios in Sikyon, which followed the Theban model.[140] Athens also had its share in the Sikyonian pantheon, if we trust Clement of Alexandria, who refers to the *xoanon* of Artemis Mounichia in his *Protreptikos* (42P). Above all it is Corinth, Sikyon's strong neighbor, that influenced its sacred identity and the formation of its religious landscape. The cult of Dionysos among the Sikyonians and the Corinthians presented great similarities, just as both cities juxtaposed the cults of Artemis and Dionysos.[141] A temple of Apollo was an important, perhaps the

137. De Polignac 1995; the theory permeates all chapters of de Polignac's study, but is mainly addressed in his second chapter, pp. 32–88. The best-known examples include the Heraion of Argos, the Spartan sanctuary of Amyklai, and the Corinthian Heraion of Perachora. For an opposing view, see Malkin 1996.

138. The statuette, 7 cm high, was purchased by Vischer in Corinth (Vischer 1878, pp. 307–310, pl. XVII:3); for a drawing of the statuette, see Reinach 1898, p. 553, no. 4.

139. See above, p. 63.

140. The Asopos was, and still is, the most important river of Boiotia, while Plataiai was one of its largest towns. On the Dionysiac cult in Thebes and Sikyon, see Casadio 1999, pp. 86–92.

141. See Odelberg 1896, pp. 77–79; Frazer 1913, vol. 3, p. 52; Casadio 1999, pp. 86–92.

most important, religious monument in both cities, while an Olympieion stood near or outside their gates.[142] In the case of the cult of Apollo we have hard material evidence to show that Corinth set the example already in the 7th century B.C.[143] Perhaps the most striking similarity in the sacred landscapes of pre-Hellenistic Corinth and Sikyon was that their sanctuaries of Demeter were founded on the slopes of their respective acropoleis and above the cities proper.[144]

The Hellenistic era introduced a new element into the religious mentality of the Sikyonians: the cult of the living ruler.[145] The earliest example is Demetrios Poliorketes, who according to Diodoros was honored with sacrifices, festivals, and annual games as the founder of the new city (20.102.2–3). Some 80 years later, in 224/3 B.C., Antigonos Doson was celebrated in Sikyon with sacrifices, processions, and games (Plut. *Arat.* 45.2; Polyb. 30.29.2–5). For Attalos I in 198 B.C., the Sikyonians exceeded all previous honors by erecting a colossal statue of him, and decreeing a gold image and annual sacrifice to him (Polyb. 18.16.1–4). In the mid-2nd century A.D. Pausanias saw the temenos of the Roman emperors lying at the heart of the city and close to the most venerated shrine of Peitho (2.8.1).

The last point I want to raise in the context of the politics of Sikyonian religion is its antiquarian tendencies, at least during Roman Imperial times. This is best seen in the relics housed in the temple of Apollo, a true museum of "griechische 'Frühgeschichte,'" to use Tanja Scheer's title.[146] The author argues that these relics, attributed to the mythical heroes, were probably assembled in the late 3rd century B.C.; this, together with the bronze tablet of Iphinoe, shows that the Sikyonians were interested in their mythical past even before the arrival of the Romans.[147] By examining the relics listed by Ampelius, Scheer concluded that the Sikyonians used them to appropriate traditions from adjoining cities, in order to link their city to the mythical history of Greece.[148] Pausanias heard these stories, and as throughout his *Periegesis*, felt compelled to mention them. His fixation on the past went hand in hand with his goal to save these foundation legends and the very existence of seven ruined, and therefore ancient, sanctuaries from oblivion. This is what James Porter, in a penetrating study, calls the re-creation of the "memory-system" of Greece:

> Ruins, foundations, half-memories, echoes, unheard voices, and missing objects are the floor plans, as it were, of "Greece": they are its archaeology. Much of Pausanias's *Description* compulsively circles around such trace-objects, which are intrinsically worth mentioning and remembering (ἀξιόχρεα), literally "handed over to memory" (παρείχετο ἐς μνήμην [8.32.3]), as though their sole purpose were to document the "now gone" character of Greece.[149]

Sikyon had many ἀξιόχρεα to show, and the Sikyonians made sure that the traveler saw them.

142. On the cult of Apollo in Corinth, see Bookidis and Stroud 2004; on the possible Olympieion, see Pfaff 2003, pp. 115–119.

143. See Rhodes 2003.

144. For the location of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, see *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 8 and n. 27.

145. For the evidence and discussion, see Kotsidu 2000, pp. 136–140.

146. Scheer 1996.

147. Scheer 1996, pp. 360–361.

148. Scheer 1996, pp. 366–372.

149. Porter 2001, p. 70.

THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS

The precise route that Pausanias followed during his pilgrimage to sanctuaries in the Sikyonian countryside is still unknown. In fact, most modern commentators have refrained from addressing the issue, because the traveler is not very explicit about his itinerary. The sacred places that he visited are still unidentified, with the exception of Titane. Although Pausanias provides little information, the investigation of his route seems to me to be a worthy task, and here I propose a reconstruction (Fig. 6.23). From Sikyon Pausanias took the "direct road" to Phlious and by deviating about 10 stadia he came to the grove of Pyraia, the location of a sanctuary of Demeter Prostasia and Kore. After describing the ritual in the sanctuary, Pausanias says that the road to Titane is 60 stadia and impassable for carts because of its narrowness (2.11.3). Having covered a distance of approximately 20 stadia, and to the left of (across) the Asopos, Pausanias arrived at a grove of prickly oaks and a temple of the goddesses known as the Semnai, or Eumenidai (2.11.4). He gave a short account of the annual festival at that sanctuary, and, having returned to the *hodos* and immediately crossing the Asopos, he ascended to Titane (2.11.5). After his lengthy description of that *chorion,* he returned to Sikyon and descended toward the sea (2.12.2). Because the original wording is important for the reconstruction of his itinerary, I provide the Greek passage:

> Ἐκ Σικυῶνος δὲ τὴν κατ' εὐθὺ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα ἐκτραπεῖσι στάδια, Πυραία καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἄλσος, ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Προστασίας Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. . . . ἡ δὲ ἐς Τιτάνην ὁδὸς σταδίων μέν ἐστιν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ζεύγεσιν ἄβατος διὰ στενότητα· σταδίους δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπόν, ἔστιν ἄλσος πρίνων καὶ ναὸς Θεῶν ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυώνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσι· . . . ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν διαβᾶσί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἥξασιν, . . . Τιτάνην τὸ χωρίον. . . . ἐκ δὲ Τιτάνης ἐς Σικυῶνα ἀφικομένοις καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἐς θάλασσαν . . . (2.11.3–2.12.2)

I have already referred to the road descending from the southeastern corner of the Sikyonian plateau to the Asopos valley. I have also explained that the "direct road" to Phlious must have first run along the western bank of the river, as the country road today does. Pausanias took the road to Phlious and at some point he went off to the left some 1,800 m to reach the grove of Pyraia.[150] The *periegetes* does not say how much distance he covered along the road to Phlious before turning to the left, nor does he mention crossing the river, which he certainly must have done.[151] The left (eastern) side of the Asopos valley rises steeply toward the plateau of Megali Lakka. Before the appearance of bulldozers, there were only two paths ascending from the Asopos to Strongyli (Στρογγύλη) and Megali Lakka, one starting from Zoodochos Pigi (Ζωοδόχος Πηγή) or Sophronia (Σωφρονιά), as the area is locally known, and the other further to the southwest, through Venizelaiika Alonia (Βενιζελαίικα αλώνια). The former was mainly used to descend to the plain or to go to Vasiliko, the latter to go across the Asopos

150. I consider the stadion used by Pausanias as being more or less equal to 180 m. I know one case where a distance recorded by Pausanias in stadia has been measured: 5 stadia in the southern Megalopolid equals 900 m (Pikoulas 1988, pp. 226–227). On the other hand, Pausanias does not seem to have used a standard stadion, as Jost (1973, p. 242) has pointed out. For the main roads, he seems to have used the Olympic stadion (ca. 192 m), but for secondary routes a stadion depending on time calculations. On the subjectivity in the use of the stadion among ancient Greek authors, see Pritchett 1994, p. 176, n. 46.

151. Papachatzis (1976, p. 109) believes that Pausanias followed the eastern bank of the river from the beginning, but this does not explain the omission, for the traveler must have crossed the river somewhere. In addition, had he followed the eastern bank of the river all along, he would not have had to cross the river to the left later on, in order to reach the grove of *prinoi.*

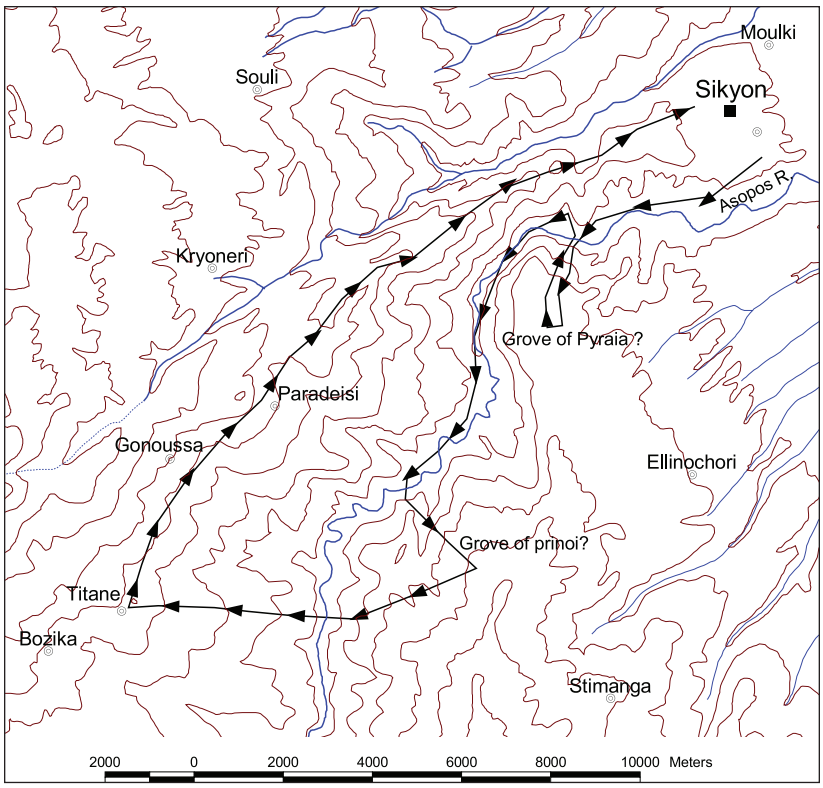


Figure 6.23. Reconstructed route of Pausanias within Sikyonia

to Paradeisi and Kryoneri. The more important of the two paths was the one starting from Sophronia. It is possible that Pausanias took one of these paths and soon came to the grove of Pyraia, somewhere in Megali Lakka.

The next sentence, on the 60 stadia to Titane, is equally obscure. There are two questions: (1) from where was Titane a distance of 60 stadia away, and (2) what route did the traveler have in mind? That Pausanias meant the road from the Sikyonian plateau to Titane, which I described in Chapter 3, is an attractive possibility but not a likely one: the road is a little over 60 stadia long (its length comes to ca. 11–11.5 km), and is very narrow in places, but in the sequence of the traveler's description its mention here makes no sense.[152] I can see two possibilities: Titane was 60 stadia either from Pyraia or from the Asopos, where Pausanias eventually returned. There are paths fitting both of these routes. For the route from Pyraia, a path led from Ellinochori to Titane through Dendro (Δέντρο), Agios Georgios, and Dardiza (Ντάρδιζα). Sections of it have now been widened and made suitable for vehicles; the road descends to the Asopos along the southern side of Dardiza, crosses the river, and ascends to Titane. Its distance from Strongyli is about 10 km, which is slightly short of 60 stadia. The other option is a path leaving the Asopos valley at Panagia and gradually ascending to Paradeisi and Gonoussa.[153] The distance from Panagia to Titane hardly exceeds 8 km, and is probably too short to be the path which Pausanias had in mind. Accordingly, I think that Pausanias was still in the sanctuary of Pyraia when he referred to a road to Titane, and that the latter coincides with the path running above and parallel to the Asopos valley before it comes down to and crosses the river in the direction of Titane.

152. Nonetheless, Curtius (1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 499) refers to the path from Sikyon to Titane through Paradeisi as the *hodos* of 60 stadia of Pausanias.

153. Papachatzis (1976, p. 110) thinks that this mule path may have been the road of 60 stadia.

Pausanias most likely did not take the road to Titane, since the next sentence shows that he is back to the "direct road," although he fails to mention his return.[154] Having covered ca. 20 stadia, he crosses the river again on his left, in order to reach the grove of *prinoi* and the temple of the goddesses. This time the reverse situation of that regarding Pyraia occurs: he does mention how much ground he covered along the road to Phlious (but from where?), but he does not say how far to the left of the valley he went. When he returned to the road, he immediately crossed the river and ascended to Titane. From the description of the itinerary, one is left to imagine that the temple of the goddesses and Titane stood more or less opposite each other across the Asopos valley. This points to the area northwest of the village of Stimanga. From Stimanga there were two paths, now country roads, going down to the Asopos and up to Titane: one through Skrapani (Σκραπάνι) and Dardiza, and the other (more southern) through Paliokatounti (Παλιοκατούντι).[155] The former would probably correspond better to Pausanias's deviation to the left of the Asopos. Once the traveler returned to the main road and crossed the river, he took a path up to Titane, probably the same as the modern path passing by the church of Agioi Taxiarches (Αγιοι Ταξιάρχες).

After lingering at Titane for some time, Pausanias decided to return to Sikyon, but this time he must have taken the shortest route, through Paradeisi and Xerokastelli. Thus, I would represent his itinerary as a loop, stretching at first along the Asopos as far as Titane but with two side trips to the western slopes of the Trikaranon range, and then retracing back to the city along a higher road, which ran above the western bank of the Asopos valley.

154. Accordingly, I disagree with the translation of these sentences by W. H. S. Jones in the Loeb edition (1964): "The road to Titane is sixty stades long. . . . At a distance along it, in my opinion, of twenty stades, to the left on the other side of the Asopus, is a grove. . . ." If we assume that Pausanias did follow the road to Titane, and that this was the path running along the western slopes of Trikaranon, then we should interpret the phrase καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπόν as directions given from Pausanias to someone coming from Asopos, while he himself was already on the left (eastern) side of the valley and, therefore, did not have to cross the river. I consider such an interpretation unlikely.

155. Both roads are visible on the 1:50,000 map. The late Demetrios Balafoutas, *proedros* of the village, remembered a wheel-rut at Daphnorema (Δαφνόρεμα), the stream running along the northern side of Dardiza. The wheel-rut is no longer preserved, and I could not cross-check the information.

Conclusion

In the course of this study I have set out to explore human interaction with the landscape—that is, how and to what degree Sikyonians adapted to or transformed their physical environment and exploited its resources throughout the ages. My tools were literary sources, excavation reports, and, above all, our field survey data.

First, it must be remembered that the written sources are scanty and biased. The great majority deal with the polis period, which means that other periods are less represented in the corpus, if at all. But even Classical Sikyon does not appear regularly in the historical texts, given their Athenocentrism. For other periods of antiquity as well as for the Medieval and Ottoman eras, our written records focus on Corinth, the metropolis of the Corinthia, and Sikyon appears only occasionally, by chance. When it does, it is usually with regard to its center, Sikyon or Vasiliko, whereas the countryside receives minimal treatment. In addition, historical writers are occasionally guilty of projecting their preconceived ideas onto reality. A typical example is the supposed abandonment of the countryside in Late Roman times, which is completely contradicted by the material evidence. Finally, our ancient and Medieval authors tend to focus on single-episode events of political and military history, what Fernand Braudel called *événements.*[1]

Our second source, excavation work conducted in Sikyonia, is similarly biased. This is particularly the case for the systematic excavations that have concentrated on the heart of the *asty,* namely its agora and public areas, and on specific monuments, such as the ancient theater, temple, the palaistra complex, and the Christian basilica of Kiato. These excavations, focused as they were on a small number of public monuments, provide an important but necessarily limited view of the life of the city. Field survey can fill in some of these gaps, supplementing and often rectifying the picture formed by literary sources and excavation data. Its strength lies in its broad spectrum, both in time and space, as it focuses on the long-term human presence and activity in the countryside.

Thanks to our survey work, the human presence in Sikyonia can be now safely pushed back to the Middle Neolithic period. It continued on a similarly small scale during the Early and Middle Helladic phases. In

1. Braudel 1949. The "events" are short-term occurrences of political and military history, as opposed to the environmental factors which underlie long-term processes.

Mycenaean times, Sikyonian settlements increased in number and size, and major arteries connecting Sikyon to the Argolid, Arkadia, and Achaia were built. The early stages of the polis are thinly represented in the countryside, most significantly in the sanctuary of Titane. Human presence and activity gained pace from the Archaic through the Early Hellenistic eras, a span that witnessed a demographic explosion never reached thereafter. Land was farmed and exploited as never before. Cart roads multiplied to ease interstate communication and transportation of heavy export materials, such as stone and wood. In addition, the strategic location of Sikyonia within the Peloponnesian League explains the Spartans' efforts to keep her within their zone of influence. In the 3rd century B.C., Sikyonia served as a bridge between the "civilized" states of the eastern Peloponnese and underdeveloped Achaia by initiating the expansion of the Achaian League. The role of Sikyon in overland communications in the Peloponnese also accounts for the large number of defensive structures built in prominent places. They were meant to protect the state's borders, oversee important roads, and ultimately defend the countryside and its people. Finally, sanctuaries guaranteed social cohesion and responded to the religious needs of the Sikyonians living in the *asty* and the *chora*.

In the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods rural settlements shrank, to the advantage of the *urbs*. Romans designed and built a new highway to Achaia, which connected the colony of Corinth with the gate to Italy, Patras, and passed directly through the Sikyonian landscape. After the collapse of the Roman empire, people returned en masse to the countryside, which then witnessed a second flourishing. The number and geographical distribution of settlements and churches, including the impressive basilica near the coast, testify to the relative prosperity of the area during these centuries, as well as to the impact of classical antiquity, whose monuments were often mined for their stones. Similarly, at least some of the ancient roads continued to be used as mere paths, although they were no longer suited for wheeled traffic.

The dark Early Byzantine centuries were succeeded by another period of intensive habitation and exploitation of the countryside between the 10th and the 13th centuries. As for Sikyon itself, now called Vasiliko, it became a fiefdom of the Frankish lord, and its new castle part of the *castellania* of Corinth. The late 14th and 15th centuries, which experienced the Ottoman incursions, seem to have seriously affected this part of the Corinthia. The waves of Arvanites who started settling in Sikyonia from the early 15th century onward not only boosted the population but are also responsible for the creation of the majority of the semimountainous and mountainous villages of today. Greeks and Ottomans preferred the low-lying areas, especially the fertile coastal plain. Our early census data reveal the demographic meagerness of the late 17th/early 18th centuries, when the population of Sikyonia amounted to less than one-twentieth of what it is now. The situation started improving in the course of the 18th century, and spectacularly so after the Greek War of Independence.

This reconstruction of the long-term history of Sikyonia is subject to various limitations that I feel compelled to repeat here. First is the fact that



Figure C.1. Bulldozed slope in the area of Stimanga

our field data are the product of an extensive survey that does not claim complete coverage of the Sikyonian landscape. Second is my personal bias and expertise in the area of classical antiquity, which certainly affected my observations in the field and my interpretation of the data. And third are the ambiguous links between human behavior and archaeological data, which, as Graeme Barker puts it, "are the outcome of a complicated set of natural and cultural processes of discard, burial, attrition and survival that are also poorly understood."[2] This is particularly true in Sikyonia, where the easily eroded badlands of its western sector and the alluvial fan of the coastal plain account for the destruction and burial of cultural remains of the past. More severe and critical for the preservation of such remains is the human factor, as one realizes by comparing the accounts of early modern travelers and surveyors against what can be seen today. Antiquities are sacrificed on a regular basis to various works of infrastructure, residential development, and extensive farming, which also leave permanent scars on the landscape.

Anthony Snodgrass has described in grim yet realistic terms the intensity of the physical degradation of the rural environment of Greece during the past few decades, and the destruction of antiquities that so often results.[3] In Sikyonia the semimountainous areas have suffered the most. Figures C.1 and C.2 are photographs taken near Stimanga and Lalioti, where entire slopes once covered by maquis and pines have been leveled to create vineyards. The process is the following: bulldozers remove earth from the upper elevations of an area to a depth of several meters, pushing the earth toward the lower elevations in order to create a huge earthen terrace along the lowermost edge of the field. Along with the earth go all material traces of the past. Almost all remains from Skrapani, a well-documented village of the Ottoman and early modern era, have literally vanished from the western slopes of Stimanga due to this kind of land "development."[4]

2. Barker 1995, pp. 2–3.
3. Snodgrass 1987, pp. 95–96.
4. On a similar phenomenon in the Pylos area, see Davis 1998, pp. 7–9.

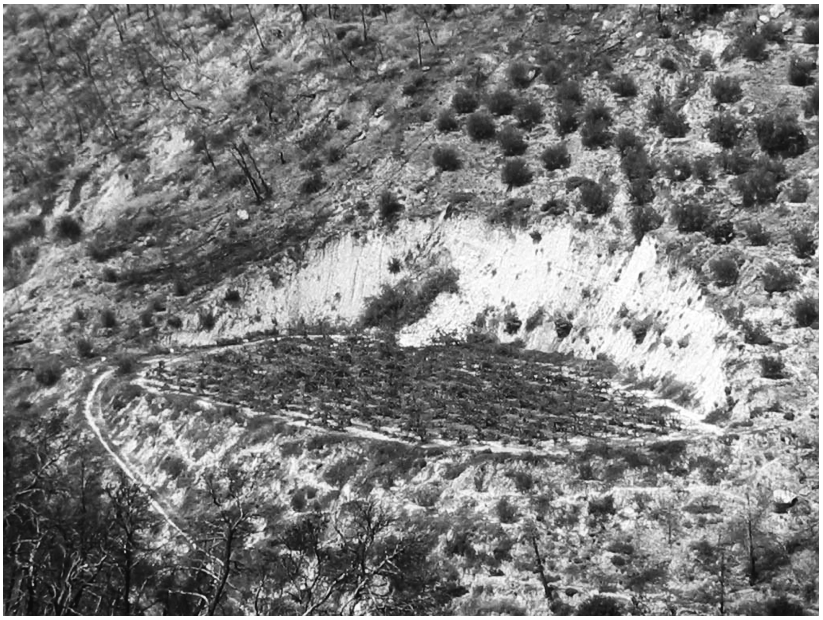


Figure C.2. Bulldozed slope in the area of Lalioti

Figures 4.97–4.99, documenting the destruction of the tower at Splithari of Souli, provide a vivid example of the daily threats to monuments of past eras, and no legal action seems to be able to check them. The only remedy is to change attitudes toward the natural environment and cultural heritage through education at the elementary and secondary-school levels. In the meantime, it is the increasing pace of destruction of antiquities that shows the need for field surveys now more than ever before.

Register of Sites

The register of archaeological sites is divided into five categories: habitation sites (n = 148), special-purpose sites (n = 31), road sites (n = 24), defensive sites (n = 18), and alleged sites (n = 12). The locations of all sites are shown on Map 4. In this register, the location is indicated by the name of the nearest village, followed by the local toponym. Coordinates are supplied in northings and eastings according to the Greek Geodetic Reference System (*EGSA* 87); sites with only one GPS reading are shown as "indeterminate size" on Map 4. Ground visibility is on a scale of 0 to 5 (0 = no visibility, 5 = excellent visibility). "Alteration" = "Alteration Grade"; "Structures" = "Structures in Situ." Dimensions of architectural features are in the order L., W., H. unless specified otherwise. The predominant chronological phase(s), if known, of a multiperiod site is shown in all capital letters. N/A stands for "not applicable" or "not available."

HABITATION SITES

Site No.	HS-1
Location	Vochaiko, Plakes Kokkinias
Elevation	105–115 masl
Coordinates	391454/4198016, 391422/4198103, 391653/4198294, 391687/4198207
Description	Plateau to the northwest of the Nemea valley. It has a view of Apesas (to the south), Acrocorinth (to the east), the Vocha plain (to the northeast), Evangelistria (to the southwest). The plateau extends toward the northeast at two levels.
Vegetation	Vineyards and few olive trees
Visibility	3–4. Only small parcels of land are left uncultivated.
Alteration	The area was subject to deep plowing some time in the past. Soil has certainly washed down from the upper level to the lower level of the plateau.
Surface Area	25,000 m^2
Water Source	Agia Paraskevi (391424/4197842)
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None

Tiles	Fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.017 m), with black, brown, and red glaze
Pottery	Moderate density, in good state of preservation. One Archaic jar rim, and a few black-glazed sherds; some ribbed ware, and combed body sherds from LR Amphora 2; abundant Medieval glazed sherds from plates and bowls: cream, green, and brown vitreous glazed sherds; sgraffito plates, green and brown painted ware, slip-painted and linear-decorated ware (e.g., Fig. 5.58:b); cooking pots of the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods (e.g., Fig. 5.58:f); post-Medieval–early modern coarse ware; pithos fragments.
Other	One brown flint
Chronology	Pre-Roman (Archaic), Late Roman, Early Byzantine, MIDDLE BYZANTINE/FRANKISH (11–13th century), post-Medieval, early modern
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The site extends along the edge of the plateau, but very dispersed pottery can also be found further west. The ancient phases of this site are centered on the upper level.
References	None

Site No.	HS-2
Location	Bolati, Agioi Apostoloi 1
Elevation	150–160 masl
Coordinates	390666/4198136
Description	Plateau falling gently to the north, along the eastern bank of the *rema* of Agioi Apostoloi
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Deep plowing and country road
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few tile fragments
Pottery	Very low density; poorly preserved. Mostly plain and coarse pottery. One burnished stew pot (Archaic?), a 6th–7th-century A.D. table amphora handle (Fig. 5.50:b); some Middle Byzantine fine and cooking wares; some post-Medieval glazed sherds and a knob from an early modern lid.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Late Roman, MIDDLE BYZANTINE, early modern
Site Function	Isolated agricultural structure
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-3
Location	Evangelistria, Palia Alonia–Spilia
Elevation	44 masl

Coordinates	391152/4200320, 391250/4200192, 391242/4200169, 391116/4200289
Description	The first terrace above the plain. A cave has formed on its scarp, which was used as a sty in modern times.
Vegetation	Vineyards, olive trees, and grass
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	No deep plowing in recent years. New houses in the vicinity.
Surface Area	6,000 m^2
Water Source	A well at 391200/4200252
Structures	Well feeding an underground channel. Early modern hut and cement threshing floor (for grapes).
Arch. Frags.	According to tradition, rectangular stone blocks were found ca. 100 m northwest of the site.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.016–0.023 m), some preserving black glaze
Pottery	Moderate to high density, in a poor state of preservation. One black-glazed body sherd and abundant coarse pottery including a Roman round-mouth pitcher handle, and an Early Roman basin; many fragments of 6th–7th-century cooking pots and one from a LR Amphora 2.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Roman, LATE ROMAN (6th–7th century)
Site Function	Settlement that seems to extend along the edge of the terrace and not to the south (inland)
Observations	The scarp of the terrace is conglomerate stone, which was possibly quarried in antiquity. The well with the channel leading to it is possibly a system of connecting cisterns, very common from the 4th century B.C. onward.
References	None

Site No.	HS-4
Location	Evangelistria, Isomata
Elevation	80 masl
Coordinates	390899/4199659, 390911/4199670, 390953/4199649, 390934/4199639
Description	Hillside of gentle slope, above the highway to Patras
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	Asphalt road to Agios Nikolaos. Recent deep plowing to the east of the road, where most of the sherds and tiles were found.
Surface Area	700 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Possibly conglomerate ashlar blocks, very worn
Tiles	Many roof tiles, including Lakonian pan and cover tiles (Th. 0.02–0.035 m; see, e.g., Fig. II.13). Some preserve finger grooves.
Pottery	Moderate amount of very worn pottery. One Classical krater fragment with black glaze inside and a meander pattern on the exterior; one semiglazed kotyle (Fig. 5.30:d; 450–400 B.C.); combed and ribbed sherds, mostly from LR Amphora 2, but

	one from a LR Amphora 1; many pithos fragments (bodies and rims).
Other	Marble fragment of an ash urn preserving part of its body and its base: p.H. 0.3, Th. 0.025–0.039, Diam. (restored) 0.3 m.
Chronology	Classical, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Isolated agricultural structure
Observations	Some of the roof tiles to the west of the country road are earlier in date.
References	None

Site No.	HS-5
Location	Evangelistria, Galaria
Elevation	Above 100 masl
Coordinates	390330/4199655, 390366/4199694, 390390/4199677, 390365/4199626
Description	Plateau bordering a deep gully toward the north and the west
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Surface plowed and graded by ca. 0.2 m
Surface Area	2,000 m^2
Water Source	Wells
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles, generally thin, with brown, black, and red glaze
Pottery	Moderate density, in fair state of preservation. Black-glazed body sherds, an unglazed Hellenistic kantharos base, and an amphora toe, perhaps of southern Aegean origin.
Other	None
Chronology	Late Classical, Early Hellenistic
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-6
Location	Evangelistria
Elevation	142 masl
Coordinates	390032/4198806
Description	The area falls gently to the north, and borders the Phekali stream to the southeast.
Vegetation	Recently planted vineyard
Visibility	5
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	at least 10,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles, most likely ancient
Pottery	Low density over an extended area, in poor state of preservation. Mostly plain and coarse ware, including undiagnostic ribbed body

	sherds and a pre-Roman amphora rim; one black-glazed sherd and an unglazed rim perhaps from a kotyle; a Roman basin and a round-mouth pitcher base (1st–3rd century A.D.); a rim of an unglazed pot, a creamy vitreous glazed sherd, and an incised sherd, all three of Middle Byzantine date; one incised sherd, perhaps Frankish.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Roman, MIDDLE BYZANTINE
Site Function	Cultivated area with temporary shelter
Observations	Much larger extent than observed?
References	None

Site No.	HS-7
Location	Poulitsa, Alonaki Kitsalia
Elevation	70–73 masl
Coordinates	390179/4200710, 390195/4200676, 390118/4200594, 390078/4200609
Description	Plateau falling gently to the north, directly south of the plain and to the east of the stream that runs between Tarsina and Poulitsa
Vegetation	Uncultivated and overgrown
Visibility	1
Alteration	Country asphalt road to the monastery of Agios Athanasios crosses the area.
Surface Area	5,000 m^2
Water Source	Terracotta channel brought water here from higher ground.
Structures	Rock-cut underground structure at 390073/4200628 (elev. 72 m; Fig. 5.52). Rectangular entrance 2.18 × 0.8 m. Orientation: northwest–southeast. A three-stepped staircase (H. of each step 0.41 m) leads to a rock-cut tunnel running perpendicular to the staircase. The tunnel is 0.57 m wide but its length and depth are unknown; the opening must have been covered to a length of 1.53 m by slabs, the notches for which were carved into the conglomerate stone. The structure must have been a monumental well, given the proximity of the *rema*.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles, and some Corinthian pan and cover tiles. Also tiles with finger grooves.
Pottery	Low to average density; fair state of preservation. Mostly plain sherds, a few black-glazed, and combed ware (LR Amphora 2, and one Late Roman red ware).
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Settlement laid out rather sparsely
Observations	The site extends along the *rema* and not further to the east. Further to the south (and on higher ground) the pottery becomes even more sparse. From the general area comes an inscribed funerary stele of the Archaic period, stored in the Corinth Museum.
References	Stroud 1972, pp. 204–206.

Site No.	HS-8
Location	Poulitsa, Xylokera
Elevation	190 masl
Coordinates	388938/4198937
Description	Hillside
Vegetation	Uncultivated and overgrown
Visibility	1
Alteration	Deep plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	Low density, in fair state of preservation. Plain pottery, with a few ribbed body sherds from Middle Byzantine stew pots.
Other	None
Chronology	Middle Byzantine (11th–12th century)
Site Function	Agricultural shelter
Observations	We could not observe the terrain because of the vegetation.
References	None

Site No.	HS-9
Location	Poulitsa, Monastiri
Elevation	150 masl
Coordinates	389224/4199201, 389246/4199237, 389273/4199205, 389246/4199180
Description	Slope of gentle decline
Vegetation	Overgrown, olive trees
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	1400 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012–0.025 m), some bearing black and brown glaze
Pottery	Low density, in fair state of preservation. Black-glazed sherds; pithos fragments.
Other	Loomweights and a lamp, according to tradition
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Isolated farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-10
Location	Megali Valtsa, Kapandri
Elevation	318 masl
Coordinates	384325/4206790
Description	Plateau along the Seliandros river

Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Surface graded by bulldozer
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	On site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few Lakonian pan tiles with black glaze
Pottery	A handful of coarse pottery; fragments of a pithos decorated with raised linear bands.
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Agricultural shack
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-11
Location	Klimenti, Mastrogianni
Elevation	770 masl
Coordinates	376799/4203582, 376648/4203590, 376653/4203631, 376800/4203636
Description	Hillside with a very slight gradient toward the west
Vegetation	Potatoes, beans, corn, and wheat
Visibility	Variable: 0 in the cultivated area, 5 in the plowed but uncultivated land.
Alteration	Plowing. Two country roads pass to the east and west of the site.
Surface Area	Ca. 7,000 m^2 or larger
Water Source	Near the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Rubble stones pushed along the edge of the fields
Tiles	None
Pottery	High density of very worn pottery. Mycenaean (LH III?) unpainted kylix and goblets, jugs, and abundant coarse pottery, including amphoras and some nondiagnostic fragments.
Other	Chert and obsidian flakes
Chronology	Mycenaean
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	We did not survey the wheat field along the south side of the site because of poor visibility.
References	None

Site No.	HS-12
Location	Tarsina
Elevation	86 masl
Coordinates	389382/4201251, 389388/4201280, 389438/4201206, 389379/4201165, 389355/4201205
Description	Plateau stretching east of a ravine
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few sour orange trees
Visibility	3

Alteration	Agricultural road crosses the area. The plot to the northwest of the road was recently plowed, and many fragments of tiles and stones were pushed into the ravine.
Surface Area	4,500 m^2
Water Source	Terracotta channel, cylindrical in section, brought water from higher ground.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A number of Lakonian pan tiles bearing finger grooves (Th. 0.013–0.032 m; see, e.g., Fig. II.11:c). One fragment of a Lakonian pan tile with black glaze.
Pottery	High density of rather worn pottery. Mostly plain sherds including ribbed and combed ware; one fragment of a Geometric/Archaic belly-handled hydria; one Middle Roman semicircular bowl rim (2nd–3rd century A.D.); LR Amphora 2 body sherds, and fragments of stew pots (6th–7th century A.D.); one early modern Italian majolica import; a few pithos fragments; and a rim of a Palestinian amphora.
Other	Fragment of a stone basin; lamp handle of Broneer type XXVI (late 2nd century A.D.).
Chronology	Geometric/Archaic, ROMAN (2nd–3rd century), LATE ROMAN (5th–7th century), early modern
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	The plot to the southwest of the vineyard is uncultivated and offers no visibility, therefore we cannot be certain about the extent of the site in this direction.
References	None

Site No.	HS-13
Location	Tarsina, Bouzaka
Elevation	150 masl
Coordinates	388385/4200332, 388542/4200324, 388538/4200238, 388509/4200210, 388443/4200262
Description	Projecting plateau, which falls rather abruptly to the north and the east
Vegetation	Uncultivated and overgrown for the most part. The rest is covered with vineyards and olive trees.
Visibility	1
Alteration	The fields (vineyards and olive trees) to the north and the east were graded by a considerable depth prior to planting.
Surface Area	11,000 m^2
Water Source	According to tradition, a water channel brought water from a spring located at Perivolakia of Ellinochori.
Structures	On November 11, 2001, I observed a cist grave, illegally excavated, which is no longer visible.
Arch. Frags.	Irregular stone blocks and parts of brick and mortar masonry spread across the field
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.026 m). Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.014–0.017 m), preserving black and brown glaze (e.g., Fig. II.2:d).

Pottery	High density of mostly plain ware, in fair state of preservation. Three black-glazed sherds, one from a 6th/5th-century B.C. kotyle; one Middle Roman amphora base (Fig. 5.46:l) and a foot of a pitcher (3rd century A.D.); one rim of a stew pot (4th century A.D.), and LR Amphora 2 fragments; some undiagnostic ribbed body sherds.
Other	(1) Fragment of a cylindrical limestone block (Diam. 0.32, max. p.H. 0.21 m), bearing at its center a rectangular cutting (0.05 × 0.06, D. 0.03 m) (2) Fragment of a stone mortar with flat base (Fig. 1.22). Max. p.Diam. 0.42, max. p.H. 0.3, Th. (wall) 0.09, internal depth 0.2, internal width 0.22 m. (3) Roman brick preserving three letters: TDN (Fig. 5.45, left middle). (4) Two Archaic conical loomweights, dated to the 7th and 6th century, respectively (Fig. 5.26:a)
Chronology	Archaic, ROMAN, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-14
Location	Tarsina, Ano Bouzaka
Elevation	210 masl
Coordinates	388261/4199891, 388288/4199876, 388250/4199818, 388229/4199839
Description	Plateau bordering a ravine to the east
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Stones and tiles piled at the center of the field
Surface Area	2,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Field stones
Tiles	Many tile fragments: hard, well-fired clay with traces of straw, and with coarse surface (Figs. II.19–22).
Pottery	Low density; good state of preservation. Mostly coarse pottery, including cooking ware; very few green and whitish cream vitreous glazed sherds probably of Ottoman date (18th century?).
Other	None
Chronology	Post-Medieval, early modern
Site Function	Pastoral installation
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-15
Location	Krinai, Zakoura
Elevation	178 masl
Coordinates	388128/4200808
Description	Hillside gently descending to the northeast

Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Mycenaean chamber tomb excavated in 1966 by the 4th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities: dromos (L. 7.4, W. 0.7–1.35 m) leads to a chamber (L. 4.75, W. 2.5, H. 3 m), dug in the soft marly rock. Orientation: northeast–southwest.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	None around the tomb
Other	None
Chronology	LH IIIA–B
Site Function	Burial ground
Observations	The tomb is located 1,500 m southwest of the important prehistoric settlement of Litharakia 1 (HS-39).
References	Krystalli 1968, pp. 163–164.

Site No.	HS-16
Location	Stimanga, Agioi Taxiarches
Elevation	467 masl
Coordinates	387208/4195096
Description	Low conical hill
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few olive trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Modern structure on top of hill. Top of hill graded by 0.5–0.7 m.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Three ashlar blocks, one almost complete, the other two fragmentary, lying near the eastern wall of the modern building. They must have come from the foundation trench for the structure. Dimensions of blocks: 0.48 × 0.48 × 0.36 m; 1.10 × 0.8 × 0.4 m; 0.88 × 0.52 × 0.32 m. The first block has anathyrosis.
Tiles	A few fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with glaze. At least three fragments of Corinthian pan tiles, and one fragment of Late Byzantine tile.
Pottery	Very little pottery due to modern alteration of the hill surface. One white-glazed plate and an incised sgrafitto ware of the 12th/early 13th century; one early modern green-glazed sherd.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on the stone blocks and the tiles), MIDDLE BYZANTINE/FRANKISH, early modern
Site Function	Perhaps an isolated structure (watchtower or shrine) in antiquity
Observations	The scanty sherds were found on the west slope of the hill.
References	None

Site No.	HS-17
Location	Stimanga, Aratzachani

Elevation	440 masl
Coordinates	387345/4195822, 387367/4195810, 387319/4195690, 387303/4195690
Description	Flat surface of a hill sloping on all sides
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing a few years ago. Country road crosses the area.
Surface Area	3,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Some fragments of roof tiles
Pottery	Moderate density, in fair state of preservation. Mycenaean unpainted and decorated kylikes and bowls (e.g., Fig. 5.19:n), and some cooking pots. A few combed body sherds (LR Amphora 2).
Other	None
Chronology	MYCENAEAN (LH IIIA2–B), Late Roman
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	A mechanical plow has graded the surface by 0.1–0.2 m. It is possible that sherds have rolled down the southern side.
References	None

Site No.	HS-18
Location	Stimanga, Agios Athanasios
Elevation	407 masl
Coordinates	385408/4196801, 385492/4196980, 385472/4196890
Description	Hillside sloping gently to the north, east, and south
Vegetation	Olive trees, vineyards, and a few cypress trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	The entire area has undergone substantial alterations by bulldozer; in some places the surface was graded by 2 m.
Surface Area	Unknown, but certainly larger than 1,000 m^2
Water Source	By the church of Agios Ioannis (385336/4196695), ca. 200 m to the southwest
Structures	Post-Byzantine church of Agios Athanasios (Fig. I.1): 385412/4196831 (SW corner), 385411/4196838 (NW), 385428/4196842 (NE), 385431/4196837 (SE).
Arch. Frags.	Irregular stone blocks built into modern terrace walls
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles, of Medieval and Ottoman date. The former bear grooves on their top surface.
Pottery	In places, high-density scatter, in fair state of preservation. One Middle Roman mug, and many combed and ribbed sherds of Late Roman and Medieval period; a number of Medieval glazed sherds: brown glazed and white glazed, measles ware, incised sgrafitto ware; a few Grottaglie plates.
Other	None
Chronology	Late Roman, MIDDLE BYZANTINE/FRANKISH (12–13th century), early modern (19th century)
Site Function	Settlement with a church



Figure I.1. Agios Athanasios of Stimanga (HS-18): the ruined church from southwest

Observations	The church must have been located on the highest point of the settlement, which would have spread below it toward the north and the northwest (not to the east, northeast, or south). The church must have remained in operation even after the abandonment of the settlement.
References	None

Site No.	HS-19
Location	Kryoneri, Kato Bathiza 1
Elevation	204 masl
Coordinates	383742/4200627, 383738/4200669, 383780/4200668, 383828/4200651, 383797/4200609, 383790/4200568, 383779/4200540, 383738/4200567
Description	Slope falling gently to the east (toward the Asopos valley). The terrace is crossed by a small gully covered with bushes and pine trees.
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Country road crosses the site. Plowing activity.
Surface Area	Ca. 7,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles (Th. ca. 0.015 m), one with black glaze
Pottery	Low to moderate density, badly preserved. Two black-glazed fragments and a fragment of a Hellenistic plate with flat rim; mostly plain and cooking wares among which are a Roman lekane, and a number of Late Roman ribbed body sherds (4th–6th century); one pithos fragment.

Other	Fragment of a conical loomweight, possibly Archaic
Chronology	Archaic?, Classical, Hellenistic, Late Roman
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	Small concentration of sherds in a plowed field at the northeast edge of the plateau (383852/4200690). The extent of the site is defined naturally since it occupies one of the natural terraces above the Asopos valley.
References	None

Site No.	HS-20
Location	Stimanga, Skrapani
Elevation	495 masl
Coordinates	383361/4197356, 383442/4197290, 383388/4197182, 383184/4197217
Description	Slope falling to the west (toward the Asopos River)
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	2–3
Alteration	Graded surface reduced by 0.5–1 m. A country road in the direction of Ellinochori cut through the area to a depth of 1 m.
Surface Area	23,400 m^2
Water Source	Spring on site: 383372/4197205
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks lie along the edge of the properties, almost at the center of the site. Average dimensions: 0.47 × 0.36 × 0.24 m (Th.).
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with brown and black streaky glaze. Lakonian pan tiles of Late Roman, Medieval, and Early Ottoman date.
Pottery	Low density of very worn pottery. One sherd from an open vessel with black slip on interior; one bowl fragment with vitreous brown glaze on interior. Ribbed body sherds.
Other	According to local tradition graves have been found above the country road (i.e., above the settlement proper).
Chronology	Pre-Roman, MEDIEVAL, post-Medieval
Site Function	Small installation in antiquity. Settlement in the Middle Ages.
Observations	The ancient phase is concentrated at 383400/4197257. The settlement seems to have spread below the spring.
References	*IG* IV 437 (funerary inscription from 6th–7th century A.D.).

Site No.	HS-21
Location	Stimanga, Paliokatounti
Elevation	510 masl
Coordinates	382832/4196937, 382920/4196857, 382795/4196790, 382715/4196792
Description	Slope falling to the west; the area is limited by a ravine to the south.
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Surface graded for cultivation purposes. Stones have been piled up in an artificial mound in the lower section of the vineyard.
Surface Area	14,000 m^2

Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Masonry fragments of brick and mortar; dimensions of the bricks: 0.26 × 0.26 × 0.035 m.
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with brown, red, and black glaze, some with streaky glaze. Lakonian pan tiles with grooves. Some Medieval and Turkish tiles.
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery, poorly preserved. One LH IIIA2–B kylix stem, and possibly two more Mycenaean fragments; one Gray Minyan(?) body sherd; two black-glazed fragments, and three sherds coated inside with brown-black glaze; a Roman round-mouth pitcher base (1st–3rd century A.D.), Early–Middle Roman ribbed body sherds and a pitcher base; some LR Amphora 2 fragments; one 12th–13th-century incised sgrafitto sherd; a few post-Medieval green-glazed sherds (17th–18th century); many pithos rims.
Other	One Archaic conical loomweight
Chronology	Mycenaean, Archaic, Roman, LATE ROMAN (4th–6th century), Middle Byzantine, Ottoman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Paliokatounti is a designated archaeological site.
References	None

Site No.	HS-22
Location	Stimanga, Dardiza
Elevation	370 masl
Coordinates	382578/4197970
Description	A plateau overlooking the Asopos River, limited by a ravine on the south side
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Graded surface reduced by a few meters for cultivation purposes. A country road cut through the south side to a depth of 2–3 m.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	None on site. The closest source of water is at Skrapani (HS-20).
Structures	Wall in three courses, 1.3 m high and 4.5 m of visible length (Fig. 1.24). Original length calculated to ca. 50 m. Irregular trapezoidal masonry. Height of the courses: 0.3, 0.45, 0.5 m. The lowest course has a ledge 0.37 m wide.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015 m) with black glaze. A few Medieval tiles as well.
Pottery	Pithos fragment. Very few plain sherds.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Small agricultural installation
Observations	The wall is evidently a terrace wall above the ravine to the south.
References	None

Site No.	HS-23
Location	Stimanga, Agios Nikolaos
Elevation	526 masl
Coordinates	383645/4197423
Description	Slope falling gently toward the Asopos
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Country road cut through the hillside to a depth of 2 m
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Within a local ravine
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Very few tiles, possibly of Medieval date
Pottery	Very low density; fair state of preservation. Mostly plain sherds, and fragment of an incised sgrafitto plate.
Other	Cist graves at the edge of the road. The graves are oriented north–south, have built side-walls, and are covered with tiles. They were visible before the asphalt paving of the country road.
Chronology	Middle Byzantine/Frankish (early 13th century)
Site Function	Cemetery
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-24
Location	Stimanga, Koudouni
Elevation	540 masl
Coordinates	384046/4198129
Description	Slope falling to the northwest (toward the Asopos valley)
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Graded slope reduced by ca. 2.5–3 m for cultivation purposes. Recently a water tank was placed on the site.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Within a local ravine
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Two kinds: ancient Lakonian pan tiles, and Medieval cover tiles with finger grooves (e.g., Fig. II.17:b).
Pottery	Almost no pottery
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Medieval (Middle Byzantine?)
Site Function	Temple(?) in antiquity, cemetery in the Middle Ages
Observations	According to tradition, foundations and architectural blocks of an ancient temple were found here. Also graves are reported from the area. A destruction layer with roof tiles is now discernible at a depth of 0.8 m.
References	Pyriovolis 1986, p. 300, n. 56.

Site No.	HS-25
Location	Stimanga, Kamari
Elevation	630–635 masl
Coordinates	384215/4194792, 384110/4194903, 384206/4194939, 384294/4194835
Description	Slope of Evangelistria, falling gently to the south and east
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Graded slope reduced by ca. 1 m. A church and a water tank have been built on the site.
Surface Area	13,000 m^2
Water Source	A fountain is situated some 90 m south of the site (384179/4194685).
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	One roof tile with glaze, many of the Medieval and post-Medieval periods
Pottery	Moderate density, very worn. Ribbed coarse ware, and Medieval cooking pots (12th/early 13th century). A few whitish cream and green glazed sherds dated to the 12th century, and one 13th-century sgrafitto base.
Other	(1) Ancient inscription carved on a column shaft built into the ruined church of Agia Trias. (2) Coin hoard with 66 bronze coins of Roman I found in the field of S. Giannakoulias. (3) Column fragment with an inscription to a Roman emperor found in the field of N. Rapsomatiotis.
Chronology	Pre-Roman, MIDDLE BYZANTINE, Frankish
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	This area in antiquity must have belonged to the territory of Phlious.
References	*IG* IV 438; Daux 1956, p. 256; Charitonidis 1968, p. 124.

Site No.	HS-26
Location	Stimanga, Agia Kyriaki
Elevation	460 masl
Coordinates	385701/4195562, 385759/4195571, 385763/4195476, 385692/4195495
Description	Low hill
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Surfaced graded and over-plowed
Surface Area	5,200 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	A few irregular building stones
Tiles	Many tile fragments: Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.01–0.015 m) with brown, black, and red glaze, and some Byzantine (early) tiles.
Pottery	Average to high density. Plain and coarse wares; an Archaic hydria, a Roman pitcher, and a LR Amphora 2 fragment; many Late

	Ottoman and early modern glazed fragments including Italian majolica and Grottaglie pieces; a few pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman (Archaic?), Roman, Late Roman, Ottoman, EARLY MODERN
Site Function	Farmstead?
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-27
Location	Stimanga, Patima
Elevation	272 masl
Coordinates	387884/4198668
Description	Plateau bordering a gully to the east
Vegetation	Recently planted vineyard
Visibility	5
Alteration	Recent plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015 m, on average), with brown streaky glaze
Pottery	Low density; good state of preservation. Plain body sherds, and coarse pottery.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Temporary shelter (probably pastoral)
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-28
Location	Ellinochori, Livadia 1
Elevation	308 masl
Coordinates	385851/4200065, 385791/4200020, 385775/4200037, 385796/4200055
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing to a depth of 0.2–0.3 m. Country road runs along the borders of the site.
Surface Area	1,300 m^2
Water Source	Terracotta channel brought water to the area.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with black and brown glaze (e.g., Fig. II.2:c). Average thickness: 0.016 m.
Pottery	Moderate density, in fair state of preservation. Black- and brown-black-glazed body sherds; two Archaic/Early Classical oinochoe bases; one Classical black-glazed saucer of Attic origin

	(Fig. 5.30:g); fragments of cooking pots, one of Classical or Hellenistic date; one Çandarlı ware, and one Roman pitcher base (1st–3rd century); one Grottaglie piece.
Other	None
Chronology	Archaic, CLASSICAL, Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman, early modern
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-29
Location	Ellinochori, Livadia 2
Elevation	306 masl
Coordinates	385818/4200162, 385741/4200188, 385736/4200228, 385827/4200224
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	4,300 m^2
Water Source	Terracotta channel brought water to the area.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Rubble stones piled along the field boundaries
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with black and brown glaze
Pottery	Low to moderate density, poorly preserved. One black-glazed and many plain body sherds.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-30
Location	Ellinochori, Livadia 3 (“Stavrodromi”)
Elevation	300 masl
Coordinates	385927/4200178, 385970/4200228, 386039/4200202, 386028/4200134, 385998/4200105
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	2–3
Alteration	Plowing. Asphalt road crosses the area.
Surface Area	8,000 m^2
Water Source	Terracotta channel brought water to the area.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.018 m) with brown, red, and black glaze (sometimes streaky)
Pottery	Low-density scatter, badly preserved. Mostly plain sherds, and a few brown-black-glazed skyphoi/kotylai; one LR Amphora 2 sherd.

Other	Millstone very worn on the upper surface (Diam. 1.7, p.H. 0.8 m). Marble relief of a satyr, once in the museum of Sikyon (inv. 336), but now stolen.
Chronology	CLASSICAL, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Pithos fragments, a Doric capital, and column shafts are reported from this area. The Doric capital is now in the basement of the Stringas family house in Ellinochori.
References	Tsioungos 2000, pp. 16–17 (description of the satyr relief).

Site No.	HS-31
Location	Ellinochori, Livadia 4
Elevation	300 masl
Coordinates	385925/4200428, 385967/4200357, 385941/4200334, 385913/4200363
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Asphalt road crosses the area
Surface Area	2,500 m^2
Water Source	Terracotta channel brought water to the area.
Structures	Exposed segment of pebble mosaic floor
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012 m) with black and brown glaze.
Pottery	High density over a small area; poor state of preservation. Some fine ware, including an unglazed kotyle handle, a kantharos base, a few black-glazed body sherds, and a brown-glazed rim. Relief pithos fragment with raised bands.
Other	Fragment of a conical loomweight
Chronology	CLASSICAL, Hellenistic?
Site Function	Single farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-32
Location	Paradeisi, Gourzi
Elevation	528 masl
Coordinates	380908/4199599
Description	Conglomerate outcropping
Vegetation	Apricot trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	Illicit digging
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Cist grave cut out of the bedrock: 1.91 × 0.75 m and ca. 0.94 m deep, oriented east–west.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Abundant tile fragments on and around the outcropping. Many have brown and red glaze (Th. 0.015–0.02 m). The tiles may come from the lid of the grave(s).

Pottery	Hardly any pottery
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Grave
Observations	The grave, probably one of several, is located to the southwest of the settlement site of Kriepepa 1 (HS-65).
References	None

Site No.	HS-33
Location	Ellinochori, Kourteza
Elevation	456 masl
Coordinates	384956/4198644
Description	Slope falling to the northeast
Vegetation	Bushes and vineyard
Visibility	0
Alteration	Country road crosses the site. Graded surface reduced by 1.2–1.5 m for cultivation purposes.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Near the site
Structures	Corner of a building made of irregular conglomerate blocks. Dimensions reported by local informant as ca. 20 × 20 m.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many roof tiles by the side of the road, and in the scarp of the vineyard. Lakonian pan tiles with black, brown, and red glaze.
Pottery	Almost no pottery. One black-glazed body sherd.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Farmstead?
Observations	The roof tiles in the scarp of the graded vineyard lie at a depth of ca. 0.5 m.
References	None

Site No.	HS-34
Location	Ellinochori, Dendro
Elevation	455 masl
Coordinates	384972/4198977
Description	Small height that slopes to the northeast and borders the Asopos River valley to the northwest
Vegetation	Shrubs and a few prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	The area directly north of the site has been graded recently by over 2 m for cultivation purposes.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Near the site, at Vagia
Structures	A building complex, comprising one tower of irregular conglomerate blocks and at least two other parallel walls, is visible (Figs. 5.35, 5.36).
Arch. Frags.	Conglomerate worked stone blocks dislocated by bulldozer
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with brown, red, and orange glaze, Th. 0.015–0.02 m

Pottery	Low to moderate density; a few black-glazed body sherds, and fine plain pottery.
Other	A bronze coin reported from this area, now lost. One Late Archaic/Early Classical conical loomweight. Fragment of millstone.
Chronology	Late Archaic/Classical
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	The site is in desperate need of cleaning. At least 50 m to the southeast of the site (384996/4198917) stood a rectangular structure, now destroyed; here we identified Lakonian pan tiles with red and brown glaze, three fragments of Corinthian tiles with yellowish glaze, and a pithos fragment with three raised bands.
References	None

Site No.	HS-35
Location	Ellinochori, Sphalachtro
Elevation	330 masl
Coordinates	385922/4199264, 385916/4199274, 385940/4199296, 385945/4199282
Description	Slope falling gently to the northeast
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Low
Surface Area	400 m^2
Water Source	Near the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	One Lakonian pan tile with red glaze; the majority of the tiles bear no traces of glaze, and their clay is rather impure.
Pottery	Low-density scatter; fair state of preservation. One Early Roman lekane rim (Fig. 5.46:k); a LR Amphora 2 and Late Antique ribbed body sherds; a lead-glazed sherd.
Other	None
Chronology	Roman, LATE ROMAN, modern
Site Function	Isolated shelter
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-36
Location	Ellinochori, ?
Elevation	ca. 350 masl
Coordinates	385660/4199412
Description	Slope falling gently southwest–northeast
Vegetation	Newly planted vineyard
Visibility	5
Alteration	Low
Surface Area	40 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None



Figure I.2. Chaidari of Ellinochori (HS-37): the bulldozed field in April 2000

Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with pure clay and brown glaze
Pottery	Very few pottery sherds, rather poorly preserved. Two glazed body sherds, one black and one brown-black.
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Grave?
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-37
Location	Ellinochori, Chaidari
Elevation	340 masl
Coordinates	385178/4200029
Description	Slope falling southwest–northeast
Vegetation	Newly planted vineyard
Visibility	4
Alteration	Deep plowing and surface graded by a little less than a meter (Fig. I.2)
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Rectangular stone blocks of different dimensions but of more or less consistent height, e.g., 0.93 × 0.8 × 0.43 m, and 0.96 × 0.7 × 0.43 m
Tiles	Most of the tiles (of Lakonian type) bear no traces of glaze and only one shows red glaze.
Pottery	Low density, in good state of preservation. Coarse pottery and pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman

Site Function	Isolated tower or storage building
Observations	The consistent height of the blocks betrays isodomic masonry, which fits more a tower structure. The ashlar blocks have been piled along the edge of the field by mechanical means.
References	None

Site No.	HS-38
Location	Ellinochori, Katsavora
Elevation	300 masl
Coordinates	387214/4198984, 387265/4198942, 387250/4198909, 387216/4198900, 387198/4198909
Description	A plateau with slight gradient, located between the *rema* of Ellinochori and the Vathy *rema*
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Country road running parallel to the ravine
Surface Area	3,500 m^2
Water Source	On site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Very few Lakonian pan tiles with black and red glaze. Many tiles without glaze, some of pre-Roman, others of Late Roman date.
Pottery	Moderate amount of very worn pottery. Very few black-glazed sherds; a foot of an Archaic oinochoe(?), many ribbed and combed sherds.
Other	Millstone ca. 1.5 m in diameter
Chronology	Pre-Roman (Archaic?), LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Farmstead or small settlement
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-39
Location	Krinai, Litharakia 1
Elevation	75 masl
Coordinates	389567/4201595, 385918/4201650, 389604/4201734, 389669/4201666
Description	Flat hill with relatively abrupt drops toward the plain to the north and east (Fig. 5.20)
Vegetation	Vineyard, and an uncultivated parcel of land
Visibility	3 in the vineyard, 0 in the uncultivated parcel
Alteration	Two houses built at the northeastern side of the hill, and a third one at the eastern side. Also the asphalt road to Ellinochori cuts through the site.
Surface Area	Ca. 20,000 m^2
Water Source	Kokkinovrysi
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Scanty fragments of roof tiles

Pottery	High density, in fair state of preservation. High ratio of painted and decorated fragments: kylikes, bowls, kraters, jars, dipper; also some imported late MH/early LH matt-painted jars, possibly Aeginetan; some Gray burnished Minyan(?) ware, and red burnished ware.
Other	None
Chronology	Middle Neolithic, EH II, late MH, LH I–IIIC, Protocorinthian
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The vineyard covers an area of 10,000 m^2. The site extends further to the southwest (389470/4201534), but is now cut by the asphalt road. The uncultivated land adds another 5,000 m^2 to the site.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 21 (app. II, p. 3); Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 69, no. A75; Krystalli 1968, pp. 163–164.

Site No.	HS-40
Location	Krinai, Litharakia 2
Elevation	85 masl
Coordinates	389365/4201711, 389415/4201658, 389367/4201627, 389299/4201693, 389311/4201717
Description	A small plateau with steep sides in all directions but the northwest. It borders a ravine to the south and southeast.
Vegetation	Not cultivated
Visibility	1
Alteration	The northeast and southwest sides have been cut by bulldozers, the former to a depth of 1.5–2 m, the latter to a depth of over 6 m. Three houses have been built along the north side.
Surface Area	6,000 m^2
Water Source	Rectangular tank within the ravine of Pikiza
Structures	Kiln visible at the southwest cut of the plateau (389166/4201813; Fig. I.3)
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with red, brown, and black glaze. Also fragments of pan and cover tiles of the Late Roman period (bearing finger grooves on their top surface).
Pottery	Low density, in good state of preservation. A few Mycenaean sherds; one LR Amphora 2 fragment, and one Late Roman cooking pot (late 6th–early 7th); a rim of a 13th-century stew pot (Fig. 5.58:e), and a Medieval ribbed body sherd; one Frankish incised sgrafitto.
Other	Brick fragments (Th. 0.035 m) with curved grooves. A blue glass fragment.
Chronology	MYCENAEAN, Late Roman, Frankish
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	In the scarp of the plateau on its northwest side ancient tiles and pottery are visible to a depth of 0.1–0.7 m. On the actual surface of the plateau very few sherds and tiles are visible because of the



Figure I.3. Kiln near Litharakia 2 of Krinai (HS-40); traces of burning are visible below the kiln floor.

	graded surface. A conglomerate trough *(patitiri)* once existed at the site.
References	None

Site No.	HS-41
Location	Krinai, Agia Aikaterini
Elevation	150–180 masl
Coordinates	387795/4201635, 387804/4201581, 387744/4201438, 387652/4201338, 387551/4201258, 387480/4201357, 387561/4201456, 387649/4201552
Description	Slope falling gently to the northeast. It is bound by ravines to the southeast and the northwest.
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	2–3. There are fenced fields which we did not enter.
Alteration	Plowing and graded surfaces to a limited degree. A country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	51,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Church of Agia Aikaterini (387600/4201455)
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks to the northeast of the church at a lower level. Preserved dimensions: 0.54 × 0.5 × 0.35 m. A few twisted column shafts were once visible around the church of Agia Aikaterini, but no longer.
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with black and brown glaze. One Corinthian pan tile. Medieval and modern tiles.
Pottery	Low density in general, with a few dispersed clusters. Fair state of preservation. Black-glazed body sherds, kotyle handle, ribbed oinochoe, one blister-ware aryballos, a flat rim bowl, one Classical mug of Attic origin, a Classical ribbed pitcher, and a round-mouth pitcher base; a few white-glazed sherds, and one sgrafitto ware. Some undiagnostic ribbed body sherds.

Other	None
Chronology	Late Classical, Late Antique, Middle Byzantine (mid-12th century), modern
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The settlement is of dispersed character. In the lower area of the site (150–160 masl) only Classical pottery is to be found.
References	None

Site No.	HS-42
Location	Krinai, Chalasmata
Elevation	250 masl
Coordinates	386773/4200657
Description	Height bound by ravines to the west, east, and south
Vegetation	Uncultivated and overgrown
Visibility	0
Alteration	Deep plowing
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	According to local informants, an aqueduct brought water to the site from Livadia of Ellinochori.
Structures	N/A
Arch. Frags.	Heaps of rubble stones
Tiles	N/A
Pottery	One base of Venetian sgrafitto
Other	None
Chronology	17th century
Site Function	Unknown
Observations	Under present conditions, surface survey is not possible.
References	None

Site No.	HS-43
Location	Velo, Achouria
Elevation	155 masl
Coordinates	387430/4202362, 387413/4202400, 387439/4202427, 387458/4202401
Description	Plateau with slight decline to the northeast
Vegetation	Field abandoned and overgrown
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Surface shows signs of grading. Asphalt road runs next to the site.
Surface Area	1,500 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Many fragmentary ashlar conglomerate blocks. One may be intact (visible dimensions: L. 1.16, W. 0.85, H. 0.33 m).
Tiles	Many Lakonian pan tiles with red, brown, and black glaze
Pottery	Low density, mostly plain ware. One black-glazed rim, and one Hellenistic amphora toe (Fig. 5.43:d).
Other	None
Chronology	Hellenistic (late 2nd–1st century B.C., based on the amphora toe)
Site Function	Farmstead

Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-44
Location	Velo, Panagia Giouroutsi 2
Elevation	166 masl
Coordinates	387244/4002208
Description	Slope falling slightly to the northeast
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	2–3
Alteration	Low
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	In the Giouroutsi gully
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with black and brown glaze
Pottery	Low density with a few plain body sherds
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Temporary shelter?
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-45
Location	Velo, Panagia Giouroutsi 3
Elevation	143 masl
Coordinates	387747/4202583
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Newly planted olive trees
Visibility	5
Alteration	Recent plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	In the Giouroutsi gully
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few Lakonian pan tiles with black glaze (e.g., Fig. II.2:f)
Pottery	Low density; only plain sherds.
Other	Lamp nozzle
Chronology	Hellenistic
Site Function	Small shelter
Observations	We could not survey the field to the northeast of the scatter because of the heavy vegetation.
References	None

Site No.	HS-46
Location	Velo, Panagia Giouroutsi 4
Elevation	130 masl
Coordinates	388127/4203028

Description	Plateau stretching above the southeast bank of the Asopos valley
Vegetation	Fallow
Visibility	0–1
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Unknown
Water Source	In the Giouroutsi gully
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	Low density scatter, in fair state of preservation. A "Corinthian" B amphora rim, and a Roman round-mouth pitcher.
Other	Conical loomweight of the 6th/early 5th century B.C.
Chronology	Archaic, Classical, Roman
Site Function	Small installation
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-47
Location	Velo, Prophetes Elias
Elevation	130 masl
Coordinates	388389/4203086, 388353/4203153, 388376/4203165, 388423/4203086
Description	Plateau to the southwest of the Asopos
Vegetation	Fallow but recently plowed
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	2,500 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	(1) Well of ellipsoidal shape (max. Diam. 1.5 m) at 388615/4203146 (2) Quarry of conglomerate stone with a face over 40 m in length (388602/4203190; Fig. 1.35). Also, traces of quarrying at 388618/4203115. (3) Rectangular rock-cut basin at 388606/4203148. Dimensions: L. 3.63, W. 3.74–4.63, D. (visible) 0.84 m.
Arch. Frags.	Cut stone abandoned in the quarry
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (small thickness) with brown and black glaze (e.g., Fig. II.2:e)
Pottery	Moderate density, in poor state of preservation. A few black-glazed body sherds, an early-5th-century lekythos and a kotyle(?) base; one ribbed body sherd.
Other	Fragment of a stone mortar
Chronology	CLASSICAL (early), Late Roman(?)
Site Function	Farmstead and area of industrial activity
Observations	Although visibility in the neighboring fields was very low, the site does not seem to extend toward the south or the west; it may have extended to the northeast (i.e., around the church of Prophetes Elias), but this was impossible to confirm because of the overgrowth of vegetation. The quarry extends over a large area.
References	None

Site No.	HS-48
Location	Velo, Kaminia
Elevation	123 masl
Coordinates	388519/4202457, 388506/4202460, 388506/4202497, 388523/4202491
Description	Narrow plateau between the ravine of Vathy *rema* (to the south) and the ravine of Giouroutsi (to the north)
Vegetation	Newly planted fig trees and a few lemon trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Plowing and grading of the surface
Surface Area	600 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m) with black and brown glaze
Pottery	Moderate-density scatter of worn pottery. Many black-glazed body sherds; a late-6th- or 5th-century kotyle rim, a kantharos rim and body sherd, and some coarse pottery including a Classical lekane/bowl rim.
Other	Fragment of a terracotta horse figurine (6th–4th century B.C.). Fragment of a stone grinder.
Chronology	Archaic/Classical
Site Function	Farmstead with local shrine?
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-49
Location	Velo, Marmara
Elevation	28–35 masl
Coordinates	389228/4203824, 389007/4203685, 389122/4203698
Description	The site extends from the upper part of the plain to the hill of Prophetes Elias along the east bank of the Asopos River.
Vegetation	Olive trees, vineyards, apricot trees, and citrus trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Surface graded in several places. The highway to Patras cut through the site. Natural erosion along the Asopos River.
Surface Area	Unknown, but certainly larger than 6,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	Dispersed pottery particularly above the Corinth–Patras highway. Plain and a few black-glazed sherds, including a base of a skyphos or kotyle. Possibly a Corinthian A amphora.
Other	Perhaps a cist grave covered with tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m) with black, brown, and red glaze at 389095/4203675
Chronology	CLASSICAL, Roman
Site Function	Unknown
Observations	Alluviation is certainly responsible for the absence of abundant pottery here. According to tradition, many Classical graves have

	been found close to the Prophetes Elias hill. The general area of "Marmara" is a designated archaeological site (articles 50 and 52 of 5351/1932). A Late Protogeometric grave was excavated in this area, along the high east bank of the Asopos River, and the material from it is kept in the Corinth Museum. During construction of the highway to Patras in 1966, much pottery was recovered from the area, now in storage at the Sikyon Museum: fragments of kotylai, kylikes, and skyphoi of the Early Classical, possibly Archaic period. Most likely the material derives from graves.
References	*Corinth* VII.1, pp. 6–7.

Site No.	HS-50
Location	Souli, Tsakriza 1
Elevation	230 masl
Coordinates	385861/4205738, 385883/4205647, 386014/4205401, 385939/4205381, 385816/4205559
Description	Plateau bordered by the Helisson gully to the east and the southeast. It falls to a lower terrace on the north.
Vegetation	Mainly olive trees, and a few vineyards and apricot trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	A house was built at the northeastern scarp of the plateau. An agricultural road crosses the site.
Surface Area	26,000 m^2
Water Source	A ∪-shaped terracotta pipe, 0.15 × 0.15 m, led water to the site from an area called Πριχέ, on the eastern bank of the Kyrillou *rema*.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Possibly structural stone blocks, of irregular shape, piled along the field boundaries
Tiles	Abundant Lakonian pan tiles with brown and black glaze. Also many Roman and Late Roman tiles.
Pottery	High density, in fair state of preservation. A few black-glazed sherds, and a base of a Hellenistic plate or shallow bowl; Italian sigillata with relief decoration (first half of 1st century A.D.); abundant plain and coarse pottery, including a Classical/Hellenistic casserole rim and an Early Roman round-mouth pitcher base and rim; rims of 4th–5th-century A.D. cooking pots; LR Amphora 2 body sherds. Fragment of a pithos decorated with raised linear bands.
Other	Late Roman lamp fragment (Broneer type XXVIII?)
Chronology	Classical, Hellenistic, ROMAN, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The road to Stymphalos passes just north of the site. A structure was reported in the Papamitros field that is no longer visible today. Two monolithic fluted columns were transferred to the Karvoutzis gas station outside Kiato. The ∪-shaped terracotta pipe is perhaps the "Tonröhrenleitung aus Tonröhren

	u-förmigen Querschnitts" observed by Meyer (1939, p. 10) in the area northeast of Souli.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 14? (app. II, p. 2).

Site No.	HS-51
Location	Souli, Tsakriza 2
Elevation	245 masl
Coordinates	385685/4205490, 385705/4205475, 385683/4205458, 385666/4205477
Description	Slope falling gently to the northeast
Vegetation	Newly planted olive trees
Visibility	5
Alteration	Recent plowing
Surface Area	600 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with red, black, and brown glaze (e.g., Fig. II.2:b)
Pottery	Moderate to high density, in fair state of preservation. Mostly plain and coarse ware, large vessels and pithos fragments; one late-2nd-century B.C. amphora toe (perhaps Rhodian).
Other	Lamp fragment imitating North African type (5th–6th century A.D.)
Chronology	Hellenistic, Late Roman
Site Function	Isolated structure
Observations	The site is very close to the large settlement of Tsakriza 1 (HS-50). The structure stood at the periphery of that site at a higher elevation.
References	None

Site No.	HS-52
Location	Kryoneri, Valathra
Elevation	400–435 masl
Coordinates	382098/4203806, 382188/4203852, 382188/4203852, 382298/4203689, 382049/4203645
Description	Slope of considerable gradient toward the east. It is bound by a ravine to the north.
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	Layout of artificial terraces for the cultivation of the olives. Two country roads cross the site.
Surface Area	30,000 m^2
Water Source	Fountain of Monastiraki, ca. 100 m west of Melistra. Fountain of Kourperi at 382137/4203286.
Structures	(1) A row of irregular dressed stone blocks at 382439/4203669. The low wall today serves as a terrace wall for an olive tree. It may be an ancient construction or a modern one using ancient stones.

	(2) Three cist graves were discovered at 382318/4203638 during construction of a country road. (3) Rectangular cistern in *opus testaceum* at Melistra (382232/4203918; Fig. 1.26). Dimensions: 12.01 (NE side) × 7.25 (NW side) × 0.75 m (max. visible height). (4) Rock-cut surface at 382328/4203890
Arch. Frags.	Several ancient ashlar blocks are used in modern terraces throughout the area.
Tiles	Pockets of tile fragments: Lakonian pan tiles with black and red glaze, and Late Roman and Byzantine tiles.
Pottery	Low density; sherds not evenly distributed but encountered in pockets. Mostly plain and coarse pottery, in a poor state of preservation. Amphora handles, rim of a 6th/5th-century lekane, and an Early Roman lekane. Relatively few black-glazed body sherds, a Classical kotyle rim (late 5th/early 4th) and a 4th century black-glazed skyphos base (Fig. 5.30:e). A few LR Amphora 2 body sherds; some Grottaglie ware and other modern sherds (of the early to mid-20th century); a few pithos fragments.
Other	Millstone at 382422/4203614. Pyramidal loomweight (Roman?).
Chronology	CLASSICAL, Roman, Late Roman, early modern
Site Function	Settlement of dispersed type (nonnucleated)
Observations	The broad spread of pottery is partly due to soil erosion, which is considerable given the gradient of the slope. The site of "Melistra" is identical to "Fusubarda" mentioned by Meyer. Pharaklas reported EH and Hellenistic–Roman pottery from Zevgolateio.
References	Meyer 1939, p. 10; Pharaklas 1971, site 132 (app. II, p. 14).

Site No.	HS-53
Location	Souli, Rakitiza
Elevation	600 masl
Coordinates	381123/4203924, 381115/4203921, 381118/4203908, 381136/4203910, 381152/4203919, 381155/4203924, 381150/4203925
Description	Hill falling rather abruptly toward the north, east, and south
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Flat summit of the hill graded by bulldozer to a considerable depth
Surface Area	460 m^2 (summit of hill)
Water Source	Near the site at 381046/4204097
Structures	(1) The flat summit of the hill was surrounded by a fortification wall. A stretch of it, 6 m long, is preserved on the southern side, ca. 4.5 m below the summit at 381131/4203901 (east end), 381125/4203901 (west end). It is built in polygonal conglomerate masonry (length of blocks ca. 0.8 m). Two courses are visible today, with a combined height of 0.8 m (Fig. 5.39). (2) Two ancient terrace walls are preserved on the south slope at a lower level (Fig. 1.25). Both are built of irregular trapezoidal masonry. The upper wall (max. p.H. 1.40 m at 381109/4203853)

	supports a terrace where the corner of a structure built with ashlar blocks is visible (381124/4203859).
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks of the acropolis wall lie at the south and southeast sides of the hill (as at 381138/4203892). Dimensions of one of the blocks: 1.0 × 0.56 × 0.33 m.
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.017 m) with black and red glaze
Pottery	Very low density, certainly because of the extensive surface grading. Nothing diagnostic.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	None
References	Meyer 1939, p. 10; Pharaklas 1971, site 131 (app. II, p. 14); Gauvin 1987.

Site No.	HS-54
Location	Kryoneri, Thekriza
Elevation	860 masl
Coordinates	377702/4204211, 377664/4204230, 377689/4204278, 377705/4204308, 377713/4204334, 377718/4204366, 377744/4204379, 377775/4204380, 377827/4204389, 377863/4204368, 377892/4204337, 377915/4204326, 377943/4204315, 377927/4204282, 377906/4204254, 378006/4204211, 377987/4204172, 377943/4204167, 377930/4204174, 377896/4204169, 377825/4204127, 377776/4204125, 377759/4204137, 377724/4204190
Description	Hill overlooking the valley of Kaisari (Fig. 5.31)
Vegetation	Some vineyards and abandoned fields
Visibility	3
Alteration	Recent plowing
Surface Area	53,500 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	(1) Three structures, built with irregular stone blocks, are visible on two different levels. Structure 1 (Fig. 5.32) measures 10.5 × 4.75 m, with walls 0.4 m thick. Part of a wall turning a corner is visible parallel to structure 1, 6.15 m long; it may belong to the same building. GPS readings: 377902/4204186, 377906/4204178, 377902/4204177, 377900/4204185, 377905/4204187, 377908/4204182. Structure 2: corner of a building, 1.2 × 1.9 m at 377901/4204192. Structure 3 (on the upper level: 377881/4204223): visible dimensions 7.5 × 4.37 m. (2) Three terrace walls are visible. Wall 1: 11.7 m of visible length, 0.5 m wide. Northeast end: 377915/4204182, southwest end: 377910/4204194. Wall 2: 7.5 m of visible length. Northeast end: 377936/4204177, southwest end: 377934/4204170. Wall 3: northeast end: 377874/4204221, southwest end: 377875/4204212.
Arch. Frags.	Several structural blocks lying around the site, e.g., 377695/4204289, 377897/4204333, 377927/4204282, 377886/4204168, 377817/4204254, 377792/4204236

Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with fine black, brown, and red glaze (Figs. II.5, II.6)
Pottery	High density, in good state of preservation. Large amount of fine, black-glazed pottery with comparatively few plain and coarse wares: a 6th-century cup and an imported (probably Attic) cup fragment; many skyphos and kotyle sherds, some semiglazed (late 5th/4th century); a 5th-century stemless cup and a flat rim bowl; and many miniature sherds (kotyliskoi, kalathiskoi, etc.). A Roman round-mouth pitcher base; many pithos fragments.
Other	Conical loomweights of the late 5th/early 4th century (e.g., Fig. 5.30:k); a bronze tablet reportedly found at this site with engraved names of the participants to a banquet hall (Fig. 6.21); a 5th-century lamp fragment of Broneer type IV.
Chronology	Archaic, CLASSICAL, (Roman)
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Sanctuary site, with miniature fine pottery, at 377926/4204298. Also, small concentration of tiles with black glaze on the site's periphery at 377913/4204357. A Classical watch/signal tower (DS-10) is adjacent.
References	Orlandos 1937–1938, pp. 5–12; Stikas 1947.

Site No.	HS-55
Location	Kryoneri, Pinigouri
Elevation	825 masl
Coordinates	377558/4203911, 377622/4203932, 377651/4203916, 377588/4203863
Description	Plateau by the ancient road from Sikyon to Stymphalos
Vegetation	Uncultivated
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Water tank built at the edge of the field
Surface Area	3,200 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Pile of ashlar blocks, of both large and small size. Sample dimensions: L. 0.92, W. 0.71, H. 0.38 m; L. 0.52, W. 0.42 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of pan tiles, only a few show traces of black and red glaze
Pottery	Moderate density; fair state of preservation. One skyphos rim; fragments of pithoi and other storage vessels; fragments of plain and coarse ware, including Roman cooking ware, pitcher (Fig. 5.46:d), and basin.
Other	Fragment of a conical loomweight (6th/early 5th century); piece of a grinder from psammitic stone (Fig. 1.23).
Chronology	Classical, ROMAN
Site Function	Hostel?
Observations	It clearly is a small installation, which could be a hostel given its location by the main road to Stymphalos and Arkadia.
References	None

Site No.	HS-56
Location	Kryoneri, Cemetery (Panagia)
Elevation	643 masl
Coordinates	380705/4202264, 380744/4202286, 380815/4202261, 380797/4202208, 380804/4202176, 380764/4202143, 380735/4202170
Description	Plateau, directly south of the cemetery, bordering a ravine on the south and east
Vegetation	Walnut trees, vineyards, apple trees, and a few prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Plowing and surface graded along the south side of the plateau
Surface Area	10,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Hollows in the marly vertical scarp for graves (Mycenaean chamber tombs reused as cubicula with arcosolia in Late Roman times): 380797/4202208, 380807/4202202, 380799/4202199, 380762/4202171
Arch. Frags.	Structural blocks, of irregular shape, in stone heaps
Tiles	Many Lakonian pan tiles, some with brown glaze
Pottery	Moderate density of very worn pottery. Mostly plain and coarse ware with much Late Roman cooking ware (5th–7th century A.D.). One black-glazed kotyle handle, ribbed body sherds, one combed sherd from a LR Amphora 2, one early modern dark green–glazed sherd.
Other	One iron nail
Chronology	LATE HELLADIC III, Classical, LATE ROMAN, early modern
Site Function	Burial ground (prehistoric times); settlement in later periods
Observations	LH III pottery reported from the chamber tombs. According to Pallas, within the cemetery lie remains of walls and Early Christian marble fragments, which I could not find. Designated archaeological site.
References	Pallas 1977, pp. 175–176.

Site No.	HS-57
Location	Kryoneri, Chalasmata
Elevation	790–810 masl
Coordinates	377794/4203410, 377765/4203405, 377754/4203469, 377752/4203524, 377790/4203560, 377857/4203537, 377857/4203499, 377865/4203487, 377885/4203458, 377849/4203409
Description	Slope falling to the north
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing and surface graded by less than a meter. Country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	15,000 m^2
Water Source	Bekiri fountain, ca. 600 m east of the site at 378458/4203533
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Piles of ancient conglomerate blocks, of trapezoidal and polygonal shape, in two places by the country road:

	(1) Stone heap at 377793/4203456. Dimensions of one stone: 0.56 × 0.48 × 0.44 m (H.). (2) Pile of ancient stones placed as a retaining wall for the vineyard: 377852/4203468 (E end), 377815/4203461 (W end). Dimensions of one stone: 0.6 × 0.47 × 0.38 m (H.).
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles, some with brown, red, and black glaze. The majority have a coarse underside and show finger grooves.
Pottery	Very low density, mostly plain and coarse ware. One Hellenistic unguentarium, and one Medieval lekythos (Fig. 5.58:g). Pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Hellenistic, Medieval, post-Medieval
Site Function	Settlement in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine era
Observations	Perhaps to be identified as the settlement named Rapsomati mentioned in documents of the second Venetian period (see HS-58). Given the paucity of pottery and the presence of roof tiles and stone blocks, Chalasmata may mark the site of a defensive installation, such as a fort, rather than a settlement. There is a concentration of roof tiles at the periphery of the site (377774/4203352); given its small radius, this concentration probably represents an independent structure of the post-Byzantine era.
References	None

Site No.	HS-58
Location	Kryoneri, Rapsomati
Elevation	880 masl
Coordinates	378443/4203157
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	N/A
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	In the nearby *rema*
Structures	N/A
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	In the pile, Lakonian pan tiles with black and brown glaze, and one Corinthian cover tile
Pottery	In the pile, fragments of large relief pithoi, some decorated with raised bands
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Unknown
Observations	A secondary deposit of ancient material, found in a pile in the courtyard of the monastery of Analipsi (Fig. 5.37). The provenance of the material is unknown. Rapsomati appears in documents of the second Venetian period as a settlement, but I did not find any traces of it around the monastery. Perhaps Rapsomati was ca. 600 m to the northwest, near Chalasmata (HS-57).
References	Kordosis 1981, pp. 326–327.

Site No.	HS-59
Location	Gonoussa, Gourkioni
Elevation	550–600 masl
Coordinates	379307/4198570, 379410/4198523, 379440/4198389, 379405/4198353, 379287/4198456
Description	Slope of significant gradient toward the Asopos valley to the east
Vegetation	Olive trees, vineyards, and many abandoned fields
Visibility	0–1; 4 in field recently planted with olive trees.
Alteration	Slope graded by 1–5 m for cultivation purposes
Surface Area	19,500 m^2
Water Source	On site
Structures	(1) Circular basin, Diam. 1.28 m, set in the ground at 379300/4198571. Built with rubble and bricks, its interior lined with waterproof cement 0.02–0.03 m thick. Illicit digging inside the basin uncovered Late Roman–Byzantine pan and cover tiles. (2) Six meters north of this basin (379298/4198577), an ancient terrace wall is preserved with three courses of irregular trapezoidal masonry (max. visible H. 1.3 m) and a northeast–southwest orientation (Fig. 5.34). (3) A second terrace wall built of trapezoidal masonry stands ca. 60 m to the south, with a roughly east–west orientation: 379328/4198505 (E end), 379307/4198513 (W end). Its visible length is 23 m, and its height, which corresponds to three visible courses, is 1.45 m.
Arch. Frags.	Dressed stone blocks scattered throughout the fields
Tiles	Lakonian pan and cover tiles, a few with brown glaze, the majority of Roman–Late Roman and Medieval date (e.g., Fig. II.10)
Pottery	Visibility was high only in a field recently planted with olive trees (379314/4198478). In this field the density was high, and the artifacts were in a good state of preservation. One Mycenaean kylix foot; a Geometric body sherd with linear decoration; an Attic kylix base (6th/5th century B.C.), a Classical Corinthian krater, and many black- and brown-black-glazed body sherds, one semiglazed; Classical pithos fragments with relief decoration; a Corinthian A′ amphora toe (Fig. 5.43:c); an Early Roman basin (Fig. 5.46:n); a neck of a Roman transport amphora (Fig. 5.46:m); Roman plates (e.g., Fig. 5.46:b), thin-walled mugs (e.g., Fig. 5.46:c), pitchers, mixing kraters (Fig. 5.46:i, j), and cooking pots (e.g., Fig. 5.50:l); Late Antique or Medieval ribbed body sherds; a Middle Byzantine cream-glazed sherd and a fine sgrafitto ware (mid-12th century); a few post-Medieval glazed sherds, among which is a white-glazed example possibly of the 17th century.
Other	Conical loomweights of the early 5th century B.C., two lamp fragments among which is a Roman Imperial lamp handle (Broneer type XXVII)
Chronology	Mycenaean, Geometric, Late Archaic, CLASSICAL, Hellenistic(?), ROMAN, Late Roman, Middle Byzantine, Ottoman, early modern
Site Function	Settlement

Observations	The settlement extended to the southeast of the fort (DS-3), which stood 350 m north of it, and at a much higher elevation (755 masl; Fig. 5.33). The second terrace wall is directly above the newly planted field where we found most of the pottery.
References	Pharaklas 1971, sites 142, 143 (app. II, p. 15).

Site No.	HS-60
Location	Gonoussa, Agios Dimitrios
Elevation	480 masl
Coordinates	380240/4199120, 380285/4199060, 380173/4198884, 380132/4198876, 380128/4199162
Description	Slope falling gently toward the east-northeast. A ravine crosses the southern part of the site.
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Country road crosses the site, and has caused surface grading by more than 1 m.
Surface Area	28,000 m^2
Water Source	On site
Structures	(1) A line of irregular stone blocks can be followed for 6 m along the cut of the country road at 380172/4198970, 0.8 m below ground surface, oriented north–south. It preserves two courses, 0.7 m in height. Given the pottery here (mostly fine and miniature sherds), it is possible that the spot marks the site of a sanctuary. (2) A line of ancient stones is visible further south (380178/4198960), also along the cut of the country road and with the same orientation; visible L. 1.76, H. 0.2 m (Fig. 6.22).
Arch. Frags.	(1) Ashlar conglomerate blocks at 380216/4199084 and 380180/4199101. Dimensions: L. 1.2, W. 0.54, H. 0.4 m. (2) Stone pile at 380168/4198923. Within the pile at least two ashlar blocks are visible; dimensions: L. 1.06, W. 0.52, H. 0.4 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with glaze; a few Medieval tiles (e.g., Fig II.14:a).
Pottery	High density, in good state of preservation. A Geometric krater, and an Archaic reflex handle with stamped decoration; amphora handles, pithoi with relief decoration, basins, Roman cooking ware, and a few ribbed body sherds; some early modern sherds. At the road cut, by a cypress grove, the pottery is much finer and includes ribbed kantharos/oinochoe sherds, Classical kotylai and cups with folded handles, some black-glazed sherds, and miniature vases (kraters and kotylai).
Other	One conical (Classical or Hellenistic) and one discoid loomweight (4th–3rd century). A fragment of a terracotta horse figurine.
Chronology	Geometric, Archaic, CLASSICAL, Hellenistic, Roman, Medieval, early modern
Site Function	Settlement with local sanctuary
Observations	Concentration of sherds and tile fragments by the church of Agios Dimitrios (380276/419930). The pottery and tiles are Late

	Roman–Byzantine and do not seem to relate to the Classical site. They probably come from a later church in this area.
References	None

Site No.	HS-61
Location	Gonoussa, Sara
Elevation	530 masl
Coordinates	379893/4199099, 379859/4199115, 379854/4199139, 379897/4199114
Description	Slope falling to the east
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing and surface graded by ca. 0.5 m
Surface Area	800 m^2
Water Source	Nearby
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles without glaze
Pottery	Low density; some ribbed body sherds of impure clay.
Other	Stone basins were allegedly found here.
Chronology	Late Antique
Site Function	Temporary shelter
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-62
Location	Gonoussa, Zevgolateio
Elevation	420–450 masl
Coordinates	380715/4199296, 380756/4199219, 380704/4199171, 380647/4199189, 380654/4199252, 380657/4199299
Description	Steep slope toward the south and the southeast, bounded by a ravine to the south
Vegetation	Vineyards, recently planted
Visibility	4
Alteration	Surface graded by 1–2 m
Surface Area	10,000 m^2
Water Source	Near the site at 380642/4199304 (the location is marked by a basin dug into the ground)
Structures	(1) Terrace wall, most likely post-Byzantine, at 380674/4199260 (2) Wall built with rubble, tiles, and mortar at 380671/4199252; W. 1.0, H. 0.6 m (3) Cylindrical terracotta pipe visible in the scarp below the vineyard (380669/419925)
Arch. Frags.	Structural stone blocks lie around the site
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m) with red and reddish brown glaze. A few Roman/Late Roman, some Medieval (e.g., Fig. II.14:c), and a few modern roof tiles.
Pottery	High density, in fair state of preservation. Few sherds of fine pottery, one possibly black-glazed. Many fragments of plain

	and coarse ware: rims from an Archaic miniature basin and a Classical cooking basin; four amphora toes, one belonging to a Hellenistic Corinthian A or A′ amphora (3rd/early 2nd century); one Roman/Late Roman mug; fragments of Middle Byzantine stamnoi and cooking vessels, and a few ribbed body sherds; one Frankish glazed bowl and cooking vessel (13th century).
Other	None
Chronology	Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Late Roman, Middle Byzantine, Frankish, modern
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Destruction layer visible in the cut of the graded surface (380658/4199255). Overgrown fields with olive trees lie to the north and the northeast and offer no visibility. Therefore we do not know whether the site extended in this direction or not. Below the modern ruin (belonging to a seasonal shelter) we think we can make out some earlier walls, but the field is so overgrown that we could not investigate it.
References	None

Site No.	HS-63
Location	Gonoussa, Loimiko
Elevation	306–325 masl
Coordinates	381185/4198819, 381158/4198783, 381246/4198745, 381272/4198768
Description	Slope falling gently to the east. It is bound by a deep ravine to the north, falls almost abruptly to a lower terrace on the east, and is steep to the south.
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3–4
Alteration	Country road crosses the site
Surface Area	3,800 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles, 0.013–0.02 m thick, one with brownish red and a few with black glaze
Pottery	Moderate amount, in fair state of preservation. A piece of a Geometric krater; fragment of an Archaic perirrhanterion decorated with imprinted floral motifs; lid from an Archaic(?) pyxis; some Classical black-glazed body sherds, and semi-glazed cups (450–400 B.C.); a few pieces of cooking ware and pithoi.
Other	Conical loomweight of the late 8th–early 7th century (Fig. 5.24:e); one discoid loomweight.
Chronology	Late Geometric, Archaic, Classical
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-64
Location	Paradeisi, Kriepepa 2
Elevation	470–490 masl
Coordinates	381287/4199801, 381286/4199786, 381212/4199779, 381210/4199792
Description	Slope of strong gradient toward the east. It is bound by a ravine to the north.
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Ancient structure destroyed by bulldozer
Surface Area	1,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Complex with two apsidal structures at 381280/4199792 (Fig. 5.64); dimensions: Th. 0.58, H. 0.45 m. Built in *opus testaceum,* with its inner side lined with waterproof cement a few millimeters thick. Average ratio brick/mortar: 1:1. Holes on the interior face of the apse probably served for the attachment of terracotta or marble revetment. Dimensions of square bricks: L. 0.31, W. 0.31, Th. 0.03 m, and L. 0.28, W. 0.28, Th. 0.04 m. A rectangular brick is partially preserved: p.L. 0.57, p.W. 0.28, Th. 0.04 m. At 5.5 m north of the apsidal structure, another structure of brick and mortar is visible, probably belonging to the same complex.
Arch. Frags.	Fragments of the brick and mortar structure lie scattered around the area. Dimensions of one fragment: L. 0.65, W. 0.48, Th. 0.21 m. Terracotta water pipe: Diam. (int.) 0.043, (ext.) 0.067; Th. 0.014 m. Calcareous deposits are preserved inside the pipe.
Tiles	Many fragments of pan and cover tiles, 0.017–0.027 m thick, with finger grooves (e.g., Figs. II.9, II.14:b, II.16, II.17:c).
Pottery	Moderate density; good state of preservation. Many ribbed body sherds of cooking pots, one dated to the 11th century. One 12th-century amphora fragment (Fig. 5.58:c).
Other	Marble pieces, and fragments of two cylindrical pipes of small diameter
Chronology	Middle Byzantine
Site Function	Most likely a bath complex
Observations	A large settlement site (HS-65) is ca. 160 m east of this complex, but the relationship between the two is not clear.
References	None

Site No.	HS-65
Location	Paradeisi, Kriepepa 1
Elevation	432–445 masl
Coordinates	381360/4199658, 381403/4199763, 381534/4199820, 381574/4199785, 381518/4199673, 381424/4199631
Description	Plateau descending slightly to the northeast
Vegetation	Olive trees and a few vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing in the past. Country road cut through the site and exposed tiles and sherds.

Surface Area	20,000 m^2
Water Source	On site: 381461/4199699
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	(1) Ashlar blocks discarded or reused in modern terrace walls in several places (e.g., 381363/4199653) (2) Line of ashar blocks at 381314/419973 and 381407/4199720. Stone dimensions: L. 1.6, W. 0.55, H. 0.49 m; L. 0.93, W. 0.24, H. 0.4 m; L. 0.88, W. 0.41, H. 0.37 m. (3) Fragment of brick and mortar masonry
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles, poorly preserved. Ancient Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.021 m), a few with red and brown glaze. A few fragments of Medieval tiles (Th. 0.02 m), some with grooves.
Pottery	High density; fair state of preservation. Foot of an Attic kylix, and other black-glazed body sherds; one mid-Roman round-mouth pitcher base; a handle of an 11th-century chafing dish, a 12th-century white-glazed rim, and a mid-13th-century incised sgrafitto ware; some Late Antique or Medieval ribbed coarse ware.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman (Classical?), Roman, Late Antique, MIDDLE BYZANTINE, Frankish
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	In the area we located ruins of early modern temporary shelters *(achouria)*. The site does not seem to extend as far as the apsidal structure (HS-64), although the two sites are not far apart.
References	None

Site No.	HS-66
Location	Kryoneri, Ano Bathiza
Elevation	480 masl
Coordinates	382174/4200609, 382205/4200566, 382233/4200620, 382190/4200641
Description	Slope falling toward the southeast (Asopos valley)
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Country road crosses the site
Surface Area	2,300 m^2
Water Source	Nearby
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ancient ashlar blocks built into a modern retaining wall at 382188/4200574
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles, in poor state of preservation. Very few Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.016–0.024) show traces of black and brown glaze.
Pottery	Very low density; poorly preserved. One miniature Archaic or Classical base, and mostly plain and coarse ware: a Roman basin rim with linear decoration (1st–3rd century), and a small pitcher. Fragments of a large pithos.
Other	None

Chronology	Archaic/Classical, Roman
Site Function	Farmstead?
Observations	Concentration of ancient tiles at 382119/4200574. Most of the ancient and Medieval material, primarily roof tiles, was incorporated into the early modern agricultural shelters. The absence of modern pottery and roof tiles is due to the fact that the owners of these temporary shelters took all transportable material with them to their permanent places of residence (the village of Kryoneri).
References	None

Site No.	HS-67
Location	Titane, sanctuary
Elevation	500–580 masl
Coordinates	378847/4197703, 378916/4197676, 378969/4197675, 379012/4197643, 379054/4197620, 379163/4197608, 379264/4197575, 379278/4197515, 379069/4197584, 379075/4197534, 379054/4197522, 378974/4197510, 378898/4197476, 378845/4197494, 378787/4197596, 378800/4197695
Description	The area shows three distinct levels (Figs. 6.6–6.14): the summit of the hill, the plateau to its northwest, and a much lower plateau to the east. The lower, eastern plateau has three terraces, marked by two terrace walls.
Vegetation	On the upper plateau, pear trees and uncultivated fields. On the lower plateau, almond trees and uncultivated fields.
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Plowing on the upper plateau, and construction of a large private house
Surface Area	55,000 m^2
Water Source	None on site. Aqueducts brought water from two springs: one near the monastery of Lechova, and the other at Anavara of Bozika.
Structures	(1) Rectangular cistern, cut into the bedrock and lined with mortar, to the southwest of the fort, at 378898/4197585; dimensions: 1.3 × 0.92 m, visible depth: 0.9 m. (2) Northwest of the fort, rectangular building, 7.62 × 5.2 m, built of rubble and mortar, oriented northwest–southeast, and preserved 0.86–0.88 m above ground level. GPS readings: 378877/4197697 (N corner), 378873/4197690 (W corner), 378876/4197687 (S corner), 378881/4197693 (E corner). (3) The site of the Roman bath excavated by Krystalli-Votsi is today marked by a hollow in the ground and a stretch of a thick rubble, brick, and mortar wall at 378904/4197606. (4) On the lower (eastern) terrace, wall of ashlar conglomerate blocks forming a corner, and oriented east–west (Fig. 6.14). Dimensions: preserved west side: 7 m; visible south side: 18.1 m. Max. visible height corresponding to three courses: 1.5 m. GPS readings: 379240/4197558 (W visible end), 379239/4197551 (SW corner), 379251/4197557 (SE visible corner).

(5) Remains of a rubble and mortar construction along the cut of the country road that leads to the cemetery of Titane at 378928/4197558

(6) Road carved out of the bedrock on the eastern side of Agios Tryphon (378843/4197628). Visible stretch: ca. 57 m. Wheel-ruts observed in four places (Figs. 3.36–3.39). Gauge of 1.45 m; depth of ruts: 0.03–0.30 m; average width of ruts: 0.1 m. A single wheel-rut is also visible to the southwest of the hill.

(7) Traces of ancient quarrying on the limestone outcrops to the east and the west of the acropolis (Fig. 4.53)

Arch. Frags. (1) Ashlar rectangular block placed outside the church of Agios Tryphon. It measures 1.07 × 0.31 × 0.35 m and preserves a T-shaped clamp cutting (Fig. 6.12).

(2) Fragments of a Roman wall (in *opus testaceum*) are preserved at the west edge of the plateau at 378862/4197594.

Tiles Fragments of Lakonian tiles on the western terrace. On the eastern terrace, two Corinthian pan tiles, and many Late Roman–Byzantine tiles.

Pottery Given the limited visibility, density is high, but pottery is in poor state of preservation.

Upper level: fine pottery, small vases for the most part; a few Mycenaean (LH II–III) red burnished; a number of Geometric skyphos fragments, and a Late Geometric krater (Fig. 5.24:c); an Attic imported skyphos and an oinochoe neck amidst many black- or brown-black-glazed sherds from drinking cups; Roman red wares including one African red slip; one mid-12th-century green and brown painted base; two early modern green-glazed pieces (Didymoteicho ware); few pieces of coarse ware, including a Late Antique amphora lid and a Medieval cooking pot (10th century?).

West terrace: mostly fine pottery with a LH IIIB deep bowl, a few fragments of mugs and kraters (e.g., Fig. 5.19:h), possibly a LH III angular alabastron, and an unpainted goblet stem (LH II?); one Geometric cup and a few more Geometric sherds, a late-6th-century kotyle rim, black- and brown-black-glazed sherds, and a few coarse ware including a disk foot.

East terrace: mostly coarse pottery including a Roman round-mouth pitcher base and pedestal krater, a 5th-century table amphora rim (Fig. 5.50:c), and a few 11th–12th-century stew pots. Notable finds here are a late-10th- or 11th-century chafing dish (Fig. 5.58:a), and probably a Byzantine pithos lid with animal motif (Fig. 5.57, top middle; found at 379113/4197572).

Other *Upper level:* fragment of the right arm of an under-life-size marble statue, possibly Roman; one conical stamped loomweight of the 5th century B.C.; piece of green glass.

East terrace: trapetum mortarium to the north of the hill, at 379155/4197570 (Fig. 1.18); dimensions: Diam. 1.5, p.H. 0.8, D. (inner) 0.23 m. Two pieces of blue glass, one possibly from a beaker (Roman?), the second from a Middle Byzantine glass bracelet.

Chronology	Mycenaean (mainly LH III), GEOMETRIC, ARCHAIC, CLASSICAL, Hellenistic?, Roman, Late Roman, Middle Byzantine, early modern (18th–19th century)
Site Function	Sanctuary and surrounding settlement
Observations	The Geometric sherds were for the most part found at the abrupt south side of the hill, probably coming from the summit. On the west terrace, the pottery is exceptionally good with only a few plain sherds. On the contrary, the east (lower) terrace has inferior pottery with the exception of the glass pieces found here. The building has the "right" orientation for a temple. Hope Simpson reports a few EH sherds from Titane, and Meyer noted Hellenistic and Roman pottery from the site. Below the Roman bath complex, Krystalli-Votsi mentions a MH layer. We were unable to identify anything that was Early/Middle Helladic or Hellenistic in date. We spotted one of the two aqueducts that brought water to the site along the cut of a dirt road leading from Titane to Lechova (378072/4198234, elev. ca. 750 masl; the place is locally called Bota): a terracotta pipe of cylindrical section, 0.14 m in diameter. Another terracotta pipe of similar section carrying water from Anavara to Titane is allegedly visible at "Prenia." A second *trapetum mortarium* lies upside down ca. 400 m northwest of the sanctuary at 378644/4197923 (elev. 618 masl).
References	*IG* IV 436; Ross 1840, pp. 26–27; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 501; Rangabé 1857, pp. 406–407; Martha 1879, pp. 192–193; Guides-Joanne 1891, pp. 393–394; Meyer 1939, pp. 13–16; Roux 1958, pp. 158–159; Pharaklas 1971, site 151 (app. II, p. 15); Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 68, no. A73; Krystalli-Votsi 1983.

Site No.	HS-68
Location	Titane, Tsouka 2
Elevation	760 masl
Coordinates	377909/4198192, 377892/4198184, 377902/4198233, 377951/4198239
Description	Plateau with slight gradient
Vegetation	Abandoned field and vineyards
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	The abandoned field was once deeply plowed, but has overgrown since. Country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	1,700 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.025–0.03 m), mostly pan tiles and a few cover tiles that show semicircular grooves on both top and bottom (e.g., Figs. II.11:a, b, II.12).
Pottery	Low density; poorly preserved. With the exception of one black-glazed sherd of poor quality, the rest consists of plain and coarse ware: neck and rim of a Niederbieber amphora (5th–6th century; Fig. 5.50:a) and a rim of a late-6th-century cooking pot.
Other	None

Chronology	Pre-Roman, LATE ROMAN (5th–6th century)
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	The rarity of pottery may indicate that the structures located here served as temporary shelters.
References	None

Site No.	HS-69
Location	Titane, Tsouka 1
Elevation	840 masl
Coordinates	378040/4198842
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Less than 500 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few Lakonian pan tiles with brown glaze (Th. 0.024 m)
Pottery	Very low density; badly preserved. Mostly plain sherds and only one black-glazed, probably from an Attic plate. Fragment of a small pithos.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Small country shelter
Observations	The site lies 600 m north of Tsouka 2 (HS-68).
References	None

Site No.	HS-70
Location	Titane, Kardikia
Elevation	486 masl
Coordinates	379055/4196968, 379041/4196921, 378996/4196923, 378968/4196960, 379008/4196994
Description	Plateau falling gently toward the southeast (Asopos valley)
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few olive trees
Visibility	2–3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	4,000 m^2
Water Source	A small fountain near the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Many irregular stones, some with a dressed surface: 378990/4196976
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles, one possibly with glaze, and another with concentric finger grooves
Pottery	Low density; poorly preserved. A few Roman sherds with red slip, and Late Roman coarse ware including cooking ware.
Other	Some brick fragments
Chronology	Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Farmstead

Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-71
Location	Titane, Kinetta
Elevation	484 masl
Coordinates	379397/4197283, 379442/4197268, 379472/4197252, 379428/4197189, 379390/4197218
Description	Plateau to the southeast of Agios Tryphon
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing over part of the plateau to a depth of 0.4 m
Surface Area	4,500 m^2
Water Source	Abundant springs in situ
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many Lakonian pan tiles and a few cover tiles poorly preserved (Th. 0.02–0.025 m). Some have concentric finger grooves.
Pottery	Moderate to high density, in poor state of preservation. Two black-glazed sherds, one from a kotyle; many Late Roman and Byzantine ribbed coarse-ware fragments; one 12th-century cream glazed plate fragment, and one 12th-century incised sgrafitto ware; one 19th-century plate imitating Italian majolica, and another early modern plate.
Other	A piece of glass stemmed goblet, of greenish color, possibly of the 5th–6th century
Chronology	Pre-Roman, LATE ROMAN, Middle Byzantine, early modern
Site Function	Hamlet
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-72
Location	Titane, Agioi Taxiarches
Elevation	424 masl
Coordinates	379893/4197310, 379946/4197231, 379930/4197179, 379896/4197207, 379898/4197238, 379888/4197261, 379860/4197314, 379869/4197327
Description	Slope falling gently to the east
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	2–3
Alteration	Plowing; country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	5,000 m^2
Water Source	Small fountain in situ
Structures	Two terrace walls, probably both modern, which incorporate ancient stones. First wall (higher, oriented NW–SE, and certainly modern): 379889/4197271 (S end), 379869/4197314 (N end); L. ca. 48 m. Second wall (lower, oriented N–S): 379907/4197237 (S end), 379906/4197282 (N end); L. ca. 45 m.
Arch. Frags.	Irregular but dressed stone blocks reused in modern terrace walls

Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m), a few with brown and black wash. One cover tile with narrow grooves.
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery, in poor state of preservation. Many black-glazed body sherds, and a skyphos rim.
Other	A 6th–early-5th-century B.C. loomweight. Masses of fired and vitrified clay.
Chronology	Archaic, CLASSICAL, Late Antique (based on tiles)
Site Function	Hamlet
Observations	The center of the site (based on pottery concentration and discarded stone blocks) seems to be at 379931/4197228.
References	None

Site No.	HS-73
Location	Titane, Agios Panteleimon
Elevation	380–400 masl
Coordinates	379590/4196657, 379542/4196743, 379538/4196775, 379566/4196786, 379584/4196786, 379664/4196742, 379656/4196705
Description	Slope falling to the east
Vegetation	Olive trees and a few vineyards
Visibility	3–4
Alteration	Plowing and opening of a country road
Surface Area	10,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Brick and mortar masonry at the cut of the country road, possibly a grave
Arch. Frags.	Ancient stones built into a modern terrace wall
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles, two of which have brown glaze (Th. 0.02 m), and one Medieval
Pottery	Moderate density of pottery, very poorly preserved. Very few fine sherds including one Classical black-glazed base, and a Megarian bowl. Abundant plain and coarse ware: a Hellenistic mortar (Fig. 5.43:e), an Early Roman thin-walled pitcher, a LR Amphora 2 mouth and a few Late Antique ribbed body sherds; one green-glazed (early modern?) sherd; some pithos fragments.
Other	One stone grinder
Chronology	Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Pottery concentration in a recently planted olive grove at 379635/4196721. Possibly cist graves around the cemetery of Agios Panteleimon.
References	None

Site No.	HS-74
Location	Titane, Sesi 1 (Kokoretsa)
Elevation	318 masl
Coordinates	380365/4196290, 380358/4196252, 380337/4196236, 380290/4196212, 380244/4196245, 380248/4196279, 380286/4196308
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees

Visibility	2–3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	8,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles of two kinds: the first 0.017–0.02 m thick, and the second 0.025–0.03 m thick. One tile of the first kind has traces of brown glaze.
Pottery	High density, in poor state of preservation. Exclusively plain and coarse ware. Cooking and storage vessels: a lid of a Roman amphora, a 3rd–4th century casserole rim, a few Late Antique ribbed body sherds and pithos fragments; one early modern Italian majolica.
Other	Stone of ellipsoidal shape, ca. 0.5 m in diameter, most likely an olive press weight (Fig. 1.21)
Chronology	Pre-Roman, LATE ROMAN, early modern
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	Concentrations of roof tiles at 380279/4196412 and 380326/4196361. Locals reported that many millstones were found in this area.
References	None

Site No.	HS-75
Location	Titane, Sesi 2
Elevation	322 masl
Coordinates	380875/4196319
Description	Plateau, at the northeast edge of Sesi
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Perhaps an ashlar block partially buried in the olive grove
Tiles	Very few fragments
Pottery	Very low density. Black-glazed handle (of a kotyle?).
Other	One 6th- or early-5th-century B.C. conical loomweight
Chronology	Archaic
Site Function	Single structure
Observations	The site is 510 m away from Sesi 1 (HS-74).
References	None

Site No.	HS-76
Location	Titane, Sesi 3
Elevation	310 masl
Coordinates	380625/4196342
Description	Plateau falling gently to the southeast
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards

Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Three ashlar blocks, two intact and one fragmentary. Dimensions of complete blocks: 0.56 × 0.4 × 0.16 m; 0.6 × 0.4 × 0.16 m. They clearly belong to the same structure.
Tiles	Few fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with brown glaze
Pottery	Low density, of very worn pottery. One black-glazed and one brown-black-glazed sherd.
Other	Fragment of a stone grinder
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Isolated structure
Observations	The site is 270 m northeast of Sesi 1 (HS-74).
References	None

Site No.	HS-77
Location	Titane, Ampidia
Elevation	316 masl
Coordinates	3808984/4196659
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	2,000 m^2
Water Source	Vromovrysi (380721/4196602), ca. 250 m west of the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Rubble stones piled up along the edges of the olive grove
Tiles	Very few Lakonian pan tiles, one Corinthian pan tile (Figs. II.7, II.8), and many modern roof tiles
Pottery	A few sherds, two appear to be ancient. One pithos rim.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, modern
Site Function	Ancient and early modern agricultural shack
Observations	The handful of ancient roof tiles may be due to their reuse in the modern structure.
References	None

Site No.	HS-78
Location	Titane, Kaisariotika
Elevation	275–285 masl
Coordinates	380981/4196672, 381021/4196678, 381043/4196646, 381026/4196625, 380978/4196642
Description	Slope falling sharply to the east (towards the Asopos valley)
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing and piling of stones and tiles along the boundaries of the fields. Two country roads cross the site.

Surface area	2,400 m^2
Water Source	Vromovrysi (380721/4196602), ca. 250 m west of the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many Lakonian pan tiles, with grooves on both sides (Th. 0.019–0.025 m).
Pottery	Low density, poor preservation. One combed body sherd; pithos rims.
Other	Brick fragments. Allegedly a millstone once existed here.
Chronology	Late Antique
Site Function	Agricultural installation
Observations	At the cut of the country road the tile layer lies 0.48–1.2 m below ground level.
References	None

Site No.	HS-79
Location	Titane, Arakata
Elevation	624 masl
Coordinates	378431/4197733, 378414/4197725, 378375/4197756, 378416/4197783, 378448/4197734
Description	Plateau with minor gradient
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	2
Alteration	Plowing. The asphalt road from Souli to Nemea crosses the site.
Surface Area	2,100 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.022–0.026 m), one with grooves on the top surface
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery, poorly preserved. Only coarse ware, including some Late Antique ribbed body sherds, and a fragment of LR Amphora 2. Pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Late Roman
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-80
Location	Bozika, Karoumpalo
Elevation	767 masl
Coordinates	377439/4197865, 377458/4197880, 377478/4197792, 377491/4197766, 377490/4197717, 377458/4197704, 377443/4197724, 377426/4197737, 377425/4197793, 377439/4197828
Description	Plateau with steep south and east sides
Vegetation	Vineyards and a few uncultivated fields
Visibility	1

Alteration	Plowing and surface grading by less than a meter. Sherds, tiles, and rubble piled along the dirt road.
Surface Area	7,400 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Tower or small fort at the southern edge of plateau (DS-17)
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	In the vineyard, some fragments of Lakonian pan tiles, 0.01–0.016 m thick, one with brown glaze, and many fragments 0.015–0.02 m thick without glaze
Pottery	Low density, very poorly preserved. In the abandoned (and overgrown) fields we were not able to see anything. Elsewhere mostly coarse ware, including a 5th-century A.D. cooking pot, and a few Late Antique ribbed body sherds. One Grottaglie ware, and one early modern green-glazed sherd. A few pithos fragments.
Other	Brick fragments in the vineyard, 0.03 m thick.
Chronology	LATE ROMAN, early modern
Site Function	Agricultural installation
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-81
Location	Bozika, Anavara
Elevation	ca. 800 masl
Coordinates	376908/4197819
Description	Slope falling considerably toward the east-southeast
Vegetation	A few vineyards and many abandoned fields
Visibility	2 in the vineyard
Alteration	Slope landscaped by artificial terraces
Surface Area	Less than 100 m^2
Water Source	Anavara: 376875/4197977
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Some roof tiles in the vineyard
Pottery	Moderate density, mostly coarse fragments poorly preserved. Fragment of a Medieval (12th century?) white-glazed dish.
Other	None
Chronology	Middle Byzantine
Site Function	Cemetery
Observations	Cist graves reported from the area. The graves were allegedly built with bricks, and some contained more than one skeleton.
References	None

Site No.	HS-82
Location	Kephalari, ?
Elevation	900 masl
Coordinates	371889/4196454
Description	Slope falling gently to the north
Vegetation	Uncultivated



Figure I.4. Relief pithos fragments at HS-82, near Kephalari

Visibility	4
Alteration	Surface graded by ca. 1.5 m
Surface Area	400 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles, some with red, brown, and black streaky glaze (Th. 0.017–0.02 m). One Corinthian pan tile.
Pottery	High density, in good state of preservation. One black-glazed sherd. Many fragments of relief pithoi, 0.026–0.04 m thick, decorated with raised linear or wavy bands (Fig. I.4).
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Small installation for storage use or cemetery?
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-83
Location	Klimenti, Machamouti
Elevation	810 masl
Coordinates	375850/4203773, 375816/4203801, 375858/4203840, 375920/4203812
Description	Slope falling considerably to the southeast (toward the *kampos*)
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Surface graded by ca. 3 m for cultivation purposes
Surface Area	3,500 m^2
Water Source	Directly above the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	According to tradition, structural blocks were swept away by the bulldozer.

Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.02–0.026 m), one with wavy finger grooves
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery, badly preserved. All coarse ware, including Late Antique ribbed body sherds and a round-mouth pitcher base.
Other	None
Chronology	Roman, Late Antique
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	An early modern seasonal shelter (*kalyvi*) stands to the south of the site.
References	None

Site No.	HS-84
Location	Kaisari, Chasnathi
Elevation	725–740 masl
Coordinates	374954/4201902, 379412/4201962, 374919/4201988, 374960/4201977, 375025/4201998, 375037/4201973, 375101/4201924, 375025/4201869, 374940/4201839
Description	Slope falling to the southeast (as far down as the valley)
Vegetation	Vineyards and an uncultivated area with oak trees and weeds
Visibility	3 in the vineyards, 1 elsewhere
Alteration	In the vineyards, surface has been graded by over 1 m and the ancient remains were pushed to the edges. The asphalt road from Kiato to Stymphalos crosses the site.
Surface Area	16,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Structure built with mortar, tiles, and rubble at 375001/4201960. Shape and function are impossible to determine.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles and concave cover tiles. Some of these tiles show wavy and concentric finger grooves on their top surface.
Pottery	Moderate density, very worn. Only plain and coarse ware, including a shallow bowl, an Early Roman basin, ribbed body sherds, a Roman round-mouth pitcher rim (1st–3rd century), a rim of a 3rd–4th-century cooking pot, one LR Amphora 2, and one early modern sherd. A few pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-85
Location	Souli, ?
Elevation	290 masl
Coordinates	385118/4204842
Description	Plateau bound by the Asopos gully to the south and the east
Vegetation	Olive trees

Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Irregular stone blocks piled at the edge of the grove
Tiles	Few fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with dark brown glaze (Th. 0.014–0.018 m)
Pottery	Very low density, in fair state of preservation: a red-glazed late-5th-century skyphos and coarse amphora handles.
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Temporary isolated structure
Observations	Similar structures must have existed in other isolated places in the Sikyon area, and probably served as temporary shelters for shepherds or farmers.
References	None

Site No.	HS-86
Location	Stylia, Paliochori
Elevation	550 masl
Coordinates	375483/4207852, 375463/4207877, 375457/4207923, 375500/4207953, 375533/4207935, 375539/4207913
Description	Slope falling considerably to the northeast
Vegetation	Some abandoned fields and olive trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Earthen terraces, 1–2 m deep, and opening of a dirt pass by bulldozer
Surface Area	5,000 m^2
Water Source	Fountain above the site
Structures	(1) Three terrace walls, one above the other: (a) Terrace wall apparently ancient, of northwest–southeast orientation, and 8.7 m long at 375476/4207873 (Fig. 5.38). It is built of irregular trapezoidal masonry and preserves two courses, 0.55 m high, 0.75–0.8 m long, 0.4 m wide. (b) Terrace wall ca. 25 m lower than the previous one, oriented northwest–southeast, ca. 10 m long, at 375504/4207915. The two lower courses seem to be in situ, but the superstructure is certainly modern. (c) Terrace wall ca. 8 m lower than the previous one, oriented northwest–southeast, ca. 20 m long, at 375516/4207945. It is built with irregular trapezoidal stones and could also be ancient. (2) House walls to the east of the deep *rema* at 375542/4207914. They were discovered after the fire of 2000. The remains extend over five levels, but mapping is difficult due to the vegetation. One room clearly emerges, 11 × 5 m. Its walls, 0.75 m thick, are built with two parallel courses of field stones without mortar (Fig. 5.69). The entrance to one of these rooms is 0.75 m wide.
Arch. Frags.	None

Tiles	Few fragments of ancient Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.014–0.026 m). Two post-antique Lakonian tiles with finger grooves.
Pottery	Almost no pottery. One kotyle body sherd burnt in the recent fire, and one early modern sherd.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman (Classical?), early modern
Site Function	Temporary shelters for agricultural use
Observations	Based on the absence of pottery, we conclude that the terraces were agricultural in nature. On the basis of the toponym, one is tempted to identify the site with "Stylia" of the Nani Archive.
References	None

Site No.	HS-87
Location	Stylia, Frangoklisi
Elevation	ca. 500 masl
Coordinates	374746/4208617, 374754/4208638, 374784/4208661, 374819/4208617, 374793/4208600
Description	Slope falling considerably toward the northeast
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	2
Alteration	Surface graded by ca. 1.5 m in the vineyard. Two country roads cross the site.
Surface Area	2,400 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Remains of a structure with a central vault in its northwest wall built with bricks, mortar, and rubble at 374780/4208601 (ratio brick/mortar: 3.5/2.8, 3.4/2.3; Fig. 5.67). W. 5.8, max. visible H. 2.2, W. of vault 1.8, Th. of walls 0.6 m. Part of the structure, oriented southeast–northwest, was destroyed by a bulldozer so that its original length cannot be determined. Its masonry indicates two phases; the vault belongs to the original phase.
Arch. Frags.	Ancient worked blocks in a pile at 374752/4208632. Dimensions: (1) 0.4 × 0.75 × 0.4 m; (2) 0.6 × 0.45 × 0.32 m; (3) 0.63 × 0.47 × 0.32 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles, some ancient (one with black glaze), some Late Roman (Th. 0.017–0.029 m)
Pottery	Very small amount of fire-damaged coarse pottery: one LR Amphora 2 ware, a few ribbed body sherds, and an almost complete Grottaglie plate (Fig. 5.66) below the church.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Late Roman/Early Byzantine, Ottoman, early modern
Site Function	Isolated ancient building; Ottoman secular building (cistern?)
Observations	The "Frankish church" stood at the highest point of the site.
References	None

Site No.	HS-88
Location	Stylia, Leriza

Elevation	ca. 420 masl
Coordinates	373609/4207938
Description	Slope falling rather steeply to the north (toward the Sythas River)
Vegetation	Fallow
Visibility	1
Alteration	Country road leading to the riverbed crosses the site.
Surface Area	Unknown
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Two cist graves at 373609/4207938, covered with conglomerate slabs, 1 m wide, 0.15 and 0.25 m thick. A possible third grave is discernible at the cut of the country road (at 373648/4207953).
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian type pan and cover tiles (Th. 0.014–0.024 m), with wavy or straight finger grooves on their top surface (e.g., Figs. II.17:a, II.18)
Pottery	Almost no pottery, except for a late-5th-century black-glazed kotyle base, found ca. 230 m northwest of the graves, a rim of a Classical stew pot (Fig. 5.30:i), and one ribbed body sherd
Other	None
Chronology	Classical, Late Roman/Medieval?
Site Function	Cemetery
Observations	According to tradition, the graves lay along the old path that led to the Sythas River. The tiles may have been used as grave covers.
References	None

Site No.	HS-89
Location	Stylia, Dragata
Elevation	400 masl
Coordinates	373250/4207348, 373238/4207307, 373198/4207297, 373184/4207309, 373186/4207348, 373218/4207377
Description	Terrace with abrupt west and north sides, and very steep on the east side
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	3,800 m^2
Water Source	Aqueduct brought water to the installation. Small springs near the site.
Structures	(1) Structure built with rubble, bricks, and mortar and only partially visible due to the vegetation. A wall oriented northwest–southeast, 39.5 m of visible length, blocks the northeastern side of the plateau. Northwest end: 373224/4207373; southeast (visible) end: 373252/4207346. Two parallel walls, 1.6 m apart and 0.45 m thick, abut the main wall. A vaulted terracotta water channel (W. 0.5, H. 0.65 m) cuts through the wall (Fig. 5.47). Ratio brick/mortar: ca. 1:1. Interior lined with hydraulic mortar. (2) Wall made of brick, rubble, and mortar runs parallel to and at a distance of 30 m from Wall 1: 373218/4207336 (NW end), 373231/4207325 (SE end). Approximate length: 17 m.

	(3) Corner of a structure made of rubble and mortar at 373203/4207343. The wall is 0.45 m thick.
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks, probably ancient, in a dry stone wall at 373296/4207353. Another ashlar block (1.1 × 0.42 × 0.42 m) at 373203/4207343.
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles (Th. 0.02–0.027 m), probably Roman/Late Roman
Pottery	Very few sherds, in fair state of preservation: an imitation of Eastern Sigillata B (Hayes form 60: late 1st/2nd century A.D.), an Early Roman pitcher (2nd century; Fig. 5.46:e), and ribbed body sherds.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on the ashlar blocks), MIDDLE ROMAN (1st–2nd century)
Site Function	Sturdy installation with thick wall and interior structures. A fort?
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-90
Location	Stylia, Kotroni
Elevation	360 masl
Coordinates	373192/4207744, 373175/4207710, 373193/4207681, 373209/4207695
Description	Relatively low but prominent hill
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	West slope of the hill graded by several meters. The other slopes have been subjected to plowing.
Surface Area	1,100 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Probable terrace wall rather roughly built with irregular trapezoidal masonry along the west side of the flat summit of the hill (373193/4207725). It can be followed for a distance of 10 m. A similar wall can be seen along the east side of the plateau.
Arch. Frags.	(1) Ancient ashlar block on the south slope of the hill at 373168/4207612: 0.87 × 0.44 × 0.45 m. (2) Ancient conglomerate blocks at 373170/4207613 (3) Two ashlar blocks of sandstone on the flat summit of the hill (373179/4207733): 0.84 × 0.42 × 0.41 m. (4) Concentration of ancient stones and tiles at 378186/4207608 (5) Worked stones in a retaining wall at 373184/4207690 (6) Ancient stones lying on the east slope of the hill
Tiles	Many fragments of tiles piled along the field boundaries: concave pan tiles (Th. 0.014–0.029 m) and convex cover tiles (Th. 0.019–0.02 m) with shallow grooves on their top surface. Also two Lakonian pan tiles with glaze.
Pottery	Low-density scatter, only plain and undiagnostic
Other	Conglomerate millstone at 373166/4207578 (Diam. of *mortarium* 1.8, D. 0.24 m). Three joining fragments of rectangular conglomerate press bed at 373216/4207637 (1.1 × 1.3 m, Fig. 1.19).

Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on the ashlar blocks), Late Roman
Site Function	Conceivably a fort in antiquity, and an agricultural installation in Late Roman times
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-91
Location	Manna, Agios Panteleimon
Elevation	550 masl
Coordinates	368096/4204485, 368082/4204457, 368065/4204437, 368053/4204501
Description	Slope falling gently to the north
Vegetation	Apple trees and vineyards
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Deep plowing and country road through the site
Surface Area	1,400 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Fragments of masonry in *opus testaceum* (ratio brick/mortar: 1:1); irregular structural blocks.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with coarse undersides (Th. 0.015–0.024 m). One has finger grooves on the underside, another one bears traces of slip.
Pottery	Very low scatter, only coarse body sherds; nothing readily diagnostic.
Other	Many bricks
Chronology	Medieval (based on masonry fragments and tiles)
Site Function	A building in *opus testaceum*
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-92
Location	Stylia, Pyrgouthi
Elevation	ca. 350 masl
Coordinates	372981/4207743
Description	East slope of Pyrgouthi, landscaped in terraces
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Artificial terraces and country road above the site
Surface Area	Less than 500 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Irregular blocks, probably structural, built in modern terraces at 372988/4207702 and 373001/4207726
Tiles	No tiles
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery in fair state of preservation (Fig. 5.17). Much solidly painted, thick-walled EH III pottery, including a bowl or jar and possibly a krater; possibly a LH IIIA2–B stemmed bowl; a few black-glazed sherds, and a red-glazed saucer, probably Hellenistic; some cooking ware.

Other	None
Chronology	EARLY HELLADIC III, Late Helladic III, Geometric, Classical, Hellenistic
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The top of the hill preserves a short stretch of a fortification wall, probably of Classical date (DS-7).
References	None

Site No.	HS-93
Location	Manna, Krya Vrysi
Elevation	480–500 masl
Coordinates	369179/4206507
Description	Slope falling considerably to the north
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	Country road crosses the site. Artificial terraces for the cultivation of olives.
Surface area	Unknown
Water Source	Abundant water in situ
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Many worked irregular stones, probably ancient, built into the terraces
Tiles	Few fragments of Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.021–0.022 m), poorly preserved, with brown and reddish brown glaze
Pottery	Very low density scatter, all plain and coarse; nothing diagnostic.
Other	Fragment of a pyramidal loomweight (Hellenistic/Early Roman). Brick, 0.038 m thick, with incised crosslines.
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on stones and tiles), modern
Site Function	*Kalyvia* in modern times, perhaps also in antiquity?
Observations	Just as in Ano Bathiza and Valathra of Kryoneri (HS-66 and HS-52), or in Sesi 3 of Titane (HS-76), it is difficult to define the extent of the site because the tiles and the stone blocks are in secondary use.
References	None

Site No.	HS-94
Location	Kryoneri, Kato Bathiza 2
Elevation	276 masl
Coordinates	383558/4200653
Description	Small natural terrace falling gently to the east
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Bulldozed stretch of the hillside to a depth of ca. 1 m
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Some Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.015 m) with brown streaky and red glaze.

Pottery	A few sherds concentrated in a small area: one black-glazed, an amphora toe, and one LR coarse vessel (6th century). Pithos fragment decorated with raised bands. Rim of a coarse amphora.
Other	Fragment of an olive press weight, of oval shape (Diam. ca. 0.55, Th. 0.20 m). One mortar fragment and part of a clay cylindrical pipe.
Chronology	Classical, Late Roman (6th century)
Site Function	Agricultural installation
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-95
Location	Stylia, Klisi-Boukoura (Panagia)
Elevation	735 masl
Coordinates	372999/4205146, 372949/4205164, 373002/4205215, 373028/4205198
Description	Plateau with abrupt north and west sides
Vegetation	Vineyards and some abandoned fields
Visibility	3 in the vineyard, 0–1 over the remainder of the site
Alteration	Deep plowing; country road crosses the site.
Surface area	3,000 m^2
Water Source	Small fountain in situ
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Remains of a wall made of bricks and mortar (ratio 1:1) at 373018/4205199. Possibly also remains of an arch. The bricks measure 0.29 × 0.27 m (Th. 0.033–0.036 m).
Tiles	Many tiles in moderate state of preservation: wide concave pan tiles and fewer cover tiles. They show wavy grooves on their top surface, and concentric grooves on their underside (Th. 0.020–0.025 m). Also, two ancient Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.020–0.022 m).
Pottery	Very few pottery fragments; almost entirely large storage vessels, including a 3rd/4th-century round-mouth pitcher rim, and a Late Roman amphora (Niederbieber 77).
Other	Spolia of an Early Christian church rebuilt in the church of Panagia. Until recently, two reworked column bases and an ashlar block with a dowel hole lay in the courtyard of the church, but they are no longer visible.
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on the architectural fragments and the tiles), Late Roman (3rd–4th century)
Site Function	Church and ancillary buildings; temple in antiquity?
Observations	Ca. 60 m southwest of the site stands Panagia or Klisi-Boukoura. The column bases must have originally belonged to an Early Byzantine church. Not far from this site, a piece of a marble hand was found in the apricot grove of Angelos Bastiras (373125/4205836), and is kept in the storeroom of his property.
References	None

Site No.	HS-96
Location	Kryoneri, Kato Bathiza 3

Elevation	317 masl
Coordinates	383178/4200489, 383168/4200516, 383203/4200578, 383260/4200532
Description	Hillside descending to the northeast
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3, except for the southeast part of the site, which is uncultivated
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	ca. 4,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Terrace wall made of irregular trapezoidal masonry (date?)
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian tiles, some with glaze
Pottery	Moderate density, mostly cooking wares and large vessels: one black-glazed skyphos, a Classical lekane, a 3rd-century B.C. casserole, two Early/Middle Roman rims, one LR Amphora 2 body sherd, a Middle Byzantine amphora, a 12th-century rim, a post-Byzantine pitcher handle. Pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Classical, Hellenistic (early), Roman, Late Roman, Middle Byzantine, post-Medieval
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	The hillside of Bathiza forms four natural terraces toward the Asopos riverbed.
References	None

Site No.	HS-97
Location	Kamari, Taratses
Elevation	100 masl
Coordinates	373995/4216612, 374121/4216714, 374221/4216710, 374265/4216601, 374268/4216575, 374233/4216524, 374338/4216497, 374392/4216422, 374263/4216262, 374157/4216222, 374090/4216276, 374017/4216251, 373940/4216319
Description	Plateau falling gently to the northeast
Vegetation	Lemon trees, pine trees, olive-tree nurseries, a few vineyards
Visibility	Varies, on average 1–2
Alteration	Many country roads cross the plateau. Some recent summer houses. Surface graded by several meters close to the north edge, as well as along the south side of the plateau.
Surface Area	140,000 m^2
Water Source	Fountain located at "Chani," more than a kilometer east of the site. Apparently the town was watered by wells/cisterns, four of which I have located (though I have coordinates for only two; see below).
Structures	(1) Cistern at 374227/4216538 (2) Well at 374335/4216486 (3) Three aligned stone blocks, most likely in situ, along a road cut at 374162/4216283 (4) Wall of northwest–southeast orientation, 20 m long, parallel to a country road (Fig. 5.40). It consists of two overlapping

rows of stone blocks, 0.95 m of visible height. Northwest end: 374122/4216320, southeast end: 374137/4216307.

Arch. Frags. (1) Limestone ashlar block at 374240/4216535. Dimensions: 1.19 × 0.55 × 0.27 m.
(2) Conglomerate ashlar block in a stone cairn at 374225/4216547. Dimensions: 1.4 × 0.76 × 0.44 m.
(3) Conglomerate ashlar block at 374187/4216494
(4) Ashlar block at 374172/4216541; dimensions: 0.57 × 0.46 × 0.36 m.
(5) Ashlar block at 374133/4216454
(6) Ashlar block at 374074/4216562; visible dimensions: 0.88 × 0.55 × 0.35 m.
(7) Ashlar block at 374082/4216518; visible dimensions: 1.17 × 0.6 × 0.35 m.
(8) Many dressed stones displaced by a bulldozer during road construction at 374102/4216391. Characteristic dimensions: 0.85 × 0.6 × 0.45 m.
(9) Ashlar block with rebate at 374192/4216403
(10) Ashlar block with rebate at 374269/4216484
(11) Ashlar block at 374324/4216495
(12) Ashlar block at 374196/4216296
(13) Fragment of an ashlar block with rebate and a rectangular socket at 374134/4216923; dimensions: 0.47 × 0.27 × 0.13 m. I observed a similar stone at the northeast edge of the site, but I could not find it again in summer 2002; dimensions: 0.46 × 0.8 × 0.2 m, with a rectangular socket 0.08 × 0.09 m (0.07 m deep).
(14) Ashlar block at 374141/4216305; dimensions: 0.92 × 0.63 × 0.25 m.
(15) Pile of conglomerate ashlar blocks at 374117/4216347; characteristic dimensions: 0.73 × 0.55 × 0.42 m.

Tiles Large quantity of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012–0.029 m, with the majority 0.012–0.017 m). Almost all show black, brown, reddish brown, or orange streaky glaze. The cover tiles are usually 0.024 m thick. Two fragments of Corinthian cover tiles, 0.03 and 0.039 m thick, and a fragment from an eaves tile.

Pottery High-density scatter despite the limited visibility; good state of preservation. Large quantity of fine pottery: a neck of a Late Geometric/Protocorinthian oinochoe, a Geometric/Archaic cup handle, three Attic kraters decorated with meander pattern, two Attic convex saucers (e.g., Fig. 5.30:f), a red-figured krater depicting an anthemion (late 5th century), 5th-century kylikes, kotylai, bowls, one blister-ware fragment (5th–4th century), and one kantharos base; a pre-Roman lekane rim, two LR Amphora 2 fragments, and ribbed body sherds. Many pithos fragments, including some relief pithoi. Amphora toes including a "Corinthian" B (4th century), a south Aegean (late 4th/early 3rd) and possibly a Knidian (2nd century) type.

Other Many conical loomweights dating from the 4th century (e.g., Fig. 5.30:l), and one pyramidal loomweight. One Classical lamp

	nozzle. Millstone fragments, stone grinders, and one wine- or olive-press weight (cylindrical; Diam. 0.6, H. 0.32 m). Fragments of a terracotta object with grooves (Th. 0.026–0.035 m).
Chronology	Geometric/Archaic, CLASSICAL, Hellenistic, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement: large town
Observations	The ashlar blocks are spread almost throughout the entire site, with the exception of the northern edge. Inside the village of Kamari, Androutsopoulos (1947–1948) reported a dedicatory inscription to Asklepios. Destruction layer along the road cut, 0.4 m below ground level.
References	Koutivas 1962, pp. 56–59. Anderson and Anderson 1975.

Site No.	HS-98
Location	Pasio, Ethniko
Elevation	85 masl
Coordinates	387566/4207022, 387622/4207098, 387715/4207084, 387667/4207019
Description	Plateau with abrupt north, east, and south sides
Vegetation	A few abandoned fields, vineyards, and a few lemon trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing
Surface Area	7,300 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	A few worked stones of rather small dimensions (0.55 × 0.29 × 0.2 m) at 387681/4207097. Irregular stones scattered in the deeply plowed field.
Tiles	At the borders of the site, a few fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m) with brown and reddish brown glaze; also some early modern tiles.
Pottery	High-density scatter of high-quality pottery, in good state of preservation. A couple of matt-painted body sherds ("Adriatic" ware?), and a carinated krater rim, possibly MH; large number of unpainted and linear goblets, kylikes, bowls, jugs, kraters (e.g., Fig. 5.19:a–e, i, j, l, m, o–q); one alabastron; a few Early Mycenaean large storage vessels, cooking pots (e.g., Fig. 5.19:r), and a pithos with finger-impressed plastic band; one ribbed sherd, one black-glazed, one terra sigillata (Fig. 5.46:a), one vitreous glazed, one 12th-century cooking pot.
Other	Two pieces of stalactite. One conical lead weight (Diam. 0.022, H. 0.03 m; Fig. 5.19:s), most likely used for fishing.
Chronology	MH?, MYCENAEAN (LH I–IIIC), pre-Roman, Roman, Medieval (Middle Byzantine)
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-99
Location	Pasio, Magoula
Elevation	ca. 90 masl

Coordinates	387769/4207008
Description	Low hill above Kyrillou *rema*
Vegetation	Apricot trees, lemon trees, and a few olive trees
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Two fountains, to the west (Vromovrysi) and the east (Argyri) of Magoula
Structures	Tower crowning the hill (DS-18)
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	No tiles observed
Pottery	Low-density scatter, poorly preserved: a bowl body sherd with lug handle; two LH III body sherds; Neolithic "husking tray"; possibly a Neolithic pedestal foot.
Other	Large flake of "honey flint"
Chronology	Neolithic, LH III
Site Function	Small installation in the Neolithic period; tower in the Byzantine or Frankish period.
Observations	The site lies 100 m east of Ethniko (HS-98). A Mycenaean (IIIA1–2) jar displayed in the Sikyon Museum comes from the area of Vromovrysi.
References	None

Site No.	HS-100
Location	Pasio, Vromovrysi
Elevation	90 masl
Coordinates	387745/4207401, 387721/4207394, 387719/4207357, 387750/4207292, 387773/4207313
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Lemon trees, olive trees, and a few vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing. Country asphalt road crosses the site.
Surface Area	3,200 m^2
Water Source	Vromovrysi (387470/4207280)
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.024 m), some with brown, red, or black glaze
Pottery	Low-density scatter in fair state of preservation. Mostly coarse ware, rim of an Early Roman jar, and a very few fragments of black-glazed pottery including a late-5th-century skyphos and an ovoid kotyle.
Other	Fragment of a stone grinder
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	A pile of tiles and stones at 387750/4207356 (Fig. II.1). Glazed Lakonian tiles and plain sherds are scattered thinly in the plateau of Pasio as at 387913/4207406, suggesting agricultural activity in the Classical period.
References	None

Site No.	HS-101
Location	Pasio, Kokkinies 1
Elevation	100 masl
Coordinates	387261/4208367, 387032/4208297, 387015/4208369, 387130/4208421, 387252/4208441
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	Varies, 2 on average
Alteration	Plowing and country roads
Surface area	20,000 m^2
Water Source	Close to the northern edge of the plateau
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Pile of ashlar blocks at 387134/4208389. Dimensions of a typical block: 0.75 × 0.43 × 0.22 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012–0.024 m), some with black and brown glaze
Pottery	Low-density scatter, in fair state of preservation. Mostly coarse ware, including cooking pots, two LR Amphora 2 fragments, and one ribbed body sherd. Few fragments of fine ware: one brown-black-glazed rim, and a couple of unglazed fine body sherds.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement of dispersed type (nonnucleated)
Observations	None
References	Pharaklas 1971, sites 41–43? (app. II, pp. 4–5).

Site No.	HS-102
Location	Megali Valtsa, Kaminia 1
Elevation	605–620 masl
Coordinates	380425/4206542, 380436/4206488, 380394/4206460, 380320/4206551, 380357/4206598
Description	Plateau falling gently to the southeast. To the northeast and the southwest it is bound by deep ravines.
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3–4
Alteration	Deep plowing in the higher part of the area. Plowing in the vineyard.
Surface area	8,300 m^2
Water Source	Almost in situ: 380466/4206498
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Many masonry fragments composed of bricks (Th. ca. 0.03 m), tiles, and mortar
Tiles	Lakonian pan and cover tiles, of at least two kinds and periods: (1) ancient, 0.02–0.023 m thick, some with brown, red, and black glaze; and (2) post-antique, thicker tiles, with grooves on the underside. Also some early modern tiles with rough underside.
Pottery	High-density scatter, well preserved. Mostly plain and coarse ware: a Hellenistic mortar (Fig. 5.43:f), a 2nd-century B.C. net-

	pattern bowl (Fig. 5.42, left middle), a Middle Roman round-mouth pitcher base (Fig. 5.46:f), two Early Roman mixing bowls (Fig. 5.46:g, h), one fine terra sigillata fragment, a rim of a Late Roman cooking bowl (Fig. 5.50:d), many late-6th or 7th-century cooking pots (e.g., Fig. 5.50:g–k) and LR Amphora 2 sherds, a few late-6th or 7th-century jars (e.g., Fig. 5.50:n), many Late Roman/Medieval ribbed body sherds; one Late Medieval vitreous glazed sherd (14th–15th century). Some pithos fragments.
Other	One piece of a Roman lamp (Broneer type XVI)
Chronology	Hellenistic, Roman, LATE ROMAN, Medieval
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	None
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 122 (app. II, p. 13).

Site No.	HS-103
Location	Megali Valtsa, Kaminia 2
Elevation	ca. 640 masl
Coordinates	380558/4206403, 380529/4206392, 380495/4206441, 380515/4206456
Description	Slope falling to the southeast (toward a small ravine)
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	4
Alteration	Surface graded by less than a meter in the upper (east) part of the field
Surface area	1,800 m^2
Water Source	Ca. 80 m northwest of the site at 380466/4206498
Structures	Masonry of brick, mortar, and stones can be traced to a length of ca. 16.5 m within the vineyard at 380532/4206444. Thickness of the brick: 0.030–0.035 m.
Arch. Frags.	Bricks throughout the site with traces of mortar
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.02–0.022 m). One tile with black glaze (Th. 0.017 m).
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery, in fair state of preservation. Mostly coarse pottery including one Middle Roman basin, a few LR Amphora 2 sherds, a LR shallow bowl (6th century; Fig. 5.50:m), some Late Antique/Byzantine cooking pots with ribbed bodies, and one Late Antique or Byzantine waster. One piece of a green and brown painted ware (13th century).
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Roman, LATE ROMAN, Frankish
Site Function	Isolated installation
Observations	Kaminia 2 is situated less than 100 m southeast of the previous site. A *rema* separates the two. Perhaps it is in this area that Pharaklas saw a grave covered with slabs.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 123 (app. II, p. 14).

Site No.	HS-104
Location	Megali Valtsa, Agios Nikolaos
Elevation	635 masl

Coordinates	380792/4206651
Description	Summit of a hill with abrupt north and east sides
Vegetation	The summit is uncultivated and overgrown; vineyards surround it.
Visibility	Variable: 0 in the uncultivated part, 3 in the rest.
Alteration	Plowing in the vineyards. A fire has burnt the trees on the summit of the hill.
Surface area	900 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Worked stone to the southwest of the summit at 380817/4206558. Dimensions: 0.63 × 0.42 × 0.23 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.027–0.030 m), some with grooves on the underside
Pottery	Very little pottery, mostly coarse ware including a mouth of a stamnos or pitcher (Hellenistic?) and a Roman(?) cooking pot; a couple of incised sgrafitto ware fragments (13th century).
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Roman, FRANKISH (13th century)
Site Function	Isolated building, most likely a church
Observations	Kaminia 1 and 2 are located ca. 320 m southwest of this site. Pharaklas reported remains of a small church on this site.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 121 (app. II, p. 13).

Site No.	HS-105
Location	Lalioti, Paliampela
Elevation	360 masl
Coordinates	383079/4206982, 383057/4206907, 383037/4206906, 382891/4206953, 382793/4207039, 383048/4207034
Description	Uneven plateau along the Seliandros River
Vegetation	The majority is abandoned and overgrown. The rest has olive trees and a few vineyards.
Visibility	0–1
Alteration	In the olive trees, and more so in the vineyards, the surface was graded by 0.5 to 1 m.
Surface area	24,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Terrace wall consisting of a Γ-shaped row of limestone and conglomerate blocks, 5.3 × 13.1 m, at 383064/4206944, possibly representing a corner of an ancient building. In the summer of 1997, I noticed a freshly and illicitly dug pithos burial (Diam. 0.85, H. 0.7 m), covered by a round flat lid. I was unable to locate it again in 2002.
Arch. Frags.	Worked conglomerate blocks of irregular shape lying in the eastern part of the site. Many conglomerate blocks at 383060/4206928 reused in modern terrace walls.
Tiles	Thin Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.013–0.016 m) with red and black glaze, and some post-Medieval tiles with a rough underside
Pottery	Moderate amount of very worn pottery. A few black-glazed body

	sherds, some of Attic origin; a few unglazed fragments of fine ware, including an Archaic pyxis lid; a 4th-century blister-ware aryballos; rims of late-4th/5th-century and 6th-century A.D. stew pots (e.g., Fig. 5.50:f); and a few LR Amphora 2 sherds; pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Archaic, Classical, Late Roman (4th–6th century A.D.)
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Meyer reports remains of a building and graves with vases and coins, later endorsed by Pharaklas, who assigned them to the Classical and possibly Hellenistic periods.
References	Meyer 1939, pp. 6–7; Pharaklas 1971, site 71 (app. II, p. 10).

Site No.	HS-106
Location	Lalioti, Loutro
Elevation	ca. 410 masl
Coordinates	383316/4208392, 383395/4208470, 383463/4208393, 383457/4208336, 383426/4208309
Description	Plateau falling gently toward the northeast. It is bound by a ravine to the east.
Vegetation	Olive trees, vineyards, and apricot trees
Visibility	Varies, 3 on average
Alteration	Plowing; country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	13,000 m^2
Water Source	In situ (spring of Souphi)
Structures	A cruciform building once stood above the site by the spring (at 383349/4208347; Fig. 1.28). Reported dimensions: 10 × 9 m. Most likely it was a cistern in *opus testaceum*. It was destroyed by a bulldozer sometime during the last two decades.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.02 m), one with grooves on the top surface. Tile fragment with black glaze (Th. 0.014 m).
Pottery	Low-density scatter of coarse ware, poorly preserved. A Roman round-mouth pitcher base (1st–3rd century), a handle of a Roman/Late Roman lid, and a number of LR Amphora 2 sherds; some pithos fragments.
Other	*Mortarium* of a millstone, no longer in situ (Diam. 1.3, H. 0.6 m; Fig. 1.17)
Chronology	Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	From the spring of Souphi, a cylindrical terracotta pipe led water to Ano Diminio.
References	Meyer 1939, p. 6; Pharaklas 1971, site 61 (app. II, p. 7, fig. 43).

Site No.	HS-107
Location	Lalioti, Chalasmata
Elevation	385 masl
Coordinates	383354/4209017

Description	Slope falling to the north
Vegetation	Uncultivated and overgrown
Visibility	1
Alteration	Deep plowing; recent fire.
Surface area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Irregular stones, possibly structural
Tiles	Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.015–0.020 m), with reddish brown and red streaky glaze
Pottery	Very few sherds, worn by fire. Some fine plain sherds, and a few coarse-ware fragments including a handle of a Late Classical/Hellenistic round-mouth pitcher and a rim of a Hellenistic casserole.
Other	One Turkish coin
Chronology	Late Classical/Hellenistic
Site Function	Isolated building (watchtower?)
Observations	The site offers a panoramic view of the coastal plain. Pharaklas described remains of a rectangular building, 10 × 8 m, built with medium-sized stones with no mortar, and of a smaller one, 2.5 × 2.5 m. Both must have been towers, but apparently neither of them survives. Dates assigned by Pharaklas: Archaic to Hellenistic.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 68 (app. II, p. 9, fig. 45).

Site No.	HS-108
Location	Diminio, Koza 1 (“Liotrivia”)
Elevation	ca. 120 masl
Coordinates	384906/4209843, 384968/4209808, 384921/4209743, 384869/4209775
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Uncultivated
Visibility	Varies, 0 in half of it, 3 in the other half, except in a recently plowed field where visibility is 5
Alteration	Deep plowing in one field. Visibility in the recently plowed field (2002) is excellent (Fig. 5.55).
Surface Area	5,200 m^2
Water Source	None on site. A terracotta pipe brought water to this area from Lalioti.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Many ashlar blocks lying around the site of various dimensions (e.g., 0.43 × 0.70 × 0.30 m or 1.00 × 0.72 × 0.40 m). Fragments of masonry with brick and mortar.
Tiles	Many Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.030 m), some with straight grooves and others with concentric grooves. Two tiles, 0.02 and 0.01 m thick, with black glaze.
Pottery	Low-density scatter, of worn pottery. All coarse ware with the exception of one Archaic pyxis lid and a black-glazed body sherd: two LR Amphora 2 fragments, and a rim of a late-6th-century A.D. cooking pot. Many pithos fragments.

Other	Fragment of a coarse column shaft (Diam. 0.35 m), most likely a stone roller used to crush olives
Chronology	Archaic, Late Roman (6th century)
Site Function	Agricultural installation
Observations	According to tradition, a building with large ashlar blocks was located at 384897/4209789: its interior was divided into smaller chambers by mud-brick walls. The floor was paved with bricks. Locals refer to it as "Liotrivia," meaning olive presses. Very many ashlar blocks were allegedly removed from the site and used by the owner of the field in order to build a house. Perhaps this is the site of the Early Christian villa excavated by Orlandos (Figs. 5.53, 5.54).
References	Orlandos 1957b(?).

Site No.	HS-109
Location	Diminio, Koza 2
Elevation	110 masl
Coordinates	385737/4209952, 385696/4209918, 385660/4209957, 385700/4209989
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing. A country asphalt road passes by the site.
Surface Area	2,700 m^2
Water Source	None on site. A terracotta pipe brought water to this area from Lalioti.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few tile fragments, very worn
Pottery	Low-density scatter of plain sherds, a few ribbed body sherds, some undiagnostic rims of cooking pots, one early modern glazed sherd
Other	None
Chronology	Medieval
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-110
Location	Lalioti, North Kourkoula
Elevation	230 masl
Coordinates	385248/4208906
Description	Hill with abrupt north, east, and west sides, accessible from south. It offers a panoramic view of the Corinthian plain from Kiato to Xylokastro.
Vegetation	Uncultivated
Visibility	2
Alteration	A bulldozer created an earthen ramp leading from the plateau toward the summit of the hill (north of the plateau). The pine trees burned in a fire, and rain caused slope washes.
Surface Area	700 m^2

Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	No tiles
Pottery	Low-density scatter, undoubtedly because of the fire and subsequent erosion. Pottery is more abundant on the slopes: unpainted, monochrome, and matt-painted goblets and bowls (e.g., Fig. 5.19:f); possibly a Gray Minyan goblet, and a closed body sherd with running spiral pattern.
Other	None
Chronology	Late MH to LH I–II; possibly also a LH IIIA2–B phase.
Site Function	Settlement of small size
Observations	Access only from the south
References	Meyer 1939, pp. 10–11; Gebauer 1939, p. 272; Pharaklas 1971, site 52 (app. II, pp. 6–7); Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 69–70, no. A78; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 478, no. 51.

Site No.	HS-111
Location	Lalioti, South Kourkoula
Elevation	ca. 240 masl
Coordinates	385246/4208620
Description	Hill
Vegetation	Vineyards and uncultivated fields
Visibility	3 in the vineyard, 1 in the uncultivated fields
Alteration	Deep plowing and piling of stones and tiles at the boundaries of the vineyard. Surface graded on the north and northwest sides of the hill.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar block at 385208/4208653 (dimensions: 0.75 × 0.44 × 0.28 m)
Tiles	Many tiles (Th. 0.02–0.03 m), with grooves on their top and undersurface. One Lakonian tile (Th. 0.015 m), with black glaze.
Pottery	Low-density scatter consisting solely of coarse wares, including a few body sherds. Pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Medieval?
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	Due to the limited visibility in the uncultivated field we were unable to calculate the extent of the site.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 53? (app. II, p. 7).

Site No.	HS-112
Location	Lalioti, Baritsa
Elevation	290 masl
Coordinates	384378/4208372
Description	Hill falling gently in all directions
Vegetation	Olive trees

Visibility	3
Alteration	The road from Diminio to Lalioti cuts through the site.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Exposed masonry of brick, tiles, and mortar at the road cut
Arch. Frags.	Two ashlar blocks lying some 7 m apart, at 384385/4208374 and 384278/4208372; they have similar dimensions (0.75 × 0.75 × 0.42 m).
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with streaky black glaze (Th. 0.01 m), and with reddish brown glaze (Th. 0.02 m)
Pottery	Low-density scatter; plain and coarse wares, including ribbed body sherds and cooking vessels
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Medieval?
Site Function	Small agricultural installation
Observations	Pharaklas recorded Hellenistic and Roman pottery.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 51 (app. II, p. 6).

Site No.	HS-113
Location	Melissi, Paliokalyva
Elevation	105 masl
Coordinates	384893/4210614, 384797/4210703, 384821/4210739, 384869/4210741
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Lemon trees, olive trees, apricot trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing and piling of stones and tiles along the field boundaries. Asphalt country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	6,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Few fragments of Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.01–0.015 m) with black and brown glaze. Post-antique tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m), one with finger grooves on the top surface, and the majority with rough underside.
Pottery	Low to moderate density, very worn. Only two black-glazed sherds; mostly coarse and cooking wares, including a Hellenistic lopas, a 2nd- or 3rd-century A.D. rim of cooking pot, a few LR Amphora 2 fragments, at least one Byzantine amphora fragment, and many ribbed body sherds.
Other	None
Chronology	Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman, Byzantine
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	The site may be larger as we could not investigate the neighboring fields to the north and the west because they were fenced. We could not survey the field to the south either because of the vegetation.
References	None

Site No.	HS-114
Location	Melissi, Koza ("Paliomylos")
Elevation	103 masl
Coordinates	384164/4210790, 384166/4210821, 384235/4210825, 384239/4210807
Description	Plateau above Ano Melissi
Vegetation	Vineyards and apricot trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Deep plowing and surface graded by less than 1 m. Storeroom built on the site of the old mill. Two country roads cross the site.
Surface Area	1,800 m^2
Water Source	Cylindrical terracotta pipe brought water to the site.
Structures	According to tradition, building with bricks and mortar at 384227/4210813. In a stone pile we found a brick (Th. 0.037 m) with traces of mortar.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with black glaze (Th. 0.013 m), and of one cover tile (Th. 0.01 m), with red glaze
Pottery	Moderate density, in poor state of preservation. Mostly fine ware: Geometric cups, rim of a Late Geometric protokotyle (Fig. 5.24:b), a black-glazed krater foot (6th–5th century B.C.), and a black-glazed base from a stemmed cup; a few coarse-ware fragments, including one Middle Roman basin, a rim of a cooking vessel, and a LR Amphora 2 body sherd.
Other	Conical loomweight. Millstones according to tradition.
Chronology	GEOMETRIC, Archaic, Classical, Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Farmstead in antiquity, some industrial installation during LR times
Observations	None
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 81 (app. II, p. 10).

Site No.	HS-115
Location	Thalero, Agios Athanasios
Elevation	130 masl
Coordinates	383640/4210361, 383593/4210297, 383551/4210321, 383589/4210394
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	4
Alteration	The monastery of Agios Athanasios is located in the middle of the site. A country road crosses the northeast side of the site.
Surface Area	4,500 m^2
Water Source	In the broader area
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar block with recessed band at 383589/4210394 (dimensions: 0.8 × 0.43 × 0.44 m)
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. ca. 0.02 m), some of Late Roman date with finger grooves. One has concentric grooves on its top surface.

Pottery	Moderate density, fairly worn. Almost exclusively coarse ware, with some Late Roman ribbed body sherds and a 3rd-century A.D. rim of a cooking pot; one piece of Çandarlı ware.
Other	None
Chronology	Roman Imperial, Late Roman
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	The area within the monastery (where the ashlar block lies) was not investigated. Around the church Meyer reported the existence of an underground water channel. Inside the church he noticed a fluted column drum, which he tentatively associated with an Ionic temple seen by early travelers.
References	Meyer 1939, pp. 9–10; Pharaklas 1971, site 82 (app. II, p. 10).

Site No.	HS-116
Location	Thalero, Agia Soteira
Elevation	170 masl
Coordinates	383154/4210086
Description	Slope falling toward the north-northeast
Vegetation	Recently planted vineyard
Visibility	5
Alteration	Deep plowing. Country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar conglomerate blocks northeast of the church at 383135/4210077 (dimensions: 0.77 × 0.65 × 0.30 m) and 383126/4210083 (dimensions: 0.55 × 0.45 × 0.26 m). Stones piled between the olive grove and the country road, some of them dressed (dimensions: 0.60 × 0.45 × 0.35 m).
Tiles	A few fragments of Lakonian and Corinthian tiles, and a large amount of early modern tiles.
Pottery	Low-density scatter, of good quality. Unpainted LH IIIA–B kylikes and goblets (e.g., Fig. 5.19:k); a black-glazed skyphos (6th–5th century), a kotyle handle, a blister-ware aryballos (late 5th–4th century), and a few coarse-ware fragments.
Other	A 6th-century conical loomweight (Fig. 5.26:b).
Chronology	Mycenaean, Archaic, Classical
Site Function	Tower and sanctuary?
Observations	The early modern tiles come from the roof of the old church of Agia Soteira. When Pharaklas visited the site a bulldozer had just destroyed an ancient structure, most likely a tower. Gebauer, as well as Hope Simpson and Dickinson, report prehistoric sherds of all periods (EH, MH, and LH) from the area south of Agios Athanasios, between Melissi and Thalero.
References	Gebauer 1939, p. 275; Pharaklas 1971, site 83 (app. II, pp. 10–11); Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, p. 70, no. A79; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 478, no. 56.

Site No.	HS-117
Location	Melissi, Koza-Liakopoulou

Elevation	120 masl
Coordinates	383668/4210582
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Lemon trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing and surface grading
Surface Area	Unknown
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few scattered Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.010–0.014 m) with black and brown glaze
Pottery	Very little pottery: a few plain sherds, and one ribbed body sherd.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Temporary agricultural shelter
Observations	This site, as others of the same type, betrays ancient agricultural activity.
References	None

Site No.	HS-118
Location	Thalero, Koza 1
Elevation	225 masl
Coordinates	383187/4210521, 383273/4210468, 383244/4210427, 383159/4210470
Description	Plateau falling gently to the northeast. It borders a deep ravine to the northwest.
Vegetation	Recently planted olive trees and lemon trees; vineyards.
Visibility	5
Alteration	Deep plowing at the center of the site
Surface Area	5,500 m^2
Water Source	Likely from surrounding higher elevations
Structures	The upper surface of a rubble wall can be traced within the plowed field.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.013–0.017 m) with black, red, and brown glaze. One Corinthian pan tile (Th. 0.03 m).
Pottery	Moderate scatter of pottery, in good state of preservation. Some fine pottery and abundant coarse ware. The fine-ware fragments include one Late Archaic Attic kylix rim, a Classical black-glazed bowl (Fig. 5.30:b), a late-5th-century salt cellar, late-5th-century kotylai fragments (e.g., Fig. 5.30:c), including a semiglazed one, a 4th-century skyphos rim and base, and some black-glazed body sherds. Among the coarse vessels are a Classical round-mouth pitcher (Fig. 5.30:h), a Late Classical/Hellenistic lekane (Fig. 5.30:j), a stew pot and lid, a few Late Roman cooking pots, a LR Amphora 2 fragment, and a bowl fragment; one pithos rim.
Other	Folded bronze sheet

Chronology	Archaic, CLASSICAL (late), Hellenistic, Late Roman
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	The site is located 400 m to the north of Agia Soteira (HS-116). A small concentration of tiles and sherds ca. 150 m north of the site at 383158/4210665: Lakonian tiles with glaze, a skyphos base, one combed and two ribbed sherds, among other plain pottery fragments. A few discarded tiles and sherds (ancient and Late Roman–Early Byzantine) were observed as far as 200 north of the site, but the site clearly does not extend that far.
References	None

Site No.	HS-119
Location	Thalero, Kato Goulas
Elevation	180 masl
Coordinates	382816/4210088, 382830/4210065, 382810/4210064, 382794/4210079
Description	Slope which comes to an abrupt northeast edge, with a view of the *rema* of Thalero, the hill of Magoula, and part of the coastal plain
Vegetation	Recently planted vineyard
Visibility	5
Alteration	Surface graded by ca. 3 m for cultivation purposes. Country road passes by the site.
Surface Area	Over 500 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	No tiles
Pottery	Abundant pottery at the cut of the country road, mostly fine ware of orange, pale yellow, and gray fabrics (Figs. 5.15, 5.16). Some red and brown burnished sherds, and others with painted linear patterns; carinated shapes and ring bases and low pedestal feet; one sherd has relief decoration.
Other	Terracotta pomegranate spindle whorl
Chronology	Middle Neolithic
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	The site must have been larger, but the grading of the surface has eradicated any possible remains.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 105 (app. II, p. 12).

Site No.	HS-120
Location	Thalero, Magoula
Elevation	125 masl
Coordinates	382725/4210894
Description	Hill with steep slopes on all sides except the south, from where it is approachable (Fig. 5.21)
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Plowing. Ruin of an old mud-brick structure.

Surface Area	7,650 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	High-density scatter. Early Mycenaean unpainted and monochrome painted goblets (e.g., Fig. 5.19:g); Mycenaean unpainted and decorated kylikes and goblets; a few incised "Adriatic" cooking pots, and some handmade pottery of gray fabric with inclusions; amphorae and other large coarse vessels.
Other	Worked obsidian
Chronology	MH, LH I–II, LH II–IIIA2–B
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The cemetery is probably located at Phakes (HS-141), 460 m to the north of Magoula.
References	Pharaklas 1971, sites 102, 103 (app. II, p. 11); *Isthmia* VIII, p. 478, nos. 53, 54.

Site No.	HS-121
Location	Thalero, Loutro
Elevation	93 masl
Coordinates	382571/4210857, 382552/4210916, 382605/4210930
Description	Slope of considerable gradient to the north and the west (toward the *rema*)
Vegetation	Olive trees and lemon trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Landscaping in terraces, and country road toward the *rema*. Sheepfolds northwest of the Roman structure.
Surface Area	1,700 m^2
Water Source	A spring nearby
Structures	Structure in *opus testaceum*. Two rooms are visible, one with barrel vault at least 2 m in height with a wall abutting it. The interior of the vaulted room is plastered with mortar. Ratio brick/mortar: 3.5:3. Most likely the complex is a small cistern, locally called "Loutro" (Fig. 1.27).
Arch. Frags.	Roman Doric capital in a rubble pile to the north of Loutro
Tiles	Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.013 and 0.017 m), with red and brown glaze. Tiles with grooves (Th. 0.03 m).
Pottery	Little pottery because of the very limited visibility; bad state of preservation. Only coarse ware, including a rim and a lid of Roman cooking pots (3rd century A.D.) and a LR Amphora 2 sherd; fragments of large pithoi.
Other	A marble lion head of Herakles was found here in the 1950s and delivered to the Corinth Museum.
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on tiles), ROMAN, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	The extent of the site cannot be determined because of the bad visibility and the modern alteration of the slope.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 104 (app. II, p. 11).

Site No.	HS-122
Location	Thalero, Koza 2
Elevation	110 masl
Coordinates	383783/4211017
Description	Plateau near the north edge of Koza
Vegetation	Olive trees and lemon trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Unknown
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks piled at the center of the olive grove. Dimensions of one fragmentary block: 0.56 × 0.4 × 0.44 m.
Tiles	A few Lakonian pan tiles (Th. ca. 0.012 m) with black glaze
Pottery	Very low scatter, in fair state of preservation. Only coarse ware (nothing readily diagnostic).
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Agricultural structure
Observations	Given the small amount of pottery, this site is better interpreted as a structure for agricultural purposes rather than a farmstead.
References	None

Site No.	HS-123
Location	Mikri Valtsa, Xerorachi 1
Elevation	450 masl
Coordinates	381514/4208885, 381496/4208946, 381522/4208966, 381543/4208960, 381571/4208915
Description	Slope falling to the north and bordering a gully to the east
Vegetation	Apricot trees and vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Surface graded on the north and especially the east side of the site by a maximum of 5 m. Country asphalt road crosses the site.
Surface Area	3,600 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Wall in *opus testaceum* at the cut of the graded field (381566/4208924); p.H. 0.7, p.L. 0.8 m. On one end it has a semicircular projection of brick and mortar. Ratio brick/mortar: 1:1 (0.04 m).
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.01–0.013 m), some with grooves.
Pottery	Moderate amount of pottery, badly preserved. Mostly large vessels, including rims of Hellenistic/Early Roman basins, LR Amphora 2 body sherds, and pithos fragments.
Other	Low, deep terracotta vessel (Diam. 0.18, H. 0.1, Th. 0.022 m): mortar basin?
Chronology	Hellenistic, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Agricultural installation

Observations	The majority of pottery fragments belong to storage vessels. The pottery concentration in the northern part of the site is probably due to the natural slope and plowing.
References	None

Site No.	HS-124
Location	Mikri Valtsa, Xerorachi 2
Elevation	450 masl
Coordinates	381599/4209065
Description	Small plateau bounded by a precipice on the north, east, and west sides
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.01–0.013 m) with black, brown, and red glaze
Pottery	A few plain sherds, and one black-glazed
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Small installation
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-125
Location	Sykia, Sesi ("Liotrivia")
Elevation	170 masl
Coordinates	380989/4212026, 381029/4212064, 381033/4212169, 381097/4212115, 381027/4212040, 381057/4211956
Description	Plateau falling gently to the northeast. It is bound by the deep *rema* of Katharoneri to the west, and a smaller *rema* to the east.
Vegetation	Vineyards, olive trees, and a few fallow fields
Visibility	3
Alteration	Two country roads cross the site. One of them cuts through the structures.
Surface area	6,500 m^2
Water Source	According to tradition, a terracotta pipe brought water to the site.
Structures	(1) Along the road cut at 380993/4212036 a wall is visible (p.H. ca. 1, p.L. 3.3, Th. 0.42 m), oriented north–south and built with rubble, bricks, and strong mortar. (2) Wall of a building (L. 25.2 m), oriented east–west and turning at a right angle at the east end; it is built with rubble, bricks, and mortar (east end: 381032/4212106, west end: 381055/4212096).
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar block (0.54 × 0.42 × 0.3 m) at 381011/4212037. Brick fragments (L. 0.28, Th. 0.037 m).



Figure I.5. Cist graves at Agios Nikolaos of Throphari (HS-126)

Tiles	Pan tiles (Th. 0.013–0.02 m), some with straight grooves on the top or underside and one with concentric grooves
Pottery	Low-density scatter in bad state of preservation. With the exception of one Çandarlı piece (2nd–3rd century A.D.), all coarse ware: a LR Amphora 2, rims of a 6th- or 7th-century A.D. stamnos and a 7th-century stew pot; a few pithos fragments.
Other	6th-century A.D. lamp fragment (imitation of North African type)
Chronology	Roman, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Agricultural installation
Observations	Given the small amount of pottery, it is possible that this site was primarily industrial.
References	None

Site No.	HS-126
Location	Throphari, Agios Nikolaos
Elevation	425 masl
Coordinates	379629/4209341
Description	Slope falling toward the northeast
Vegetation	Olive trees and uncultivated fields
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Country road cut through the site, exposing cist graves
Surface Area	Unknown. Graves can be traced for a length of ca. 15 m.
Water Source	"Kroniza," near the site
Structures	Three cist graves (W. 0.4, H. 0.38 m), oriented east–west and covered with stone slabs 0.06 m thick (Fig. I.5)
Arch. Frags.	Worked stones lie directly above the graves, perhaps from a church that once existed here.
Tiles	None
Pottery	Hardly any pottery in the surrounding area
Other	None
Chronology	Unknown
Site Function	Cemetery

Observations	According to tradition a church once existed here, but nothing is visible. No traces of settlement in the immediate vicinity.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 117 (app. II, p. 13).

Site No.	HS-127
Location	Throphari, Lakiza
Elevation	650 masl
Coordinates	378787/4208890, 378737/4208851, 378621/4208961, 378715/4209050, 378802/4209125, 378848/4209114
Description	Plateau which forms a depression in the middle and borders the gully of Gatza to the west
Vegetation	Vineyards, a few olive trees, and some uncultivated fields
Visibility	3 on average
Alteration	Deep plowing and country roads
Surface Area	30,800 m^2
Water Source	None on site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.01–0.02 m), the majority with brown and black glaze
Pottery	Low to moderate amount of pottery, in fair state of preservation. Mostly coarse ware, with one mid-5th- to mid-6th-century imported vessel, one 5th–6th century stew pot (Fig. 5.50:e), and a few 10th- or 11th-century cooking pots. Fine ware is scanty with a pre-Roman unglazed base, and a rim of a late-10th- or early-11th-century chafing dish.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Late Roman (5th–6th century), MIDDLE BYZANTINE (10th–11th century)
Site Function	Settlement of dispersed type in the Middle Ages; perhaps a watch/signal tower in pre-Roman times.
Observations	We observed very little fine pottery. Also, the scatter of artifacts is not even throughout the site, but is found in small concentrations, which probably reflects the habitation pattern. Meyer saw remains of walls which have now disappeared. Pharaklas reports Archaic and Classical pottery and a cemetery here, but we were not able to confirm this.
References	Meyer 1939, p. 7; Pharaklas 1971, sites 112, 113, 114 (app. II, p. 12).

Site No.	HS-128
Location	Mikri Valtsa, Lakka
Elevation	470 masl
Coordinates	380531/4208627, 380482/4208656, 380494/4208686, 380528/4208805, 380597/4208658
Description	Plateau; the site borders a river to the north.
Vegetation	Apricot trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Plowing; artificial terraces; country road crosses the site.

Surface Area	7,000 m^2
Water Source	Near the site, at 380546/4208556
Structures	Rectangular structure at the fountain site, locally called "Loutro." Most likely a cistern which Meyer measured as 10 × 30 m. Today the sides of the cistern have undergone serious transformations and additions in order to serve as field boundaries. Present dimensions: ca. 35 × 20 m.
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks (0.75 × 0.5 × 0.38 m) reused in artificial terraces at 380531/4208627 and 380545/4208695
Tiles	Many tiles (Th. 0.02 m), some with straight grooves on the top surface and concentric grooves on the underside
Pottery	A few sherds, coarse and undiagnostic. One has a ribbed surface.
Other	According to tradition, a millstone and terracotta pipes (Diam. 0.1 m)
Chronology	Late Roman/Medieval?
Site Function	Settlement?
Observations	Given the very limited visibility, the extent, function, and chronology of the site cannot be safely established.
References	Meyer 1939, p. 6.

Site No.	HS-129
Location	Zemeno, Agios Georgios
Elevation	340 masl
Coordinates	379335/4211685, 379357/4211656, 379475/4211718, 379391/4211789, 379364/4211754
Description	Plateau falling gently to the north
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing and grading of limited degree
Surface Area	9,200 m^2
Water Source	None on site, but a terracotta pipe brought water from higher ground.
Structures	According to tradition, a monastery cell, a water cistern, and a cemetery
Arch. Frags.	Dispersed ashlar blocks. Masonry fragments of brick and mortar at 379405/4211788, most likely from the cistern; brick dimensions: 0.23 × 0.23 m.
Tiles	Pan and cover tiles with concentric grooves
Pottery	Moderate-density scatter, in fair state of preservation: mostly coarse ware, including cooking pots and LR Amphora 2 sherds; fragment of a relief pithos.
Other	According to tradition, conical loomweights were found in the fields.
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on the blocks), LATE ROMAN, modern
Site Function	Small settlement in Byzantine times, a small monastery in later periods
Observations	The fragments from the cistern are probably a 19th-century construction. Pharaklas reported a Roman wall, remains of other buildings, and Hellenistic and Roman pottery.

References	Gebauer 1939, p. 276; Pharaklas 1971, site 161 (app. II, pp. 15–16).

Site No.	HS-130
Location	Kryoneri, Kato Bathiza 4
Elevation	385 masl
Coordinates	382864/4200887
Description	Terrace gently falling to the southeast
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Artificial terracing. Two country roads cross the south and east sides of the site.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Nearby
Structures	Perhaps part of an ancient wall made of conglomerate blocks. Dimensions of one of the blocks: L. 1.7 × W. 0.4 m.
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar blocks reused in modern terraces, as at 382863/4200884. Dimensions of one of the blocks: 0.87 × 0.4 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of roof tiles, some with black glaze
Pottery	A few pottery sherds, mostly cooking ware, and an amphora handle
Other	None
Chronology	Roman
Site Function	Farmstead?
Observations	The site is located within the early modern settlement of Bathiza (now abandoned). This explains the large amount of ancient material incorporated into early modern structures.
References	None

Site No.	HS-131
Location	Zemeno, Kiafa
Elevation	710–730 masl
Coordinates	376832/4208788, 376818/4208735, 376898/4208673, 376701/4208788, 376745/4208877, 376826/4208890
Description	Southeast slope of Tsouka, forming a depression in its lower part
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	4
Alteration	Surface grading and plowing. Country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	18,000 m^2
Water Source	Small spring, not perennial today
Structures	Cist grave, exposed by bulldozer in 2001 at 376727/4208832
Arch. Frags.	Concentrations of rubble stones in piles and artificial terraces
Tiles	Many tiles with wavy, parallel, and concentric grooves
Pottery	High density of coarse and large vessels in good state of preservation. Three Middle Byzantine cooking pots, and a Medieval amphora stand (Fig. 5.58:d).
Other	None
Chronology	Middle Byzantine

Site Function	Settlement
Observations	Higher on the south slope of Tsouka we retrieved one black-glazed and one ribbed body sherd, which, in conjunction with the tile fragments, indicate that on the flat summit of Tsouka there was an installation in antiquity as well as in post-antique times. According to tradition, a bronze statuette was found on Tsouka and delivered to the Corinth Museum.
References	Koutivas 1962, p. 63.

Site No.	HS-132
Location	Souli, Gourgourati
Elevation	ca. 490 masl
Coordinates	382650/4205204, 382609/4205202, 382605/4205247, 382650/4205251
Description	Narrow hillside between two ravines, falling gently toward the east
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3–4
Alteration	Country road crosses the site. Plowing and surface graded to a depth of ca. 0.5 m. Roof tiles and stones pushed to the edge of the fields.
Surface area	2,200 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Many rubble stones
Tiles	Many roof tiles (Th. 0.02–0.025 m), some with grooves on their upper and lower surfaces
Pottery	Average density, poorly preserved. One pre-Roman shallow bowl and many Roman and Late Roman cooking wares, including a mid-6th-century stew pot; one LR Amphora 2 sherd, and an amphora mouth. Some pithos fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Roman, LATE ROMAN
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-133
Location	Bolati, Agioi Apostoloi 2
Elevation	168 masl
Coordinates	390454/4198129
Description	Plateau bound by a ravine to the east
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None

Tiles	Many fragments of tiles (Th. 0.01–0.013 m), with red, brown, and black glaze
Pottery	A few pottery sherds, poorly preserved: base of a black-glazed cup and a coarse amphora handle.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Agricultural shelter
Observations	Such installations of perhaps temporary nature are characteristic of the Sikyonian countryside.
References	None

Site No.	HS-134
Location	Krinai, ?
Elevation	170 masl
Coordinates	388688/4200929
Description	Plateau bound by the *rema* of Ellinochori to the southeast
Vegetation	Recently planted olive trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Plowing. Asphalt road to Ellinochori crosses the site.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian tiles with red and brown glaze
Pottery	Very low scatter, poorly preserved; mostly plain but also some fine ware, including a cup or skyphos base.
Other	Metal knife of the Ottoman period
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Temporary agricultural shelter
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-135
Location	Moulki, Petmeza
Elevation	64 masl
Coordinates	388244/4206904, 388285/4206919, 388328/4206908, 388335/4206789, 388274/4206860
Description	Plateau falling gently toward the east-northeast. It is bound by the Kyrillou *rema* to the north.
Vegetation	Vineyards and olive trees
Visibility	3 in the vineyard, 1 in the olive grove
Alteration	The asphalt road from Kiato to Stymphalia crosses the south side of the site. The old road to Stymphalia crosses the north side of the site. Modern buildings on the east side. Toward the west, a fenced vineyard and a building materials yard.
Surface Area	3,500 m^2
Water Source	Water was probably fetched from the Kyrillou *rema.*
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None

Tiles	Some Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.01–0.017 m), with brown, black, and reddish brown glaze
Pottery	A few sherds from cooking pots and plain vases, and one base of a black-glazed cup
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Small settlement
Observations	The site must have been larger. We observed a few tiles and sherds further to the south, but no significant concentrations.
References	None

Site No.	HS-136
Location	Moulki, Arkouda
Elevation	117 masl
Coordinates	387244/4206477, 387209/4206460, 387165/4206560, 387204/4206574
Description	Plateau directly northeast of the hill of Tsakriza. It is bound by the Kyrillou *rema* to the north.
Vegetation	Recently planted apricot trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Plowing. The asphalt road from Kiato to Stymphalia passes to the southeast of the site. Garage and fenced olive grove to the northeast.
Surface Area	4,300 m^2
Water Source	Water was probably fetched from the Kyrillou *rema*.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012–0.017 m), with red, brown, and black glaze
Pottery	Moderate density of worn pottery. A late-5th-century kotyle, but mainly coarse ware, including cooking pots and amphora fragments.
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Farmstead or hamlet
Observations	The site may be larger but we could not explore the fenced fields to the northeast.
References	None

Site No.	HS-137
Location	Pasio, Kokkinies 2
Elevation	80 masl
Coordinates	387541/4208290, 387534/4208307, 387624/4208322, 387618/4208284
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing over part of the site. Country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	2,300 m^2

Water Source	Close to the northern edge of the plateau
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar block at 387554/4208310; dimensions: 0.74 × 0.4 × 0.26 m. Three worked stones at 387545/4208299, and a fourth one at 387576/4208305. All the blocks were obviously brought here from surrounding fields by mechanical means.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012–0.015 m) with black, brown, and red glaze
Pottery	Low amount of pottery, badly preserved: plain and coarse wares, including amphoras and other large vessels. A few black-glazed sherds: a 6th- or 5th-century skyphos handle, and rim fragments from a lopas and krater (Fig. 5.43:a, b), both dating to the Early Hellenistic period.
Other	None
Chronology	CLASSICAL, HELLENISTIC
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	Small concentration of ancient tiles at 387665/4208227. It is probably the remains of a cist grave, less than 100 m southeast of the farmstead. This could probably indicate that the tenants of the farmstead lived there year round.
References	Pharaklas 1971, sites 41–43? (app. II, pp. 4–5).

Site No.	HS-138
Location	Pasio, Kokkinies 3
Elevation	94 masl
Coordinates	387237/4208627, 387408/4208691, 387454/4208574, 387369/4208535, 387268/4208570
Description	Plateau falling gently to the northeast
Vegetation	Olive trees, vineyards, and fruit gardens
Visibility	3 on average
Alteration	Deep plowing; asphalt road passes to the northeast of the site.
Surface Area	20,000 m^2
Water Source	According to tradition, a terracotta pipe brought water to the site.
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Concentration of many ashlar blocks at 387377/4208614; dimensions of a block: 0.92 × 0.5 × 0.22 m.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian tiles with black, brown, and red glaze
Pottery	Moderately dense scatter, the majority coarse ware, poorly preserved; a few black-glazed, and two LR Amphora 2 sherds.
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Late Roman
Site Function	Settlement
Observations	It is possible that the site extended further to the east, but we could not explore that area because it was fenced. We observed scattered tiles in other parts of Kokkinies as well. The entire area deserves intensive surveying.
References	Pharaklas 1971, sites 41–43? (app. II, pp. 4–5).

Site No.	HS-139
Location	Pasio, Kokkinies 4
Elevation	114 masl
Coordinates	386847/4208380, 386828/4208430, 386842/4208437, 386862/4208388
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	1,000 m^2
Water Source	Close to the northern edge of the plateau
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar block at 386810/4208411. Next to it, two more fragmentary ashlar blocks.
Tiles	Many fragments of Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.012–0.015 m) with black and brown glaze
Pottery	Small amount of pottery, mostly plain and a few black-glazed sherds
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Small installation
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-140
Location	Kryoneri, Kato Bathiza 5
Elevation	390 masl
Coordinates	382664/4200304
Description	Slope falling to the east
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Three artificial terrace walls with incorporated ancient stone blocks. Country road crosses the site.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	(1) Plowed out conglomerate ashlar blocks along the edge of the country road, at 382722/4200270. Characteristic dimensions of stones: 0.58 × 0.65 × 0.25 m. (2) Ancient stones used in a terrace wall at 382682/4200293
Tiles	Some roof tiles with glaze
Pottery	Low density, in fair state of preservation. One possibly Submycenaean body sherd, a Middle Geometric skyphos (Fig. 5.24:a) and a Late Geometric pyxis (Fig. 5.24:d), an Archaic bowl, and one 6th- or 5th-century kotyle.
Other	Two conical loomweights of the 6th–early 5th century
Chronology	Geometric, Archaic
Site Function	Farmstead
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-141
Location	Thalero, Phakes
Elevation	70 masl
Coordinates	382852/4211369
Description	Low hill
Vegetation	Lemon trees and a few olive trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Asphalt road to Thalero crosses the west side of the site. Summerhouse built on the north side.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Chamber tomb with part of its roof collapsed, and a dromos 1.76 m wide and 2.5 m long. The entire horseshoe-shaped tomb is 7.5 m long, oriented roughly north–south. A second ditch of a chamber tomb is visible 8 m to the east of the first one at 382860/4211357. A third ditch can be traced 3.8 m to the south of the second one.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	Very little, undiagnostic
Other	None
Chronology	Prehistoric
Site Function	Cemetery
Observations	The site most likely marks the cemetery of the settlement of Magoula (HS-120), located 460 m to the south.
References	None

Site No.	HS-142
Location	Kryoneri, Agios Nikolaos
Elevation	ca. 670 masl
Coordinates	380972/4201353
Description	Northwest scarp of a plateau toward a shallow gully
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	3
Alteration	Edge of the plateau bulldozed to a maximum depth of 5 m. Illicit digging on the site.
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	At least four chamber tombs dug out of the soft bedrock, possibly connected by small tunnels. Only one is sufficiently exposed, ca. 3 × 2 m.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	LH III pottery reported
Other	None
Chronology	LH III
Site Function	Burial ground
Observations	No settlement site found in connection with these burials.
References	None

Site No.	HS-143
Location	Melissi, Agios Dimitrios
Elevation	ca. 30 masl
Coordinates	384420/4211909
Description	Low hill ca. 180 m to the south of present coastline
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	Large, modern church. The highway from Corinth to Patras cuts through the hill. The asphalt road to Ano Melissi passes by the church.
Surface Area	Unknown, but large
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	During construction of the highway a cemetery came to light and 10 rock-cut cist graves were excavated. To the north of the cemetery, rubble and mortar walls were exposed, including a wine press.
Arch. Frags.	Twisted columns were found in the foundations of Agios Dimitrios. Some of them lie today in the courtyard of the house of Giorgos Dimopoulos, opposite the church. Two are 1.79 m long and 0.2 m in diameter. Also one Ionic base, 0.2 m in diameter.
Tiles	None reported
Pottery	Ribbed and combed ware reported
Other	Lamp of Broneer type XXXI (4th–6th century A.D.), coin of A.D. 575/6. Fragments of glass vases.
Chronology	Late Roman (late 6th century)
Site Function	Settlement with church and cemetery
Observations	None
References	Drosogianni 1968; Pallas 1977, p. 176, site 83.

Site No.	HS-144
Location	Thalero, Bourberi
Elevation	155 masl
Coordinates	383511/4209934
Description	Slope with strong decline toward the north
Vegetation	Pine trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Fire burnt the slope
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Low wall built with irregular stones
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	Rim of a late-6th- or early-5th-century globular pyxis (Fig. 5.26:c), and two black-glazed skyphos bases (450–400 B.C.; e.g., Fig. 5.30:a).
Other	None
Chronology	Late Archaic, CLASSICAL
Site Function	Grave

Observations	The grave may have not been isolated but part of a cemetery extending across the slope. The settlement was situated either on higher ground (perhaps at Babakies of Lalioti) or lower (at Koza of Melissi/Thalero).
References	None

Site No.	HS-145
Location	Throphari, Dilaveri
Elevation	533 masl
Coordinates	379043/4209653
Description	Hillside sloping to the west (toward the deep ravine of Katharoneri)
Vegetation	Recently planted olive trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Surface graded by ca. 1 m
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Near the site
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Possible ancient stone blocks reused in early modern terrace walls
Tiles	A few Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.015 m) with black glaze
Pottery	Very little plain pottery
Other	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Country shelter
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	HS-146
Location	Kaisari, Phrygani
Elevation	880 masl
Coordinates	372465/4200921
Description	Hillside falling gently toward the southeast
Vegetation	Vineyards, drying floors
Visibility	2
Alteration	Plowing
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	"Vilia" spring, located ca. 1 km to the northwest
Structures	A pile of earth and stones is supposedly the remains of the church of Agios Konstantinos.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few tile fragments with coarse underside
Pottery	A handful of plain sherds
Other	None
Chronology	Early modern
Site Function	Cluster of houses
Observations	The site can be safely identified with "Frigagni," mentioned in sources of the second Venetian period. According to locals, cist

	graves covered with stone slabs were found ca. 200 m to the west of the site during opening of a country road.
References	Kordosis 1981, p. 339.

Site No.	HS-147
Location	Kaisari, Paliokatounti
Elevation	815 masl
Coordinates	372518/4200687
Description	Small plateau over the *kampos* of Kaisari
Vegetation	Vineyards, oak trees, and prickly oaks
Visibility	Varies: 1–2
Alteration	Surface graded by 0.5–1 m for the cultivation of the vineyard
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Ca. 50 m from the site
Structures	Many terrace walls on the hillside once serving the cultivation of wheat
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Many fragments of tiles with coarse underside
Pottery	None
Other	None
Chronology	Early modern
Site Function	Small cluster of houses
Observations	The site is located a little over 200 m to the south of Phrygani (HS-146).
References	None

Site No.	HS-148
Location	Kryoneri, Lechova
Elevation	ca. 920 masl
Coordinates	377951/4200035
Description	Hillside sloping toward the east, with a view toward Acrocorinth and the coastal plain of Vocha
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3–4
Alteration	Surface graded by ca. 1 m for cultivation purposes
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	At the monastery
Structures	None
Arch. Frags.	Irregular stone blocks pushed by bulldozer to the edge of the vineyards
Tiles	Many fragments of tiles, some with deep grooves, others with coarse underside (e.g., Fig. II.15). Average thickness: 0.025 m.
Pottery	Very few fragments from storage vessels
Other	None
Chronology	MEDIEVAL, early modern
Site Function	Small cluster of houses
Observations	The site is 400 m to the northeast of the monastery and must be identified with "Lechova" mentioned by Alberghetti.
References	Kordosis 1981, p. 308.



Figure I.6 Polygonal retaining wall at Kiafa of Panariti (SP-1), looking south

SPECIAL-PURPOSE SITES

Site No.	SP-1
Location	Panariti, Kiafa
Elevation	860 masl
Coordinates	371295/4204645, 371320/4204614, 371313/4204591, 371280/4204621
Description	Slope descending to the north
Vegetation	Fallow land, prickly oaks, oak trees, and pine trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Deep plowing in neighboring field
Remains	(1) Strong retaining wall in polygonal masonry, oriented northwest–southeast, ca. 28 m of visible length with three courses and preserved to a max. height of 2.15 m: 371305/4204639 (NW end), 371316/4204614 (SE end). Dimensions of two representative stones: 1.2 × 0.7, 1.0 × 0.65 m. The lowest visible course has larger stones: 1.6 × 0.9 m. The wall is 0.8–1.0 m thick, and sits on a foundation which projects by a few centimeters. The retaining wall extends further to the southeast but cannot be followed due to the vegetation (Fig. I.6). (2) On the terrace above the retaining wall, two parallel walls are visible, one of which (the northern) preserves two courses in polygonal masonry: 371298/4204622 (E end), 371287/4204623 (W end). (3) A row of ancient conglomerate blocks, oriented northwest–southeast, at 371313/4204591. It is probably a retaining wall. (4) A modern terrace wall to the east of the strong polygonal wall has incorporated ancient stones at 371320/4204637. Many tiles have been recently turned up in the deeply plowed field next to the structure (371285/4204627); the tiles are of Lakonian type (Th. 0.018–0.025 m), some with black, brown, or red glaze (Figs. II.2:a, II.3, II.4).

Observations	Total absence of pottery
Chronology	Archaic or Classical (based on polygonal masonry)
Site Function	Building of unknown function covered with a hipped roof
References	None

Site No.	SP-2
Location	Megali Valtsa, Loimiko
Elevation	440 masl
Coordinates	383691/4206335
Description	Edge of a plateau toward the deep and abrupt gully of Seliandros
Vegetation	Pine trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	The area was burnt in the 2000 fire.
Remains	A well dug into the rock, with carved steps leading to a basin. The cylindrical shaft is ca. 3 m. deep and 0.55 m wide. Shape and dimensions of basin are unknown; possibly bottle-shaped. Pile of rubble stones and tiles next to the mouth of the well, undoubtedly the product of illicit excavation. Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.015–0.02 m) with fine brown and black glaze.
Observations	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Unknown. The well could be part of an installation, but the surrounding area has low visibility and could not be investigated properly.
References	None

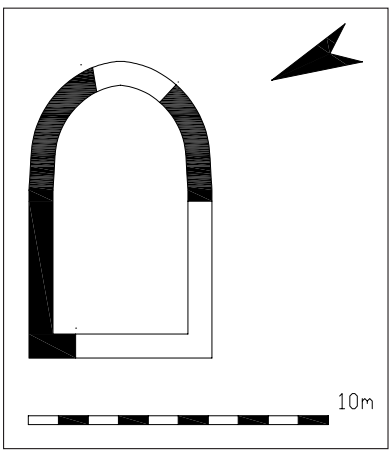


Figure I.7. Plan of the vaulted building at Karyotiko of Melissi (SP-3)

Site No.	SP-3
Location	Melissi, Karyotiko
Elevation	365 masl
Coordinates	383258/4212170
Description	Plateau
Vegetation	Lemon trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Dirt road crosses the site.
Remains	Apsidal structure (10 × 6 m) with originally vaulted roof, built with tiles, rubble, and mortar (max. p.H. 1.4, Th. of wall 0.75, Diam. of apse ca. 4.5 m; Fig. I.7). Fragment of plaster is visible on the interior.
Observations	This is what Meyer describes as a "halbrundes Gewolbe," 15 minutes west of Melissi.
Chronology	Late Roman or Medieval
Site Function	Water mill? (abundant water in the vicinity)
References	Meyer 1939, p. 9.

Site No.	SP-4
Location	Megali Valtsa, Kapandri
Elevation	320 masl
Coordinates	384746/4207150
Description	Slope falling toward the northeast

Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Plowing; country road crosses the site.
Remains	Many Lakonian pan tiles (Th. 0.012–0.015 m) with brown and black glaze, concentrated over a small area
Observations	Absence of pottery
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Grave?
References	None

Site No.	SP-5
Location	Diminio, Perivolia
Elevation	11 masl
Coordinates	N end: 387129/4209779; S end: 387124/4209750
Description	Left bank of Seliandros
Vegetation	Lemon trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Plowing for cultivation
Remains	Wall in *opus testaceum,* running roughly north–south. Visible dimensions: L. ca. 24.5, H. 1.2–1.3 m. Two buttresses, 1.2 m thick, spaced 7.3 m apart. Ratio brick/mortar: 3.5:3. Inner surface lined with cement.
Observations	Perhaps this is the wall reported by Meyer as being located below the village of Ano Diminio, 200 m from the left bank of the stream. Meyer describes a brick wall with relieving arches, 1.5 m high and 15 m long, and tentatively interprets it as part of an aqueduct.
Chronology	Roman
Site Function	Terrace wall?
References	Meyer 1939, p. 9.

Site No.	SP-6
Location	Kryoneri, Lechova 2
Elevation	990 masl
Coordinates	377876/4200196
Description	Eastern slope of Vesiza
Vegetation	Prickly oaks and fir trees
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	N/A
Remains	Fissure-cave, ca. 45 m deep (Figs. V.1–V.4)
Observations	The Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology conducted excavations in the cave between 1995–2003.
Chronology	Archaic, CLASSICAL
Site Function	Shrine of the Nymphs
References	Kormazopoulou and Zygouri 2003, forthcoming a, forthcoming b.

Site No.	SP-7
Location	Throphari, Skala (Chasné)
Elevation	481 masl
Coordinates	379389/4210100

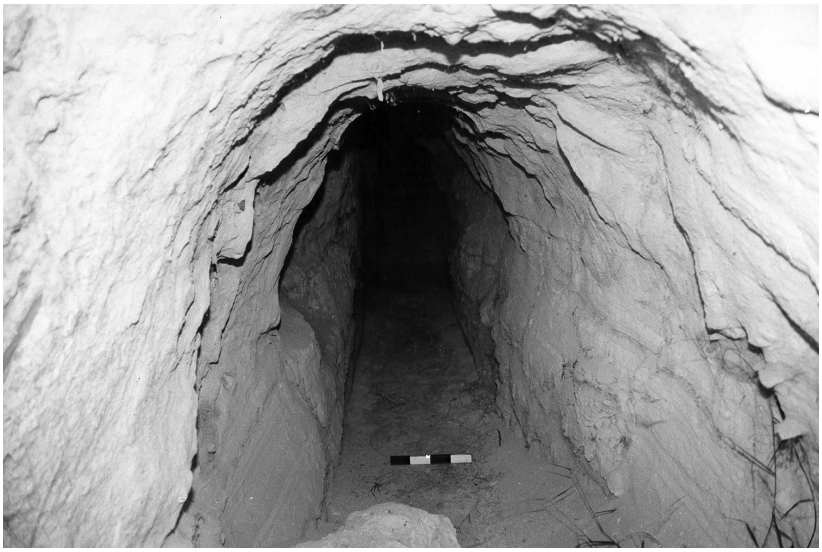


Figure I.8. Chasné of Throphari (SP-7): one of two tunnels on the east slope of the hill

Description	Pointed hill towering over the Katharoneri gully (Fig. 3.56).
Vegetation	Weeds
Visibility	3
Alteration	Landslides, because of the friability of the rock
Remains	(1) On the summit of the hill, near the geodetic marker of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service, we observed fragments of Lakonian tiles (Th. 0.01–0.015 m) with red and brownish red glaze. (2) On the east slope of the hill, two rock-cut vaulted tunnels came to light at 379402/4210099 (Fig. I.8). Both tunnels are carved out of the marly, almost vertical side of the hill. Dimensions: W. 0.8, H. 1.7 m. They are both lined with mortar, 0.02–0.03 m thick, consisting of three layers (inner layer is coarse and pebbly, outer layer is extremely fine). According to locals the tunnels ended in square basins, but are now blocked. Presumably the cisterns would provide water to the guard on the summit of the hill.
Observations	Meyer gave larger dimensions for the tunnels: W. 1.5, H. 2 m. In addition, he reported the corner of a 2 m high rectangular building standing nearby, which he dated to a late period based on a pottery fragment found in its masonry. We did not find this structure.
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Watch/signal tower?
References	Meyer 1939, p. 7.

Site No.	SP-8
Location	Mikri Valtsa, Agios Georgios
Elevation	520 masl
Coordinates	379930/4207999
Description	Level ground, abundant in water
Vegetation	Plane trees
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	N/A

Remains	Vaulted tunnel, built with tiles and rubble, tapping the water of the spring under the church of Agios Georgios. Dimensions: 1.8 × 0.65 m.
Observations	None
Chronology	Post-antique
Site Function	Aqueduct
References	None

Site No.	SP-9
Location	Melissi, Synoikismos ΔΕΗ
Elevation	93 masl
Coordinates	385463/4210715
Description	Conglomerate outcropping in the plateau
Vegetation	Weeds, olive trees, and a few pine trees
Visibility	2
Alteration	The surrounding area is cultivated. Two roads pass by the site.
Remains	Quarry traces
Observations	None
Chronology	Ancient
Site Function	Quarry
References	None

Site No.	SP-10
Location	Manna, Vourlies
Elevation	842 masl
Coordinates	367182/4202828
Description	Slope of Isomata, oriented toward the northeast, and shaped artificially in terraces
Vegetation	Apple trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Hillside bulldozed for cultivation purposes
Remains	Ashlar blocks and roof tiles pushed by bulldozer to the boundaries of the cultivated field. Due to thick vegetation, we could discern only two stone blocks of identical dimensions: 0.65 × 0.92 × 0.27 m. Some of the Lakonian roof tiles, both cover (Th. 0.015 m) and pan (Th. 0.022–0.027 m), have brown and red glaze. In the surrounding area we retrieved a handful of plain, undiagnostic sherds.
Observations	None
Chronology	Classical–Hellenistic?
Site Function	Given the location, with a towering view of the Sythas gully and Pellene, the remains could represent a watch/signal tower on the Sikyonian border.
References	None

Site No.	SP-11
Location	Lalioti, Paliopyrgos
Elevation	395 masl
Coordinates	383973/4208296

Description	Flat area mostly cultivated with vineyards, close to the edge of the natural terrace above that of Diminio to the north
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	1
Alteration	Stones, rubble, and earth piled by bulldozers while clearing the neighboring fields. Pile damaged by fire.
Remains	Pile of ashlar blocks and a few tiles, hardly visible because of the weeds covering the pile. We discerned two ashlar blocks, one intact (0.62 × 0.78 × 0.32 m), and a few later roof tiles with finger grooves. It is not clear whether some structure stood on the spot, as the name of the site suggests.
Observations	None
Chronology	Ancient, Late Antique?
Site Function	Tower? (on the basis of ashlar masonry and the toponym)
References	None

Site No.	SP-12
Location	Zemeno, Beskaki
Elevation	500 masl
Coordinates	378309/4210533
Description	Hill along the ridge between the Sythas and the Katharoneri gullies (Fig. 3.57)
Vegetation	Weeds
Visibility	1
Alteration	The hill was burnt by fire a few years ago.
Remains	Destruction layer exposed by landslides near the summit of the hill. It contained a number of roof tiles (Th. 0.01–0.012 m), some with black glaze.
Observations	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Lookout post? (based on its panoramic view)
References	None

Site No.	SP-13
Location	Zemeno, Zitouliaris
Elevation	851 masl
Coordinates	377081/4208608
Description	Pointed hill to the north of the plateau of Moungostos
Vegetation	Weeds and prickly oaks
Visibility	3
Alteration	Illicit excavation on the summit of the hill
Remains	Pile of rubble and irregular stones (Fig. 1.9). Only a few ashlar blocks (dimensions of one: 0.88 × 0.58 × 0.44 m) and Corinthian roof tiles (Th. 0.03 m).
Observations	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman
Site Function	Boundary marker
References	None

Site No.	SP-14
Location	Moungostos, Prophetes Elias
Elevation	943 masl
Coordinates	376662/4207846
Description	Northwestern edge of the tableland of Moungostos, toward the Sythas gully
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Artificial mound excavated and rubble thrown down the precipice. Construction of a water tank on the site and illicit digging of the mound in recent years.
Remains	Rubble stone and earth (Fig. 1.8). The site was excavated in 1906. The conical heap stood at a height of 4 m, and was 20 m in diameter. From the associated finds the excavator dated it to the pre-Classical period and interpreted it as a boundary marker.
Observations	Skias mentions (without having seen) two other *soroi* along the rim of Moungostos, one 2 km to the north, the other to the south of the one he excavated. I was not able to locate either of these.
Chronology	Archaic?
Site Function	Boundary marker
References	Skias 1919, pp. 45–46.

Site No.	SP-15
Location	Moulki, Tsakriza
Elevation	140 masl
Coordinates	386919/4206200
Description	Plateau overlooking the plain of Kiato
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	4
Alteration	Pile of earth and stones
Remains	Pile of ashlar blocks. We counted 12, some with dressed edges, of various dimensions: 1 × 0.78 × 0.38 m, 1.3 × 0.67 × 0.3 m, 1.1 × 0.75 × 0.35 m. In the immediate surrounding area we found roof tiles with brown and black glaze. In the wider area we found very little pottery, mostly plain, but also one black-glazed body sherd and a kantharos base. The stones must have been brought here from an unknown locale.
Observations	None
Chronology	Pre-Roman (Classical–Hellenistic)
Site Function	Unknown
References	None

Site No.	SP-16
Location	Ellinochori, Megali Lakka
Elevation	410 masl
Coordinates	384800/4200059
Description	Southern edge of Megali Lakka toward the Asopos valley
Vegetation	Weeds

Visibility	1
Alteration	Roof tiles pushed to the edge of the plateau
Remains	Hundreds of fragments of roof tiles and some pithoi and other large vessels. Some of the roof tiles have concentric grooves. It is clear that this is modern waste and that the artifacts have been brought here from elsewhere.
Observations	None
Chronology	Late Antique?
Site Function	Unknown
References	None

Site No.	SP-17
Location	Vasiliko, Ladas
Elevation	230 masl
Coordinates	385242/4203559
Description	Narrow ridge between the Helisson and the Asopos valleys
Vegetation	Uncultivated parcel overgrown with weeds
Visibility	3
Alteration	Country road passes by the site; illicit excavation of the monument.
Remains	Cist grave along the road leading from Sikyon to Titane (R7) (Fig. 3.29). Orientation northwest–southeast; dimensions: W. 0.98, p.L. 1.4, D. (visible) 0.66 m. Built with tiles and mortar with its interior coated with thick plaster. A few scattered sherds of Roman or post-Roman date.
Observations	None
Chronology	Roman or post-Roman
Site Function	Grave
References	None

Site No.	SP-18
Location	Asprokampos, Kastro
Elevation	928 masl
Coordinates	371696/4196382
Description	Hill with a steep slope on its west side
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Illicit digging on the top
Remains	Near the summit and the Hellenic Army geodetic marker we observed three ashlar blocks, one almost intact (0.96 × 0.41 m). Two bear swallowtail and the third Γ-shaped clamp cuttings on their short sides. Also a few ancient roof-tile fragments. Thick layer of rubble around the summit, which according to Peppas belong to a circular rubble wall. We could not make out the wall.
Observations	None
Chronology	Archaic?
Site Function	Peak sanctuary or stone cairn?
References	Peppas 1993, p. 183.

Site No.	SP-19
Location	Thalero, Koimisi
Elevation	ca. 160 masl
Coordinates	382482/4210288
Description	Directly southwest of the church of Koimisi at the center of the village of Thalero
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	2
Alteration	Houses built around the structure
Remains	Rectangular basin, ca. 16 × 15 m, in *opus testaceum.* Inner surface coated with plaster. The north wall of the basin has buttresses on the exterior. Plenty of modern pottery and roof tiles within the basin.
Observations	Pharaklas describes the structure as a Roman wall with buttresses, oriented east–west.
Chronology	Roman or post-Roman
Site Function	Cistern
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 101 (app. II, p. 11).

Site No.	SP-20
Location	Kaisari, Moleza
Elevation	780 masl
Coordinates	376322/4201694
Description	Northwest foot of Vesiza and eastern edge of the *kampos*
Vegetation	Wheat fields
Visibility	4
Alteration	Plowing; country road crosses the site.
Remains	A few Medieval(?) roof tiles (Th. 0.024–0.025 m)
Observations	According to local tradition, this is one of the early habitation sites around the plain of Kaisari, prior to the formation of the village.
Chronology	Medieval?
Site Function	Pastoral installation
References	None

Site No.	SP-21
Location	Stimanga, Patima
Elevation	ca. 380 masl
Coordinates	387709/4195914
Description	Edge of a vineyard sloping toward a country road and ravine
Vegetation	Olive trees and vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Edge of the slope, 2.5 m. wide, recently graded by 1.3–1.4 m
Remains	Scattered brick masonry with mortar and tiles of Lakonian type. Brick dimensions: 0.29 × 0.29 m; Th. 0.029–0.035 m. Roof tiles and bricks visible in the scarp, 0.3–1.0 m below ground surface.
Observations	We observed no pottery on this site.
Chronology	Roman–Byzantine?
Site Function	Isolated small structure or cluster of graves?
References	None

Site No.	SP-22
Location	Lalioti, Agia Soteira
Elevation	293 masl
Coordinates	384139/4207855
Description	Small plateau around the church of Agia Soteira
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	3
Alteration	Courtyard of the church landscaped in recent years
Remains	Marble double colonnette lying in the courtyard. A few Medieval roof tiles around the church.
Observations	None
Chronology	Early Christian
Site Function	Church
References	None

Site No.	SP-23
Location	Ellinochori, Vardounia
Elevation	360 masl
Coordinates	386066/4198659
Description	Plateau to the northeast of Vardounia hill, falling gently to the north
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	3, in the olive grove surrounding the structure
Alteration	Plowing
Remains	Structure, oriented east–west, made of reused ashlar blocks, tiles, bricks, rubble, and mortar. One side is 5.2 m long, and the wall 0.6 m thick. Very few Lakonian pan tiles with glaze, and many thicker late or post-antique tiles. Low density of abraded pottery around the structure. Two Byzantine cooking pots, one post-Medieval cream glazed sherd, and a fragment from an early modern plate.
Observations	The ashlar blocks may come from a watch/signal tower that stood on top of Vardounia hill.
Chronology	Middle Byzantine (based on masonry), post-Medieval
Site Function	Church?
References	None

Site No.	SP-24
Location	Zemeno, Agia Soteira
Elevation	610 masl
Coordinates	377105/4209742
Description	Plateau to the northeast of Tsouka, defined by precipices to the north and east
Vegetation	Overgrown with weeds and wheat
Visibility	0
Alteration	Surface graded by 1 to 1.5 m. Artificial terraces to the south and the west.
Remains	Church and bell both dating from the 19th century (1889 for the bell). Marble pieces from the ecclesiastical complex *(non vidi)*.

	The few pieces of pottery that I was able to see were coarse, including cooking ware, mostly Late Roman–Medieval and a few early modern. Storage pithoi *(siroi)* to the west of the church, according to tradition. Also, two iron nails, and a piece of bluish glass.
Observations	Early modern cells belonging to the monastery were obliterated in the course of recent relandscaping. Underneath them one could see the traces of earlier cells. Graves are locally reported in the surrounding area. Natural cavities have formed underneath the plateau by the action of water. The church is a designated archaeological monument.
Chronology	Byzantine, early modern
Site Function	Bishopric and monastery
References	Koutivas 1962, pp. 64–65; Gritsopoulos 1972, pp. 352–354; Kordosis 1981, pp. 212–213, 356–357; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 1999, p. 258.

Site No.	SP-25
Location	Stimanga, Agios Ioannis
Elevation	433 masl
Coordinates	385345/4196719
Description	Ravine below a high vertical cliff (Fig. 6.18)
Vegetation	Pine trees and plane trees
Visibility	0 (the site was backfilled after excavation)
Alteration	Country road crosses the site. Church of Agios Ioannis erected next to the site of the ancient temple.
Remains	Corner of a temple(?) exposed during the 1963 excavation (Figs. 6.15, 6.16). The foundations, the leveling course, and the stylobate, as well as two fragments of Ionic fluted column drums connected to their base, were uncovered. Part of an ancient rectangular building with Early Byzantine modifications came to light to the east of the "temple." Both structures were reburied at the end of the short excavation season and are not visible today. Some 18 m to the south of Agios Ioannis, near the country road, a retaining wall, with ca. 1.5 m of max. visible height and oriented roughly east–west, can be traced for a length of 11.5 m (Fig. 6.17). The wall is made of trapezoidal conglomerate blocks and preserves three courses. Excavation finds include a fragment of a naiskos relief with representation of a female divinity holding a torch (Fig. 6.19), a female head of a terracotta statuette, and a terracotta statuette of Pan.
Observations	Spring in situ. The marble relief is in the museum of Sikyon but the present location of the other finds is unknown.
Chronology	LATE CLASSICAL/EARLY HELLENISTIC (4th century), Early Byzantine
Site Function	Sanctuary in ancient times
References	Daux 1963, p. 736; Alexandri 1965; Pharaklas 1971, site 32 (app. II, p. 3); Pyriovolis 1986, pp. 295, 310–315.

Site No.	SP-26
Location	Bozika, Agios Georgios
Elevation	590 masl
Coordinates	377719/4196677
Description	Edge of a plateau projecting eastward, with panoramic view of the Asopos valley
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	Courtyard of the church paved with stone slabs
Remains	Remains of an Early Christian church under the church of Agios Georgios: grave and mosaic floor. Five limestone ashlar blocks of roughly the same dimensions (0.53 × 0.35 × 0.3 m), some with sockets and anathyrosis. Two monolithic column shafts of conglomerate stone, 0.4 m in diameter. One Corinthian column capital (6th–7th century A.D.; Fig. 5.51).
Observations	Hoard from the reign of Justin II (A.D. 573/4) found in the school's courtyard. Designated archaeological monument (since 1962).
Chronology	Pre-Roman (based on the ashlar blocks), EARLY BYZANTINE
Site Function	Church
References	Daux 1958, p. 702; Spiro 1978, pp. 86–88; Avramea, 1983, p. 61; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, pp. 96–97; Avramea 1997, p. 77.

Site No.	SP-27
Location	Kryoneri, Lechova
Elevation	980 masl
Coordinates	377741/4199664
Description	Monastery located on the saddle of the Vesiza ridge
Vegetation	Fir trees in the surrounding area
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	Many relandscapings within the monastery. In the 1970s, the old cells were destroyed.
Remains	(1) *Katholikon* of the monastery (Figs. 5.61–5.63). Cross-in-square domed church, with an annex added on the south side. Three fragments of an epistyle incorporated in the masonry. A contemporaneous barrel-vaulted chapel was added to the south side of the church. (2) Foundations of the cells, 0.7 m thick, to the southeast of the *katholikon*. Architectural fragments: (a) lintel block of marble in the courtyard of the monastery (0.9 × 0.4 × 0.25 m); (b) capping stone of a Roman sarcophagus (0.84 × 0.41 × 0.15 m); (c) two fragments of a chancel screen; (d) fragment of a small pillar from the iconostasis.
Observations	Recent rescue excavations of the 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, not yet reported in *ArchDelt*. The *katholikon* is a designated archaeological monument. The monument was repaired after the 1981 earthquake by the 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities.
Chronology	Middle Byzantine (12th century), for the *katholikon*
Site Function	Monastery

References	Orlandos 1935b; Kordosis 1981, p. 308; Salapatas 1986; Tsophopoulou-Gkini 1988, p. 175; Boura and Bouras 2002, pp. 210–212.

Site No.	SP-28
Location	Tarsina, Church of the Transfiguration (Agia Soteira)
Elevation	62 masl
Coordinates	390474/4201294
Description	Upper part of the coastal plain
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	Cemetery of Tarsina since the 1830s
Remains	Church of cross-in-square plan with dome (Figs. 3.15–3.17, 5.60). The church has incorporated ancient architectural fragments: (1) two fluted columns (Diam. 0.22 m); (2) stone from a threshold or lintel (0.86 × 0.4 × 0.17 m) with a rectangular cutting (0.085 × 0.06 m); (3) two marble column drums rebuilt in the north wall (Diam. 0.32 and 0.38 m); (4) one Ionic capital, 0.58 m wide, rebuilt in the north wall; (5) one Ionic capital, 0.49 m wide, rebuilt in the north wall; (6) some of the corner stones of the church are ancient (one measures 1.4 × 0.41 × 0.34 m); (7) within the church, two marble monolithic columns supporting Ionic capitals of different type and size. One of these capitals (0.69 × 0.47 m) is far larger than its corresponding column, and this is probably the case regarding the second capital as well. One of the columns sits on the floor, the other on a base.
Observations	The church was restored by the 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities in 1982.
Chronology	Middle Byzantine (late 12th century)
Site Function	Church
References	Orlandos 1935b; Georgopoulou 1989; Boura and Bouras 2002, pp. 312–313.

Site No.	SP-29
Location	Tarsina, Evangelistria
Elevation	98 masl
Coordinates	389813/4200541
Description	Small hill between two streams
Vegetation	Cypress trees
Visibility	N/A
Alteration	Cutting of the conglomerate bedrock for construction of the church.
Remains	Early modern church. Architectural fragments: (1) three Late Roman monolithic columns set in the courtyard of the church (Diam. 0.28, H. visible 1.4–1.58 m); (2) lintel block incorporated in the later church; (3) fragment of a monolithic unfluted column, most likely ancient, set in the courtyard of the church (max. H. 1.1, Diam. 0.5 m); (4) fragment of an epistyle from the iconostasis (12th century).
Observations	Well in the courtyard of the church. The present church was built toward the end of the 19th century replacing an older church

	dedicated to Agios Ermolaos. The 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities has recently carried out rescue excavations in front of the apse of the church, not yet published in *ArchDelt*. The church is a designated archaeological monument.
Chronology	Pre-Roman, Late Roman, MIDDLE BYZANTINE (12th century)
Site Function	Church
References	Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 1999, p. 258.

Site No.	SP-30
Location	Poulitsa, Litharia tou Rakka
Elevation	247 masl
Coordinates	389068/4198410
Description	Hill with panoramic view of the plain
Vegetation	Olive trees and prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Modern landscaping and illicit digging
Remains	Ruin of a church near the top of the hill, below modern surface level (Fig. 5.59). Local tradition holds that this is the old church of Agios Nikolaos. The structure, oriented east–west, consists of rubble, bricks, and tiles set in mortar. It has suffered greatly from illicit digging. Dimensions: W. 8.5, L. 7.3, W. of apse 2.8 m; brick dimensions: 0.28 × 0.28, Th. 0.026 m. A monolithic column, of imported marble, lies within the church; p.L. 1.3, Diam. 0.3 m. Medieval roof tiles with finger grooves and a handful of sherds scattered inside and around the structure.
Observations	On the top of the hill, by the geodetic marker of the Hellenic Army (389036/4198436), a bulldozer has exposed a tunnel.
Chronology	Early Byzantine (6th–9th century based on masonry)
Site Function	Early Byzantine church with a later (Medieval) phase
References	None

Site No.	SP-31
Location	Poulitsa, Patima
Elevation	280 masl
Coordinates	388312/4197250
Description	Slope falling gently to the northeast
Vegetation	Vineyards
Visibility	3
Alteration	Deep plowing
Remains	Late Roman column base, now in the house of Kostas Kitsalias. Diam. of shaft 0.35, dimensions of base 0.43 × 0.43 m. An Ionic capital, now also in the house of Kitsalias, may also come from this site. Dimensions of abacus: 0.2 × 0.2 m. A few roof-tile fragments and LR Amphora 2 body sherds.
Observations	None
Chronology	Late Roman (6th–7th century)
Site Function	Church?
References	None

ROAD SITES

Site No.	RS-1
Location	Velo, Tourkogephyra 1
Elevation	52 masl
Coordinates	388972/4203910
Description	Asopos River
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Deck of the bridge paved with cement
Remains	Turkish bridge with a large central arch, slightly pointed and two smaller ones on the sides. Dimensions: L. ca. 15, H. 11, W. 3.95 m. W. of central arch: 15.35 m; dimensions of side arches: 2.28 × 2.17 m and 2.28 × 1.9 m. Lower part of the bridge shows ashlar masonry, the upper part is built with smaller stones (Figs. 3.2, 3.7).
Date	Ottoman
Route	Corinth–Vasiliko
References	Gell 1817, p. 205; Pouqueville 1826, pp. 442–443. Designated archaeological monument (since 1950).

Site No.	RS-2
Location	Velo, Tourkogephyra 2
Elevation	46 masl
Coordinates	388976/4203914
Description	Asopos River
Vegetation	Fig trees and oleanders
Visibility	3
Alteration	N/A
Remains	Abutment of a bridge in *opus quadratum* (p.H. 2.4 [corresponding to seven courses], W. 3.05, p.Th. 2.3 m; Figs. 3.4, 3.5). It stands 6.1 m north of the Turkish bridge (RS-1).
Date	Roman Imperial
Route	Corinth–Achaia (R1)
References	Pouqueville 1826, pp. 442–443; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 488.

Site No.	RS-3
Location	Kiato, Kyrillou
Elevation	30 masl
Coordinates	388817/4207472
Description	Kyrillou ravine
Vegetation	Reeds, cypress trees, and a plane tree
Visibility	2
Alteration	N/A
Remains	Abutments of a bridge on both banks of the river (Figs. 3.71–3.73). Span of the bridge estimated at ca. 4.9 m. Only dimensions of the eastern abutment could be taken: H. ca. 3.5, W. 4.7, W. of arch 1.95 m. Masonry on both sides of the arch seems to act as a

	buttress and may have served for pedestrian traffic (on wooden planks). Reused ashlar blocks at the lower courses and the corners of the two abutments. Core masonry consists of bricks, rubble, and mortar, with the exception of the arch, which is built in *opus testaceum* (ratio brick/mortar: ca. 3:3).
Date	Medieval
Route	Corinth–Achaia (R2)
References	None

Site No.	RS-4
Location	Pasio, Kyrillou
Elevation	90 masl
Coordinates	387085/4206635
Description	Kyrillou ravine
Vegetation	Ferns, fig trees, and plane trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	N/A
Remains	Abutments of a bridge on both banks of the river. Western abutment (W. 7.25 m) is preserved to a height of ca. 3 m (Fig. 3.68). Eight courses of ashlar isodomic masonry, topped by rubble and mortar masonry.
Date	Roman with a Medieval phase
Route	Corinth–Achaia (R1)
References	None

Site No.	RS-5
Location	Velo, Panagia Giouroutsi 1
Elevation	ca. 240 masl
Coordinates	386678/4201865
Description	Low ridge between the Vathy *rema* and the Giouroutsi *rema*. It slopes slightly to the northeast.
Vegetation	Bushes and weeds
Visibility	3
Alteration	Asphalt road apparently covered the extension of the ancient road in both directions.
Remains	Segment of an ancient road, ca. 15 m long, running parallel to the asphalt road (Fig. 3.23). It preserves traces of parallel wheel-ruts carved in the bedrock. Gauge 1.483, W. of grooves 0.1–0.2, D. of grooves 0.15–0.18 m.
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Phlious (R4)
References	None

Site No.	RS-6
Location	Velo, Saitaiika
Elevation	ca. 96 masl
Coordinates	389464/4202272
Description	First terrace to the south of the plain, bounded by two ravines
Vegetation	Bushes and weeds

Visibility	3
Alteration	Modern pen built by the road
Remains	Road cut in the conglomerate rock to a maximum depth of 1.2 m (Fig. 3.24). W. of road 2.8, p.L. ca. 18 m. Orientation: northeast–southwest. Traces of quarrying of conglomerate stone (Figs. 1.33. 1.34).
Date	Ancient
Route	Coastal plain–plateau of Ellinochori (R5)
References	None

Site No.	RS-7
Location	Vasiliko, Dortori
Elevation	500–524 masl
Coordinates	382873/4202458 (E end), 382552/4202412 (W end)
Description	Narrow ridge between tributaries of the Helisson River
Vegetation	Low bushes and weeds
Visibility	3
Alteration	Both ends of the path destroyed by country road
Remains	Stretch of a path, ca. 350 m long, running along the edge of the ridge with a gentle ascent to the west. Average width: 2.3–2.5 m. The path is partly carved into the conglomerate bedrock and partly built on a terrace wall (along the south side) consisting of large irregular stone blocks (Figs. 3.33, 3.34).
Date	Ancient?, Medieval
Route	Sikyon–Titane (R7)
References	None

Site No.	RS-8
Location	Bozika, Gephyraki
Elevation	ca. 850 masl
Coordinates	N/A
Description	Hillside
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	None
Remains	Ancient road bed preserving a single wheel-rut over a visible length of 0.4 m (Fig. 3.41). There is local information for the existence of a second wheel-rut lower down the path, but the dense vegetation did not allow us to explore it.
Date	Ancient
Route	Titane–Kokkinovrachos (R8)
References	None

Site No.	RS-9
Location	Moulki, Panagia
Elevation	90 masl
Coordinates	385988/4204728
Description	Helisson River
Vegetation	Plane tree, weeds

Visibility	2
Alteration	Later modifications on the surface of the abutment
Remains	Abutment of a bridge on the west bank of the Helisson River (Figs. 3.43–3.47). Max. p.H. 4.9, W. 3.15 m. Isodomic ashlar masonry preserving nine courses. At least two blocks from a Doric entablature, one triglyph and one geison block, incorporated into the masonry of the bridge.
Date	Hellenistic(?) with later phase
Route	Sikyon–Stymphalos (R9)
References	None

Site No.	RS-10
Location	Souli, Agios Georgios
Elevation	365 masl
Coordinates	384365/4205500
Description	Almost level ground between the Kyrillou and Gourgourati streams. It slopes slightly to the northeast.
Vegetation	Pine trees and shrubs
Visibility	2
Alteration	Modern dirt road runs parallel to the ancient road.
Remains	Segment of a road preserving wheel-ruts in four places (Figs. 3.50–3.52). Gauge 1.44, W. of ruts 0.12, max. D. 0.2 m.
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Stymphalos and Pellene (R9b)
References	None

Site No.	RS-11
Location	Souli, Skala
Elevation	ca. 740 masl
Coordinates	379124/4204706 (NE end), 378884/4204580 (SW end)
Description	Slope of considerable gradient (almost 20%)
Vegetation	Pine trees and prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Path destroyed on both ends by the asphalt road to Stymphalos.
Remains	Old path between the zigzag of the asphalt road, preserved to a total length of ca. 200 m (Fig. 3.54). The path, 4 m in average width, is partly carved out of the conglomerate bedrock and partly built on terrace walls.
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Stymphalos and Pellene (R9b)
References	None

Site No.	RS-12
Location	Kryoneri, Pigadi
Elevation	ca. 900 masl
Coordinates	377852/4203155
Description	North bank of a shallow depression
Vegetation	Weeds and vineyards in the vicinity
Visibility	2

Alteration	Minimum
Remains	Rock cut for road bed, ca. 35 m long (Fig. 3.58). The corner of a rectangular structure, made of irregular trapezoidal blocks, was observed nearby (Fig. 3.65).
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Titane (R10)
References	None

Site No.	RS-13
Location	Kryoneri, Choriza (Bouzouliko 1)
Elevation	ca. 950 masl
Coordinates	377712/4201938
Description	North bank of a depression near the western edge of the plateau
Vegetation	Mostly prickly oaks
Visibility	4
Alteration	A dirt road has cut through the ancient road.
Remains	Wheel-ruts carved into the limestone bedrock (Fig. 3.59). The ruts are not carved at the same level, but the east rut is carved 0.3 m deeper than the west one.
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Titane (R10)
References	None

Site No.	RS-14
Location	Kryoneri, Choriza (Bouzouliko 2)
Elevation	ca. 955 masl
Coordinates	ca. 377629/4201665
Description	South bank of a depression near the western edge of the plateau
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Minimum
Remains	Wheel-ruts carved into the exposed bedrock, not on the same plane (Fig. 3.60). Gauge: 1.4 m (horizontal measurement).
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Titane (R10)
References	None

Site No.	RS-15
Location	Kryoneri, Melisiklias
Elevation	810 masl
Coordinates	378905/4200390
Description	Slope toward the ravine of Melisiklias
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Country road to Lechova
Remains	Wheel-ruts can be followed to an overall length of ca. 100 m (gauge 1.454, D. of grooves 0.03–0.30, W. of grooves 0.08–0.12 m; Figs. 3.62, 3.63).
Date	Ancient

Route	Sikyon–Titane (R10)
References	None

Site No.	RS-16
Location	Kryoneri, Vesiza
Elevation	1,000 masl
Coordinates	377167/4200783
Description	Ridge between Vesiza and Balkouri
Vegetation	Fir trees and oak trees
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	None
Remains	Stepped cobbled road *(kalderimi)* descending to the valley of Kaisari (Fig. 3.64). Its average width is 2–2.5 m.
Date	Medieval (Ottoman?)
Route	Kaisari–Bozika area
References	None

Site No.	RS-17
Location	Megali Valtsa, Elliniko
Elevation	ca. 460 masl
Coordinates	381992/4206597 (W end), 382204/4206550 (E end)
Description	Northern edge of the highland toward the Seliandros deep gully
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Asphalt road over ancient one
Remains	Ancient road followed to a total length of ca. 150 m. Max. width of the road bed: 4.5 m. Max. height of the vertical cut of the hill on one side: 1.7 m. In 1998 the road was widened and paved with asphalt, resulting in the destruction of the rock-cut side of the ancient road (Figs. 3.74, 3.75).
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Stymphalos/Pellene? (R9b)
References	Skias 1919, p. 46; Meyer 1939, pp. 4–5.

Site No.	RS-18
Location	Stylia, Kalbatsathi
Elevation	ca. 752–874 masl
Coordinates	376076/4207246 (lower end), 375319/4206959 (upper end)
Description	Northern slope of the plateau of Velina
Vegetation	Pine trees
Visibility	3
Alteration	Lower end of the path has been cut by the asphalt road to Stylia.
Remains	Stretch of a cobbled road *(kalderimi)* ascending to the plateau by the church of Prophetes Elias (Fig. 3.79). Width varies: 2–3 m. The *kalderimi* passes by the Kalbatsathi fountain.
Date	Medieval (Ottoman?)
Route	Sikyon–Pellene? (R11)
References	None

Site No.	RS-19
Location	Stylia, Spelantoni
Elevation	ca. 880 masl
Coordinates	373848/4205921
Description	Western slope of the plateau of Velina, below a cave
Vegetation	Burnt pine trees and prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Minimum
Remains	Stretch of a wheel-rut, 2.5 m long, along a path leading to the Panagia church (Klisi-Boukoura) (Fig. 3.80). This path, which operated until the 1920s, connected the villages of Manna and Panariti with the coastal plain through Megali Valtsa.
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Pellene? (R11)
References	None

Site No.	RS-20
Location	Manna, Prophetes Elias
Elevation	900 masl
Coordinates	368529/4203277 (W end), 368557/4203266 (E end)
Description	Southwest slopes of Prophetes Elias
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Minimum
Remains	Stretch of an ancient road with wheel-ruts carved into the bedrock (Figs. 3.83, 3.84). Gauge: 1.44 m, max. D. of the grooves: 0.4 m. The road descends toward the gully of Sythas. Further north traces of a cobbled path *(kalderimi)* are preserved (368526/4203314) (Fig. 3.85).
Date	Ancient, Medieval (Ottoman)
Route	Phlious–Pellene? (R12a)
References	None

Site No.	RS-21
Location	Kephalari, Agios Athanasios
Elevation	836 masl
Coordinates	371747/4196870 (NE end), 371705/4196840 (SW end)
Description	Northern slopes of Kastro hill
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Minimum
Remains	Stretch of a road cut into the conglomerate bedrock, ca. 50 m long and 3–3.5 m wide, descending to the area of Kephalari (Fig. 3.81). Due to the friability of the rock, no chiseling marks or wheel-ruts are preserved.
Date	Ancient, Medieval
Route	Phlious–Pellene? (R12a)
References	None

Site No.	RS-22
Location	Kryoneri, Xerorema
Elevation	530–540 masl
Coordinates	381982/4202242–382260/4202424
Description	North bank of Xerorema
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Minimum
Remains	Path along the north bank of Xerorema (Figs. 3.86, 3.87). Mainly a dirt path, but in places it was dug into the friable conglomerate bedrock and formed steps.
Date	Medieval
Route	Coastal plain–Lechova and the Bozikochoria
References	None

Site No.	RS-23
Location	Kryoneri, Panagia
Elevation	628 masl
Coordinates	381195/4202285
Description	Ravine of torrential water, a tributary to the Helisson
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Cement layer over the deck of the bridge
Remains	Bridge with a central pointed arch, and a cobbled path *(kalderimi)* leading to it from Xerorema
Date	Medieval (Ottoman?)
Route	Xerorema–Kryoneri
References	None

Site No.	RS-24
Location	Vasiliko, Xerokastelli
Elevation	ca. 250 masl
Coordinates	385512/4203784, 385507/4203781
Description	Narrow ridge between the Helisson and the Asopos river valleys
Vegetation	N/A
Visibility	4
Alteration	Hillside cut during opening of an access road to a field
Remains	Artificial terracing of the ridge consisting of at least two successive retaining walls made of conglomerate blocks (Figs. 3.31, 3.32)
Date	Ancient
Route	Sikyon–Titane (R7)
References	None

DEFENSIVE SITES

Site No.	DS-1
Location	Stimanga, Evangelistria (ancient Thyamia)
Elevation	806 masl
Coordinates	383905/4195341
Description	Summit of the Trikaranon range forming an almost conical plateau
Vegetation	Pine trees around the plateau
Visibility	1
Alteration	Landscaping for the erection of the church and the war memorial. Recent asphalt paving of the road circling the summit.
Surface Area	ca. 9,700 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	(1) Fortification wall of Thyamia (Figs. 4.41–4.43): polygonal masonry preserved at the northwest side, in three courses (max. p.H. 1.2, Th. 0.75 m) and total visible length of ca. 39 m. (2) Church of Evangelismos (early modern) with an Early or Middle Byzantine predecessor.
Arch. Frags.	Stone blocks from the fortification wall and the tower now piled behind the war memorial
Tiles	None
Pottery	Very little, plain and nondiagnostic
Other	Column fragments and marble pieces recorded by Ross in the then-ruined church of Evangelismos
Chronology	Classical (4th century B.C.), Medieval
Site Function	Fort
Observations	The fortification wall around the summit must have reached ca. 400 m in length. The war memorial was built upon the site of a round Medieval tower reported by Russell. Besides the fortification wall, Pharaklas recorded sherds dating from the Early Helladic to the Byzantine period; the pottery that I observed was rather scanty and definitely does not cover such a wide chronological range.
References	Xen. *Hell.* 7.2, 7.4; Ross 1841, p. 41; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 481; Guides-Joanne 1891, p. 186; Russell 1924, p. 42; Pharaklas 1971, site 35 (app. II, p. 4); Kordosis 1981, p. 186; Peppas 1993, pp. 165–166.

Site No.	DS-2
Location	Titane
Elevation	590 masl
Coordinates	378968/4197765
Description	Low hill, abrupt only toward the east
Vegetation	Cypress trees and weeds
Visibility	2
Alteration	Church on the summit of the hill, surrounded by the old cemetery of the village of Titane
Surface Area	ca. 2,000 m^2

Water Source	Unknown
Structures	A fort with two towers (Figs. 4.44–4.53). Perimeter of the visible fortification wall: ca. 73 m; max. p.H. 4.25 m. Approximate surface area of the fort: 2,000 m^2. Trapezoidal masonry.
Arch. Frags.	See the description in HS-67.
Tiles	A few Lakonian pan tiles with brown glaze on the hill
Pottery	Almost none visible on the hill, but abundant pottery scattered below it. See the description in HS-67.
Other	See the description in HS-67.
Chronology	Late Classical
Site Function	Fort within a sanctuary
Observations	None
References	Same as HS-67

Site No.	DS-3
Location	Gonoussa, Kastro
Elevation	755 masl
Coordinates	379064/4198758 (fort), 379034/4198797 (tower)
Description	Promontory toward the Asopos valley. View of the Phliasian plain, the Asopos valley, and part of the coastal plain of Vocha.
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Minimum
Surface Area	2,000 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Irregular enceinte with a tower at its northwest corner (Figs. 4.55–4.62). Max. visible height of 2 m, corresponding to five courses. Width of the double wall: 1.6 m. Surface included: ca. 2,000 m^2. Independent tower to the northwest of the enceinte, 8 × 8 m. Irregular trapezoidal masonry.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few Lakonian tiles
Pottery	Very few plain sherds
Other	Olive press(?) installation within the fort (Fig. 1.20) and a conical loomweight of the Classical period.
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Fort and tower
Observations	The stone for the fort was quarried nearby. The fort served also for the protection of a settlement (HS-59) situated ca. 350 m to the south (at a lower elevation).
References	Leake 1830, p. 354; Ross 1840, p. 26; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500; Rangabé 1857, pp. 409–410; Pharaklas 1971, site 141 (app. II, pp. 14–15, fig. 46); Lawrence 1979, pp. 247–248, 469, pl. 23.

Site No.	DS-4
Location	Bozika, Kokkinovrachos
Elevation	1,009 masl
Coordinates	374793/4196506

Description	Hill between Vesiza and Gavrias; the hill has three peaks, with the middle being the highest.
Vegetation	Bushes and prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Occasionally the hill has served as pasture land.
Surface Area	ca. 5,580 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	(1) Fort, which consists of a tower at the summit of the hill and an enceinte with six towers running at a lower level (Figs. 4.65–4.78). Dimensions of the main tower: 8 × 8 m. Area of the fort: 5,580 m^2. Entrance from the west. 4.75 m wide. Double wall of irregular trapezoidal masonry. Max. p.H. 1.2, Th. 2.2–2.3 m. (2) Line of a rubble wall along the northern slope of the hill
Arch. Frags.	Stone blocks from the fort have slid down the north slope of the hill.
Tiles	Corinthian and glazed Lakonian tiles
Pottery	Low to medium density, mostly plain and coarse, with a few black-glazed body sherds
Other	Three obsidian flakes; iron arrowheads, according to local tradition.
Chronology	Classical (4th century B.C.?) for the fort, Medieval/post-Medieval for the rubble wall
Site Function	Fort
Observations	Kokkinovrachos was a Sikyonian border fort toward Stymphalos and Phlious.
References	Peppas 1993, pp. 178–179.

Site No.	DS-5
Location	Megali Valtsa, Elliniko
Elevation	450 masl
Coordinates	383161/4206224
Description	A hill projecting toward the Selleeis River. Views to Evangelistria (Stimanga), Prophetes Elias (Paradeisi), and Xerokastelli.
Vegetation	Bushes and prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	A bulldozer was driven up to the structure from its west side.
Surface area	N/A
Water Source	Wells?
Structures	Fort with a tower (Figs. 4.90–4.94). Dimensions of the tower: 7.5 × 8.9 m. Max. visible height of 2.8 m, corresponding to seven courses of the northwest side. Entrance to the tower from the northeast. Cuttings and wall traces to the southwest of the tower.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian tiles, some with finger grooves
Pottery	None
Other	None
Chronology	Late 4th/early 3rd century B.C.
Site Function	Fort

Observations	According to Meyer, the fort measured 52 × 24 m. Skias observed underground channels below the complex.
References	Skias 1919, p. 47; Meyer 1939, pp. 3–4; Pharaklas 1971, site 1 (app. II, p. 1).

Site No.	DS-6
Location	Kaisari, Goulas
Elevation	820 masl
Coordinates	372442/4199919
Description	Conical hill with panoramic view of the plain of Kaisari. Visual contact with the tower of Tsakouthi (DS-16), but not with the hill of Thekriza (DS-10).
Vegetation	Bushes and prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Recently, a bulldozer was used to dig a large pit on the summit of the hill
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Near the site
Structures	(1) Segment of a wall made of trapezoidal blocks on the north-east side of hill (Fig. 4.79). (2) Perhaps a wall of rubble masonry around the summit.
Arch. Frags.	Structural conglomerate blocks: 0.44 × 0.36 × 0.23 m.
Tiles	Lakonian pan tiles with brown glaze, 0.017–0.019 m thick. One Corinthian pan tile.
Pottery	A few plain sherds, some of which may be Classical in date
Other	None
Chronology	Ancient, Medieval?
Site Function	Fort?
Observations	A Medieval tower (Diam. 18 m) is reported by Peppas but I could not confirm this on the basis of what is visible today: a mass of rubble stones. Could this be the site of a cairn, marking the southern borders of the state (toward Stymphalos)?
References	Peppas 1993, pp. 183–184.

Site No.	DS-7
Location	Stylia, Pyrgouthi
Elevation	436 masl
Coordinates	372772/4207766
Description	Conical hill, steep on all sides, above the course of the Sythas River
Vegetation	Bushes and weeds
Visibility	0
Alteration	N/A
Surface area	Unknown but small
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Short segment of a wall on the southwest side of the hill: irregular stone blocks without mortar (Fig. 4.100).
Arch. Frags.	Conglomerate stone blocks on the east slope of Pyrgouthi (372919/4207683, 372990/4207549). Dimensions: 0.93 × 0.57

	× 0.45 m. Some of the blocks serve as support for terraces of olive trees. More ashlar blocks on the south side of the hill (372808/4207682).
Tiles	A few tile fragments
Pottery	Low density pottery spread over a wide area. Some black-glazed body sherds, one fragment of terra sigillata.
Other	One stone tool
Chronology	Prehistoric, Classical, Roman
Site Function	Fort
Observations	A border fort by the Sythas River
References	Peppas 1993, pp. 175–176.

Site No.	DS-8
Location	Stimanga, Prophetes Elias
Elevation	546 masl
Coordinates	385132/4196629
Description	A hill with abrupt sides forming a small plateau at its summit
Vegetation	Pine trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Church built on the summit of the hill. Dirt road ascends to the church.
Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Cuttings in the rock, perhaps for the bedding of a fortification wall, at the south and southwest side of the hill
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Lakonian tiles with glaze
Pottery	A few plain sherds
Other	None
Chronology	Unknown
Site Function	Fort?
Observations	According to local tradition, two tunnels led away from this hill. One was exposed during the opening of the asphalt road below the hill. Pharaklas mentions sherds of the Classical to Byzantine period and Pyriovolis refers to a wall of a tower or a temple, but I could not confirm either report.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 33 (app. II, pp. 3–4); Kordosis 1981, p. 129; Pyriovolis 1986, p. 298.

Site No.	DS-9
Location	Kaisari, Agios Vlasios
Elevation	ca. 925 masl
Coordinates	373367/4201247
Description	Southeast projection of the Konomavra height, relatively abrupt toward the northeast, east, and south
Vegetation	Prickly oaks around the hill
Visibility	2
Alteration	The hill served as the old cemetery of Kaisari. In some areas the rubble wall of the cemetery sits on the large stones of the ancient fort.

Surface area	ca. 300 m^2
Water Source	Near the site
Structures	Fortification wall along the edge of the hill, segments of which are preserved on the east, south, and west sides for a total length of ca. 40 m (Figs. 4.85, 4.86). Max. p.H. 1.6 m, corresponding to two courses. Irregular trapezoidal masonry. Dimensions of ashlar blocks: 1.65 × 0.75; 1.22 × 0.95 m.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	None
Pottery	None
Other	None
Chronology	Classical/Hellenistic
Site Function	Fort
Observations	The fort controlled almost the entire plain of Kaisari.
References	None

Site No.	DS-10
Location	Kryoneri, Thekriza ("Tzami")
Elevation	900 masl
Coordinates	377683/4204104
Description	Southwestern edge of the hill of Thekriza with towering view of the valley of Kaisari
Vegetation	Weeds and prickly oaks
Visibility	3
Alteration	Clandestine excavation on the western side of the tower
Surface area	90 m^2
Water Source	Not on the site
Structures	Square tower, 9.5 × 9.5 m (Figs. 4.87–4.89). Thickness of wall: 1 m. An underground passage led off its east corner to the south-west side of Thekriza.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	A few fragments of Lakonian pan tiles
Pottery	A few plain, undiagnostic, sherds
Other	Stone mortar reported and drawn by Stikas
Chronology	Classical
Site Function	Watch/signal tower
Observations	The tower lies in cloxe proximity to a large settlement of the Classical period (HS-54).
References	Stikas 1947.

Site No.	DS-11
Location	Stimanga, Agios Konstantinos
Elevation	455 masl
Coordinates	386434/4196865
Description	Projection of the natural terrace, with steep gradients toward the north, east, and south
Vegetation	Olive trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Surface grading and piling of earth and stones on the ancient structure. Illicit digging of the structure.

Surface Area	Small (less than 1,000 m^2)
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	The south side of the structure, 1 m thick, was still visible in the summer of 1996, to a length of ca. 5 m (Figs. 3.26, 3.27). The structure probably forms a curve at its northeast end, but the ground plan is not clear. Probably ellipsoidal in shape. Masonry consists of ashlar blocks with mortar and tile in the joints. Additional sections of masonry in brick, rubble, and mortar.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Hundreds of roof tiles and bricks around and within the structure. Some tiles have red glaze, others have finger grooves.
Pottery	None
Other	Pharaklas interpreted Agios Konstantinos as a settlement site, active from the Classical through the Roman period. At present, the distribution of sherds is strictly around the tower, and hardly justifies the supposition of a settlement here.
Chronology	Ancient, Medieval
Site Function	Tower?
Observations	The structure shows two phases. Pharaklas recorded a semicircular structure, 5 m in diameter; Pyriovolis identifies the site with "Epieikia" but without serious argumentation.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 31 (app. II, p. 3); Pyriovolis 1986, pp. 299–300.

Site No.	DS-12
Location	Paradeisi, Prophetes Elias
Elevation	807 masl
Coordinates	380477/4200511
Description	Hill with a small plateau at its summit. Panoramic view of the valley of Asopos and the coastal plain, Phlious, and Sikyon.
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	2
Alteration	Surface graded by bulldozer around the church. Church built in 1890 on the site of the ancient tower.
Surface Area	34.2 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Round tower, less than half of its foundations are visible in front of the apse of the church (Fig. 4.63). Diam. of the tower: 6.6 m.
Arch. Frags.	Limestone block from the tower lies to the east of the church; dimensions: $1.12 \times 0.8 \times 0.6$ m.
Tiles	Corinthian cover tile, 0.03 m thick
Pottery	Very little pottery, consisting entirely of plain body sherds
Other	None
Chronology	Classical?
Site Function	Watch/signal tower
Observations	According to Ross and Curtius the tower was 22 feet in diameter, and 2 m in preserved height.
References	Ross 1840, p. 25; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 500; Guides-Joanne 1891, p. 394.

Site No.	DS-13
Location	Kryoneri, Kanavi
Elevation	885 masl
Coordinates	379742/4200988
Description	One of the peaks of Konstantithi range, between Prophetes Elias and Lechova
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Illicit digging inside and around the structure
Surface Area	N/A
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Square tower, ca. 4 × 4 m, built in ashlar masonry. Only two blocks are visible today, both out of place.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Very few glazed Lakonian tiles in the vicinity
Pottery	A few plain and a couple of black-glazed body sherds
Other	None
Chronology	Classical
Observations	To the north of Kanavi, along the Konstantithi ridge, a dry rubble wall, 0.8–0.9 m wide, runs in a north–south direction.
References	None

Site No.	DS-14
Location	Kryoneri, Ano Bathiza
Elevation	425 masl
Coordinates	382533/4200758
Description	Hillside of rather steep gradient and panoramic view of the Asopos valley
Vegetation	Prickly oaks around the structure, olive trees in the broader area
Visibility	2
Alteration	A dirt road passes by the south side of the tower. Plowing of the olive grove on the west side of the tower.
Surface Area	81.8 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Rectangular tower, 9.4 × 8.7 m (Fig. 4.64). Its east side is the best preserved. Trapezoidal masonry of conglomerate stones; max. p.H. 2.1 m.
Arch. Frags.	N/A
Tiles	None
Pottery	None
Other	None
Chronology	Classical?
Site Function	Watch/signal tower
Observations	None
References	None

Site No.	DS-15
Location	Souli, Splithari
Elevation	520 masl

Coordinates	382327/4204981
Description	Natural terrace projecting eastward (toward Helisson River valley)
Vegetation	Bushes and pine trees
Visibility	1
Alteration	Surface graded by bulldozer in winter of 1997
Surface Area	21.1 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Square tower with sides of 4.6 m (Figs. 4.95–4.99). Irrregular trapezoidal masonry, 0.45–0.6 m thick. Two courses preserved to a max. height of 0.7 m.
Arch. Frags.	N/A
Tiles	None
Pottery	None
Other	None
Chronology	Classical?
Site Function	Watch/signal tower
Observations	The dimensions of the tower are similar to the ones reported for the towers at Kanavi of Kryoneri (DS-13) and Prophetes Elias of Ellinochori (AS-6). The Splithari tower was completely destroyed in the winter of 1997.
References	None

Site No.	DS-16
Location	Kaisari, Tsakouthi
Elevation	785 masl
Coordinates	374087/4200518
Description	Low conical hill rising ca. 20 m above the valley of Kaisari and the road to Stymphalos
Vegetation	Weeds
Visibility	4
Alteration	Plowing around the structure and illicit digging inside
Surface Area	54 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Round tower, 8.3 m in diameter (Figs. 4.80–4.84). Two courses preserved, to a max. height of 1.2 m. Thickness of the double wall: 1.3 m. Trapezoidal and polygonal masonry. Stone blocks have dressed edges. Entrance from the northwest.
Arch. Frags.	N/A
Tiles	Corinthian cover tile, 0.04 m thick. Many fragments of Lakonian pan tiles.
Pottery	A few plain sherds, and fragments of a Late Classical/Early Hellenistic thin-walled bowl
Other	None
Chronology	4th century B.C.
Site Function	Watch/signal tower
Observations	None
References	*RE* VII^2, 1931, col. 445, s.v. Stymphalos (F. Bölte).

Site No.	DS-17
Location	Bozika, Karoumpalo
Elevation	780 masl
Coordinates	377486/4197710
Description	South edge of a plateau
Vegetation	Prickly oaks
Visibility	1
Alteration	Unknown
Surface Area	Unknown
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Structure built of unworked stones, tiles, and mortar (Fig. 4.109). Th. of visible segment: 1.25 m; H.: 1.4 m.
Arch. Frags.	None
Tiles	Post-antique Lakonian pan tiles around the building, 0.025 m thick. One fragment of a Corinthian cover tile.
Pottery	Very few sherds due to the poor visibility
Other	One brick around the building, 0.31 m long, 0.04 m thick
Chronology	Late Roman or Byzantine (based on masonry)
Site Function	Tower or small fort
Observations	Due to the thick vegetation surrounding the structure, we have not been able to map the architectural remains. The structure is associated with a settlement (HS-80).
References	None

Site No.	DS-18
Location	Pasio, Magoula
Elevation	ca. 90 masl
Coordinates	387769/4207008
Description	Low hill above Kyrillou *rema*
Vegetation	Lemon trees and weeds
Visibility	1–2
Alteration	Plowing around the structure
Surface Area	ca. 65 m^2
Water Source	Unknown
Structures	Tower built of tiles, rubble, and mortar, 8.7 × 6.9 m. Max. p.H. 1.4 m (Fig. 4.112).
Arch. Frags.	Ashlar block, 1 × 0.24 m, built into the masonry of the tower
Tiles	No tiles observed
Pottery	See HS-99.
Other	See HS-99.
Chronology	Medieval (based on masonry)
Site Function	Defensive tower
Observations	The tower was built on the site of a small Neolithic installation.
References	None

ALLEGED SITES

Site No.	AS-1
Location	Lalioti, Agios Ioannis
Elevation	ca. 310 masl
Coordinates	383522/4208410
Description	Level area to the north of the village of Lalioti, cultivated with vineyards
Observations	Classical sherds and obsidian were seen by Gebauer. We found very little pottery around the church, certainly not enough to count it as a "site."
References	Gebauer 1939, p. 272; Pharaklas 1971, site 62 (app. II, pp. 7–8); Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, pp. 69–70, no. A78; *Isthmia* VIII, p. 478, no. 55.

Site No.	AS-2
Location	Lalioti, Kontogianni
Elevation	180 masl
Coordinates	384522/4209378
Description	Ground sloping to the north, now cultivated with vineyards
Observations	Pharaklas considered the site to be a settlement; he recorded remains of buildings with large stones, possible traces of fortification along the east side, and Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic(?) sherds. We did not see anything in the area, possibly because of severe surface gradings since Pharaklas's visit.
References	Pharaklas 1971, site 64 (app. II, p. 8, fig. 44).

Site No.	AS-3
Location	Evangelistria, Tourkou
Elevation	120 masl
Coordinates	390529/4199290
Description	Flat ground to the west of the Phekali stream, cultivated with apricot trees
Observations	Sherds and tiles reported by locals, but the site is fenced and therefore not accessible. Two fountains are located near the site, near the west bank of the stream. The Nanos fountain (390155/4198967) is fed by a vaulted channel in *opus testaceum* (Fig. I.9).
References	None

Site No.	AS-4
Location	Stimanga, Chalasmata
Elevation	480 masl
Coordinates	385495/4196509
Description	Slope descending gently south–north, now occupied by building lots with houses, dumps, and weeds
Observations	Ruins of old houses, sherds, and tiles according to local tradition. Due to present conditions, we were able to see only a few roof tiles of the Late Roman/Medieval period.
References	None

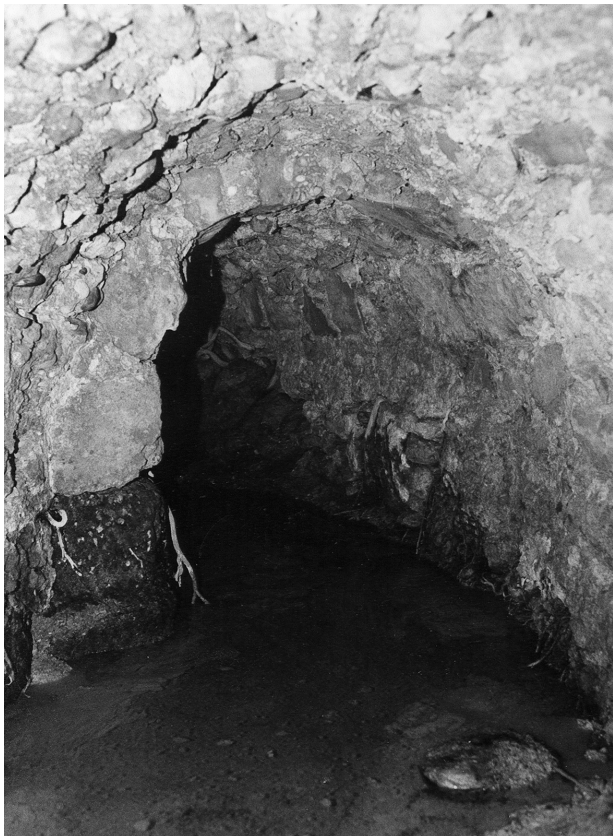


Figure I.9. Tourkou of Evangelistria (AS-3): the vaulted channel leading to the Nanos fountain

Site No.	AS-5
Location	Vasiliko, Ladas
Elevation	195 masl
Coordinates	385305/4203298
Description	Projection of the ridge toward the Asopos valley. Towering view of the north part of the Asopos valley. Olive trees.
Observations	According to locals a towerlike structure made of ashlar masonry once stood on the spot. The tower was destroyed by a bulldozer during clearance of the field for cultivation purposes. The masonry of the structure was pushed to the precipice of the Asopos valley. We saw only a few tile fragments and undiagnostic plain body sherds.
References	None

Site No.	AS-6
Location	Ellinochori, Prophetes Elias
Elevation	416 masl
Coordinates	384578/4201022
Description	Western edge of Megali Lakka with a view to the Asopos valley
Observations	According to local tradition, a tower once stood here, with dimensions ca. 4 × 4 m. A water cistern was recently built on the site of the alleged tower.
References	None

Site No.	AS-7
Location	Ellinochori, Vardounia
Elevation	432 masl
Coordinates	385802/4198597
Description	Hill planted with vineyards in a linear arrangement
Observations	According to tradition a tower stood on the summit of the hill up until the mid-1980s. The site is appropriate for a watch/signal tower. We observed nothing on the spot, which could be explained by the grading of the hill for cultivation purposes. To the northeast of the hill I observed ashlar blocks reused in the masonry of a Medieval church, which could conceivably have come from the tower.
References	None

Site No.	AS-8
Location	Kaisari, Balgouri
Elevation	ca. 1,000 masl
Coordinates	371026/4200948
Description	Slope of the Pikiza rock falling sharply toward the east
Observations	According to local tradition, the site represents one of the early settlements of the area, before the formation of the village of Kaisari. The site is now overgrown with prickly oaks, pine trees, and almond trees, and the visibility is very bad. I did not observe any structures but there is little doubt that the site must be the one referred to as "Bulgur" in the Nani Archive. There is a fountain (του Μαρκουτσά) located ca. 200–300 m north of the site. Locals mention a church of Agios Nikolaos in connection with this site, but I did not observe any remains.
References	Kordosis 1981, pp. 317–318.

Site No.	AS-9
Location	Vasiliko, Xerokastelli
Elevation	337 masl
Coordinates	384908/4203785
Description	Prominent conical hill, steep on all sides (Fig. 3.30). Ascent is possible from the southwest. The relatively flat summit is overgrown with weeds and visibility is low.
Observations	Gebauer reported Mycenaean sherds from the site. In recent years the crown of the hill has been disturbed by clandestine diggers. Due to the small area atop the hill Gebauer thought of it as a Mycenaean lookout-post ("Wacht-stelle"). We visited the site twice but did not observe any sherds.
References	Gebauer 1939, p. 272.

Site No.	AS-10
Location	Velo, Kyparissi
Elevation	44 masl
Coordinates	390862/4203050
Description	Coastal plain, cultivated with citrus and apricot trees, and some vineyards

Observations	"Kyparissi" covers an area of ca. 10 ha (extending from the παλιά δημοσιά to the south, to the οδός Κρηνών to the north). The small post-Byzantine settlement was somewhere in this area, but no structures are preserved.
References	Alberghetti, in Pacifico 1704; *Carte de la Grèce.*

Site No.	AS-11
Location	Bolati, Varella
Elevation	35 masl
Coordinates	392734/4200246
Description	Coastal plain, cultivated with citrus trees, apricot trees, and vineyards
Observations	"Varella" covers an area of ca. 20 ha (extending toward the cemetery of Bolati to the north). On the 1:50,000 map of the Hellenic Army Geographical Service, Varella is marked in the wrong place. The small post-Byzantine settlement was somewhere in this vast area, but no architectural remains are visible.
References	Alberghetti, in Pacifico 1704; *Carte de la Grèce.*

Site No.	AS-12
Location	Xylokastro, Kastro
Elevation	ca. 280 masl
Coordinates	ca. 379334/4213238
Description	Prominent hill to the south of the modern town. View toward the Sythas River to the west, the Katharoneri to the east, and the coastal plain to the north.
Observations	A wooden castle was built here during the Frankish period; it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1402.
References	Thiriet 1959, p. 6; Carile 1970, p. 389.

Roof Tiles

by Aristoteles Koskinas

Tiles constitute the majority of surface finds on post-Geometric sites, and they contribute vastly to a site's visibility.[1] We found them either dispersed across a site or in pockets, along the edges of country roads, or piled together with fieldstones at the center or at the boundaries of fields (Fig. II.1). On site we recorded the general shape and form of the tiles, their thickness, edge profiles, surface treatment, and fabrics. In addition, we drew profiles of selected fragments and photographed a few whose surface treatment was deemed representative of a certain period. Due to permit restrictions, we were unable to collect samples for future study and reevaluation of our conclusions. The state of preservation varied between sites, and even within a site but it was generally mediocre to bad. The majority of the fragments are small to medium-sized, with an average dimension of 0.08 × 0.05 m, and with surfaces worn to various degrees. The best-preserved tiles were those found in piles, near structures and modern retaining walls, as well as in recently plowed fields.[2] Many fragments are covered with chalky incrustations.

One of the difficulties that surface-survey teams face is the dating of roof-tile fragments, often the largest category of finds.[3] Our survey was no exception. As roof tiles have kept the same function since the Late Helladic period, changes in shape and technical details are few.[4] Changes occur primarily in the surface treatment of the upper sides and undersides, and to a lesser degree in the edges, fabrics, and thickness of the tiles. These are the

1. For the quantity of tiles recorded in surveys, see Gregory and Kardulias 1990, p. 489, table 2; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 276–277; Cavanagh et al. 2002, pp. 187, 192, 273–274. See also Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 337, n. 5, for differences in the use of roof tiles inside and between regions. See also Poulter, Beckmann, and Strange 1998, p. 467, esp. n. 7, and compare it with Gregory and Kardulias 1990, p. 489, table 2, for differences between similar sites.

2. In HS-4 most of the large fragments, found along a newly cut trench, measured on average 0.14 × 0.11 m. The largest fragment was recorded in HS-95 and measured 0.27 × 0.225 m. Fragments of this size always preserve at least one of their edges, and in many cases the corner between the short and long sides.

3. See Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 218, 276, n. 40, and 277. For the difficulty of dating tiles, even from excavated contexts, see Winter 1993, p. 4, nn. 20 and 21. See also Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 85, and Wikander 1989, p. 191, n. 2, for the paucity of detailed publications on plain roof tiles. Although in recent years more space has been allocated to roof tiles in the publications of excavations and surveys, much more work needs to be done in order to create a database for plain roof tiles.

4. See Wikander 1988, pp. 204–205, fig. 1, for tiles of the Mycenaean period.



Figure II.1. Pile of stones and roof tiles at Vromovrysi of Pasio (HS-100)

only criteria that can be applied to material from surface surveys, and they help us to assign broad dates such as pre-Roman, Late Roman, Medieval and post-Medieval. Thus, pre-Roman tiles are well shaped, generally thin, and their upper surfaces and edges are covered with colored glazes or slips, while Medieval tiles are rather crudely shaped, with coarse undersurfaces and incised finger grooves. Accordingly, in the majority of surveys, tiles are assigned a general Archaic–Hellenistic date.[5]

The problem is narrowing the date to a single period such as Classical or Hellenistic. Especially difficult is the distinction between pre-Roman and Early Roman tile fragments, as there is no obvious break in surface treatment or shape between these periods.[6] Equally problematic is the distinction between tiles of Medieval and Early Ottoman date. The context, mainly pottery, which could help us to narrow the date, often fails to do so.[7] At many of the sites, even the single-period ones, only a small percentage of the pottery was diagnostic, and could provide accurate dates; at other sites, the pottery was completely undiagnostic and could only be dated as broadly as the tiles.[8] Of the 148 settlement sites recorded in our survey, 96 are multiperiod.[9] In the case of sites occupied during consecutive periods, as with HS-96 and HS-97, it was almost impossible to associate the tiles with any particular period. In contrast, on sites showing a gap between periods, the tile fragments could be associated more easily with the respective pottery. Furthermore, there were cases where the dating of sites was based solely on tiles, such as HS-12 and HS-93.[10]

The fragmentary state of preservation of the tiles was another serious constraint. Although tiles, along with fired bricks and large storage pithoi, are by far the most durable ceramic artifacts, they are seldom, if ever, found complete during surveys.[11] Long exposure to the elements and to agricultural activities creates multiple fragments with abraded surfaces, which preserve either no edge or just one of their four edges, and in a few cases the corner between the long and short sides. This can cause confusion because there are variations in the thickness and shape of the edges of a single tile.[12]

5. See, e.g., Mee and Forbes 1997, p. 62; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 89. Cf. Cavanagh et al. 1996, pp. 107–108, for a different approach.

6. Sackett 1992, p. 407.

7. See Mee and Forbes 1997, p. 38; Wright et al. 1990, p. 609.

8. For example, in the single-period site HS-9, the pottery could be assigned only a general pre-Roman date.

9. For site continuity, see above, pp. 373–375.

10. At both sites, pre-Roman activity was established thanks to fragments of Lakonian pan tiles with black glaze.

11. Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 85; Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 333.

12. For variations in the thickness of Lakonian pan tiles, see Perreault 1990, p. 204, figs. 2, 3.

Despite these problems, the study of roof tiles can contribute greatly to the results of surface surveys. This is because in a number of sites with a low density of sherds from coarse and plain vessels, tiles may be the only diagnostic material recovered. The vast majority of roof-tile fragments preserve at least one or two of the criteria used for assigning them to a period (fabric, edges, surface treatment), and this makes them quite useful. This being said, the present study is a first step in a long-term research project on the tiles of Sikyon; its goal is to provide data that can be compared with material from other areas, and can be augmented and adjusted as research progresses. In order to obtain more accurate results on the roof tiles we would have to study and compare examples from both single-period sites and excavated sites within the limits of our survey area, but such material is not available at this point. We would also profit from the existence of a detailed database of roof tiles from excavations and surveys carried out in Greece, which likewise does not yet exist. If anything, the present study does make a small contribution toward building such a database.

I will now describe the characteristics of the tiles from each broadly defined period, according to their general shape, thickness, edge profiles, surface treatment, and fabric.[13]

PRE-ROMAN TILES

Tiles with pre-Roman characteristics were recorded in large numbers in the majority of our sites and represent both systems of roof covering: (1) the Lakonian, with wide concave pan tiles and convex cover tiles; and (2) the Corinthian, with flat pan tiles with raised edges along the long sides, and pitched cover tiles.[14] The Lakonian system was predominant, appearing at all sites, while Corinthian pan and cover tiles were recorded at far fewer sites and in smaller numbers.[15] The majority of the fragments belong to Lakonian pan tiles; cover-tile fragments are nearly nonexistent, and our scanty examples come mostly from large settlements, such as HS-97.[16] Lakonian cover tiles are narrower than pan tiles, and thus generate fewer fragments.[17] It is possible, then, that among the smaller-sized tile fragments a larger number of cover tiles is represented than is actually recognized. Furthermore, the construction of a roof requires fewer cover tiles than pan tiles.[18] These two factors combined may explain the disappearance of cover tiles from the archaeological record. There may be additional reasons, however, such as the removal of the tiles for reuse when the buildings were deliberately abandoned.[19] For example, at the Vari House in Attica, which

13. We have not yet compiled a fabric typology.

14. For the roof-tile systems used in the Greek world and their regional variations, see Winter 1993.

15. The same situation was observed in Achaia: Koskinas, in prep. In contrast, in the Berbati-Limnes area, Corinthian tiles were present on many sites: Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 181–212 and 231–271.

16. A similar phenomenon has been recorded in Lakonia (Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 85) and Achaia (Koskinas, in prep.).

17. For a comparison between the dimensions of pan and cover tiles, see Brown 1944, p. 10, fig. 10; Stevens 1950, p. 180, figs. 3, 4, pl. 82:2; and Reber 1993, p. 67, fig. 73.

18. See Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 113, for the number of tiles necessary for the roofing of a country house. See also p. 83 for the relative numbers of pan- and cover-tile fragments.

19. The custom of removing materials from abandoned buildings is well attested by ancient authors; see Jones, Graham, and Sackett 1973, p. 372, esp. n. 15.

according to its excavators was abandoned and had its roof tiles removed, the fragments recovered represented only thirteen pan tiles and just two cover tiles.[20] Finally, the use of inverted Lakonian pan tiles as cover tiles in rural sites may also account for the paucity of specialized cover tiles.[21]

Lakonian

Although no complete tile was found during the survey, the general shape and dimensions of Lakonian pan tiles are known from other areas.[22] They are slightly concave tiles that taper at their lower short side in order to fit into the next tile, and thus serve as water conduits.[23] The fragments are generally thin, and have an average thickness of 0.020 m.[24] On the majority of Classical and Hellenistic sites that were identified as farmsteads and agricultural installations, tiles with an average thickness of 0.015 m were quite common, while in larger settlements and a few special-purpose sites thicker tiles were equally well represented.[25] The edges of the long sides of the pan tiles are generally well defined and are thicker than the rest of the tile, 0.025 m on average.[26]

There are four general types of edge profile—slanted, beveled or faceted, rounded, and flat—with variations in the degree of the slant and the treatment of the angles.[27] The edges on the majority of the tiles from our survey are slanted (with rounded angles) and beveled, with fewer edges being rounded or flat (Fig. II.2:a, b [top], c–f).[28] On Archaic–Classical sites, the tiles have predominantly slanted and beveled edges, while on Hellenistic sites there is a tendency for more rounded or flat profiles. However there does not seem to be a great differentiation between periods, as we recorded similar profiles on Classical–Hellenistic sites.[29] Although the fragments that preserved the edges of the short sides were few in number, it was possible to distinguish between the upper short sides and the lower short sides of the tiles, as there are differences in shape and thickness (Fig. II.3).[30] The edges of the upper short sides are thicker, with an average thickness of 0.029 m.[31] There are two general types: the first is thickened with vertical

20. Jones, Graham, and Sackett 1973, p. 373.

21. See Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 85; Elford 1946, p. 40; Schwandner 1990, p. 292, fig. 1.

22. See Richardson 1902, p. 218; Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 84, n. 10, fig. 3:c; Coleman 1986, p. 86; Wikander 1988, pp. 209–210, nos. L1–L3, fig. 3; Cooper 1990, pp. 78–79, fig. 11; Reber 1993, p. 68; Miller 1994, p. 89, fig. 2; Grønne 2000, p. 257.

23. See Stevens 1950, pp. 181–182, 183, 185, figs. 6, 7; Perreault 1990, p. 205, fig. 4.

24. Min. Th. 0.012; max. Th. 0.028 m. We should keep in mind, however, that tiles present variations in their thickness along their axis from the upper to the lower short side.

25. The tiles of SP-1 (Th. 0.018–0.025 m) were similar to each other in shape and fabric and belonged to the same roof.

26. Min. Th. 0.015; max. Th. 0.035 m.

27. For edges of long sides of Lakonian pan tiles, see Dyggve 1948, p. 198, pl. 25; Stevens 1950, pp. 180, 185, figs. 3:B, 8:C; Bakalakis 1978, p. 445, fig. 6; Felsch 1979, pp. 24–25, figs. 13, 14; 1990, p. 307, fig. 4:a, b; Petrakos 1988, p. 181, fig. 22; Cooper 1989, pl. 53; 1990, p. 79, fig. 11; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 78, 80, nos. 8-24, 10-19, fig. 5.15; Reber 1993, p. 67, fig. 73; Miller 1994, p. 89, fig. 2; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 186, 233, 243, figs. 6:24, 2:15, and 10:73; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, Coulton, and Metzger 2002, p. 34, fig. 3.10:IIa, IId, IIIa, VId, VIIa.

28. Slanted-rounded, rounded, and flat edges were noted on thin tiles, while thicker tiles had beveled or slanted-angular edges.

29. E.g., at the Archaic/Classical SP-1 we recorded slanted edges with rounded angles that were nearly identical to edges recorded at the predominantly Hellenistic HS-51.

30. See Cooper 1990, p. 79, fig. 11, for a longitudinal section of a pan tile where the differences are evident.

31. Min. Th. 0.027; max. Th. 0.036 m.

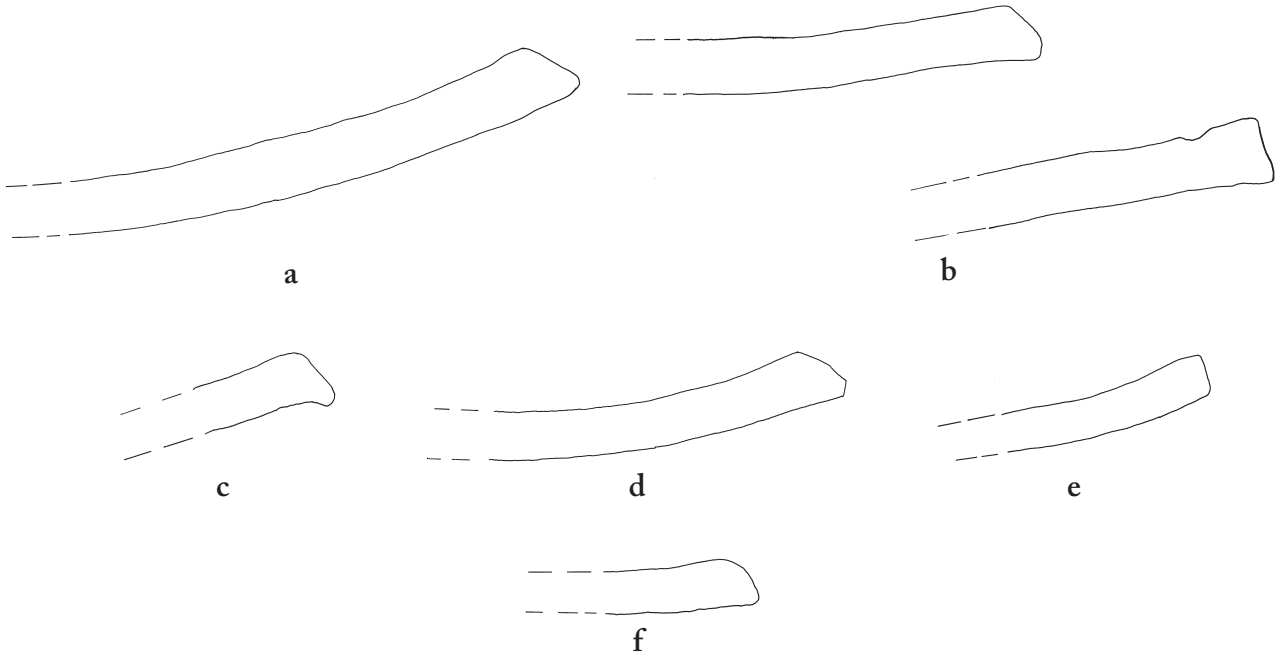


Figure II.2. Lakonian pan tiles of pre-Roman date from various sites.
Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas

(a) SP-1. Preserves long side edge. L. 0.248, W. 0.220, Th. 0.022–0.025 m. Glaze worn off. Even undersurface. Fabric pale brownish yellow, hard, ground pottery, few red angular, abundant white rounded inclusions.
(b) HS-51. Preserves edges of long (top) and upper short (bottom) sides. L. 0.122, W. 0.145, Th. 0.022 m. Brown to reddish brown glaze. Fabric brownish red, hard, coarse, few inclusions.
(c) HS-28. Preserves edge of long side. L. 0.090, W. 0.070, Th. 0.018 m. Black glaze, which turns to brown at the edge. Fabric brownish yellow to brownish gray, hard, coarse, with voids, mica, few white rounded inclusions.
(d) HS-13. Preserves edges of long and upper short sides. L. 0.119, W. 0.157, Th. 0.018 m. Black coarse glaze. Fabric brown, hard, coarse, pure.
(e) HS-47. Preserves long side edge. L. 0.119, W. 0.083, Th. 0.015 m. Fine brownish red to black glaze. Fabric gray to brownish yellow, hard, pure.
(f) HS-45. Preserves long side edge. L. 0.660, W. 0.650, Th. 0.017 m. Black glaze. Fabric pale brownish yellow, hard, many white rounded inclusions.

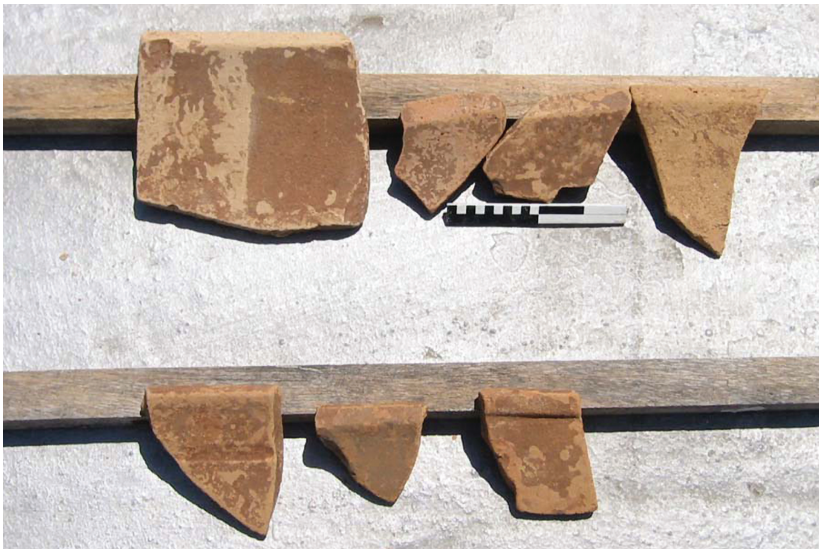
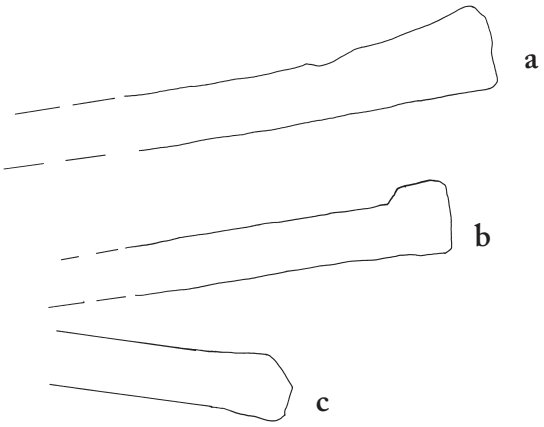


Figure II.3. Lakonian pan tiles of pre-Roman date from SP-1. In the bottom row are fragments that preserve the edges of the upper and lower short edges.



(a) Preserves edge of upper short side. L. 0.150, W. 0.130, Th. 0.022 m. Very worn red glaze. Undersurface coarse. Fabric brownish red, voids, ground pottery, mica, many white rounded inclusions.
(b) Preserves edge of upper short side. L. 0.130, W. 0.092, Th. 0.020 m. Very worn red glaze. Undersurface uneven, coarse. Fabric brownish yellow, hard, voids, abundant white angular inclusions.
(c) Preserves edge of lower short side. L. 0.100, W. 0.109, Th. 0.021 m. Worn out glaze. Undersurface coarse. Fabric brownish red, voids, ground pottery, mica, many white angular inclusions.

Figure II.4. Lakonian pan tiles of pre-Roman date from SP-1. Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas

or slightly slanted faces and rounded angles (Figs. II.2:b [bottom], II.4:a). A shallow groove, or recess, with an average width of 0.018 m runs parallel to the edge.[32] Edges of the second type have a raised rim or flange, usually with rounded angles and a vertical face, whose purpose was to prevent rainwater from slipping under the overlapping tile (Fig. II.4:b).[33] The edges of the lower short sides are simpler, generally rounded or beveled, and in a few cases S-shaped, with an average thickness of 0.024 m (Fig. II.4:c).[34]

The upper concave surfaces of the pan tiles are generally even and smooth, in a few cases coarse, while in some tiles the surface has slight undulations (Fig. II.5). The majority of the tiles have colored glazes on the concave surface and the face of the edge, while others are slipped.[35] The glazes are variously preserved, from excellent to nearly worn-out condition, which means that fragments that appear unglazed could well have been glazed originally.[36] The colors used are black, red, brown, brownish red, and brownish black, with many variations in tone, compactness, texture, and quality.[37] There are also examples with a reddish yellow glaze, and a reddish yellow tile with brown streaky glaze, but these are exceptional. In many

32. See Dyggve 1948, pl. 26:L, M and Q, for edges of this type, and Coleman 1986, p. 86, for the function of the groove.

33. For examples of that type, see Felsch 1979, p. 25, fig. 14; Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 232, fig. 1:9. For the purpose of the flange, see Cooper 1989, p. 101; Wikander 1988, pp. 209, 210, no. L3, fig. 3.

34. Min. Th. 0.02 m; max. Th. 0.028 m. For edges of lower short sides, see Dyggve 1948, pl. 26:Q, X; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, Coulton, and Metzger 2002, p. 34, fig. 3.10:IIIc.

35. For the purpose of the glazes, see Jones, Graham, and Sackett 1973, p. 427; Rostoker and Gebhard 1981, p. 222; and Winter 1993, pp. 304–305.

36. The glazes are worn either in lines or in patches, and they are better preserved on the edges that were protected by the cover tile. In some examples, the glaze is preserved on the entire surface but has narrow cracks that resemble puzzle pieces. It may be accidental, but fragments with that kind of wear were recorded only on Hellenistic sites.

37. At large settlement sites, such as HS-54 and HS-97, the majority of the glazes are of good quality, while at rural sites the number of coarse and streaky glazes is higher.



Figure II.5. Lakonian pan tiles of pre-Roman date from HS-54. Their concave surfaces are covered with good quality black, brown, red, and reddish brown glazes.



Figure II.6. Lakonian pan tiles of pre-Roman date from HS-54, showing the various treatments of the convex undersurfaces

fragments the glaze is streaky, as a result of being applied with a brush.[38] In our area all glaze colors are encountered in sites dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, and it is impossible to associate a particular color with a specific period.[39] On Classical sites, however, in addition to the glazes mentioned above, we encountered some exceptional colors—such as purple—that are not recorded on other sites. Streaky glazes are found primarily on Classical sites, but brown streaky glazes are also recorded on Hellenistic sites. The undersurfaces are mostly even and smooth, or even and coarse with voids (Fig. II.6). There are also a few fragments with coarse

38. For streaky glazes, see Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 85, n. 11; Jones, Graham, and Sackett 1973, p. 373.

39. For the types of glazes used in various periods, see Wace 1906–1907, p. 15, n. 3; Dyggve 1948, p. 198; Felsch 1979, pp. 30, 31, 33, 36, 38; Coleman 1986, p. 86; Petrakos 1988, p. 181; Felsch 1990, pp. 316, 320; Perreault 1990, p. 206; Ohnesorg 1990, pp. 183, 185; Sackett 1992, p. 407; Reber 1993, p. 68; Cavanagh et al. 1996, pp. 86, 108–109; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 231–271 passim, 277; Grønne 2000; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, Coulton, and Metzger 2002, p. 35.

surfaces showing pockmarks and scratches. On some tiles the undersurface has many striations running along the long sides, which are marks left by the wooden surface of the mold.[40] The number of cover tiles observed in the survey was too small to allow independent discussion. The upper convex surfaces of the majority preserve red or streaky glazes.[41]

There is great variation in the fabrics, in terms of their color and tempering, even among tiles of the same site.[42] Nevertheless it was noted that the majority of the tiles whose thickness ranged from 0.013 to 0.019 m have hard, compact, and pure clays, or are tempered with a minimum number of inclusions. On the other hand, the majority of the thicker tiles have unevenly fired fabrics with voids and large numbers of inclusions.[43] The fabrics are mostly well fired, with colors that include brownish yellow, reddish brown, pale brown, red, and grayish. Some are unevenly fired, with softer surfaces and reddish cores. The clay is mixed with sand, and the temper consists of variable quantities of dark and red angular and white rounded inclusions (0.004–0.009 m in size), as well as mica and ground pottery.[44] No misfired tiles or tile kiln sites were recorded during our survey. Nevertheless, regional production of tiles in the pre-Roman period should be considered highly probable.[45]

Corinthian

As mentioned above, Corinthian tile fragments are few, and the majority of them belong to pan tiles.[46] The existence of Corinthian tiles on a site does not necessarily indicate the presence of a formal building or a sanctuary, nor does it preclude a rural function.[47] In our survey Corinthian tiles were found mainly on settlements and farmsteads, such as HS-97 and HS-34. At Titane (HS-67), Corinthian tiles may be associated with the buildings of the sanctuary, although they were found on the lower terraces of the site. We should also be aware that Corinthian tiles found in small numbers on a rural site may come from their reuse as ordinary building material or grave covers.[48]

Corinthian pan tiles are rectangular flat slabs with raised edges along their long sides, and they taper toward their lower short side just like

40. See Stevens 1950, p. 180, fig. 3:B.

41. For the shape and dimensions of cover tiles, see Wikander 1988, pp. 210–211, nos. L1–L5, fig 4; Petrakos 1988, pp. 176–181 and figs. 18–21 for edges and glazes.

42. Variations in the fabrics of tiles belonging to a single roof have been recorded in other areas: see Jones, Graham, and Sackett 1973, p. 373; Miller 1994, p. 87, n. 7.

43. This was recorded on both Classical and Hellenistic sites.

44. For parallels from Lakonia, see Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 86.

45. See Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 219, for a discussion on the problem of local tile production, and Broodbank 1999, p. 208, for the discovery of a tile kiln site of the Classical and Hellenistic periods at Kythera. See also Williams 1988 for a general discussion on the trade of roof tiles, and Carter 1979 for the tile industry of a rural area in Italy.

46. Corinthian tiles were recorded at HS-7, HS-16, HS-34, HS-41, HS-58, HS-67, HS-77, HS-82, HS-97, HS-116, HS-118, SP-13, DS-4, DS-6, DS-12, DS-16, and DS-17.

47. Lakonian and Corinthian tiles were used for the roofing of the rural Dema house in Attica: Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 83. In the Berbati-Limnes area, Corinthian tiles were found alongside Lakonian tiles on rural sites, and they were used in the roofs of towers and block houses; see Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 190, 247, 251.

48. As, for example, at HS-82, where a single Corinthian pan tile was recorded. See Wikander 1993, pp. 132–133, for the various nonarchitectural uses of roof tiles.





Figure II.7. The undersurface of a Corinthian pan tile from HS-77, showing the lower short side

Figure II.8. Profile view of the Corinthian pan tile from HS-77, showing the overhanging lip of the lower short side

Lakonian pan tiles.[49] Their average thickness is 0.033 m.[50] The edges of the long sides are raised with a beveled top and a vertical exterior face. There are also edges with rounded tops.[51] At HS-97 we recorded a pan tile with an edge shaped like a quarter-round. Tiles with this profile are usually found in Epirus, Illyria, and Italy.[52] The edges have an average height of 0.05 m.[53] The upper short sides are vertical and have a raised lip with rounded top, while a shallow recess runs along the edge.[54] The height of the upper sides is 0.036 m. The tiles in their lower or overlapping short side have their underside cut in such a way as to fit the curve of the upper surface of the next lower tile, leaving the face of the side as an overhanging lip, slightly slanted with beveled or rounded top (Figs. II.7, II.8). Their short sides have an average height of 0.05 m.[55] The upper surface of the tiles and the edges are smoothed with pale yellow and brownish yellow slips, while the undersurfaces are even but coarse.[56]

Corinthian cover tiles have a pitched profile with straight outer surfaces, while their undersides are curved.[57] Their thickness varies, but on

49. For the general characteristics of Corinthian pan tiles, see Wikander 1988, pp. 208–209, nos. C1–C4, fig. 3; Cooper 1989, pp. 48–50, pls. 18, 19, 57. For dimensions, see Campbell 1938, p. 611; Boulter 1953, p. 112; Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 83, n. 8; Reber 1993, p. 66; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, Coulton, and Metzger 2002, p. 31.

50. Min. Th. 0.031; max. Th. 0.039 m.

51. Tiles with beveled edges are found in Classical and Hellenistic contexts, while tiles with rounded edges are found also in Archaic contexts. See Campbell 1938, p. 611, nos. 244, 247, fig. 32; Boulter 1953, pp. 112, 113, no. 189, fig. 7; Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 84, fig. 3:A, B; Petrakos 1988, pp. 182–183, figs. 23, 24; Cooper 1989, p. 49, pls. 19, 55; Sackett 1992, p. 408, pl. 23:B; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 193, 195, 235, 248, 249, 265, figs. 4, 14, 15, 30.

52. See Dakaris 1955, pp. 347, 349, fig. 24:a; Prendi and Budina 1972, pp. 36–37, pl. 8; Wikander 1988, pp. 208–209, no. C3, fig. 3.

53. Min. H. 0.033; max. H. 0.064 m.

54. See Wikander 1988, pp. 208–209, no. C2b, fig. 3.

55. See Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 265, fig. 30; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, Coulton, and Metzger 2002, p. 31, fig. 3.5:III.

56. For the treatment of the upper surfaces, see Jones, Sackett, and Graham 1962, p. 84, esp. n. 9.

57. See Wikander 1988, p. 210, nos. C2–C4, fig. 4; Cooper 1989, p. 50, pl. 19.

average equals 0.021 m between the edges and the ridge and 0.038 m at the ridge.[58] The edges of the long sides are angular on the outside and rounded on the inside and average 0.041 m in thickness.[59] The edges of their short sides are vertical and angular with two triangular projections, left at the upper short side in order to fit better with their overlapping tiles.[60] The upper surfaces are even and smoothed with a grayish yellow fine slip, while tool marks are preserved at the projection of their upper short side.[61] The undersurface is smoothed with a gray slip.

Among the typical fabrics of Corinthian tiles the most common are evenly fired brownish gray, brownish yellow, and brownish red; a few examples are unevenly fired pale yellow with reddish cores. They are hard, coarse, and heavily tempered with dark and red angular inclusions and a small percentage of white rounded ones. The inclusions have an average size of 0.005 m.

ROMAN TILES

During the Roman period, only the Lakonian system of roofing is represented in our area, and the majority of the fragments belong to pan tiles.[62] These tiles are concave and taper at one side, and their average thickness is 0.02 m.[63] The edges of the long sides are mostly slanted and rounded, 0.03 m in average thickness (Fig. II.9). The upper surfaces are mostly even and smoothed with brownish slips that have smoothing marks, while some fragments show groups of wavy finger grooves 0.015 m in average width (Fig. II.10).[64] Although the use of glazes during the Early Roman period has been attested elsewhere, we did not find any glazed tiles of the Roman period in our survey. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the presumedly pre-Roman glazed tiles recorded on sites with both pre-Roman and Roman components may in fact date to the Roman period.[65] Their undersurfaces are uneven and coarse, with striations, pockmarks, and narrow grooves. The fabrics are mostly unevenly fired brownish yellow, reddish, and grayish, with red cores. They are hard, with many voids, and tempered with abundant angular inclusions.

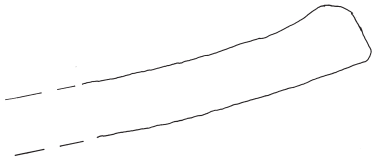


Figure II.9. Lakonian pan tile of Roman date from HS-64. Scale 1:3. Drawing A. Koskinas
Preserves long side edge. L. 0.120, W. 0.075, Th. 0.022 m. Smooth upper surface. Undersurface even with finger marks. Fabric pale brownish yellow, hard, few angular inclusions.



Figure II.10. Roof-tile fragment of Roman date from HS-59 with wavy finger grooves

58. Cf. Campbell 1938, p. 611.

59. See Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 103, 143, no. 42-10, fig. 5.15, for a similar cover tile.

60. This feature is found in cover tiles of the 4th century B.C. See *Corinth* I.4, p. 86, pl. 22:4; *Isthmia* I, pp. 96, 157, fig. 142.

61. Corinthian pan and cover tiles were trimmed and formed with tools before the tile was fired. See Rostoker and Gebhard 1981, p. 221, fig. 18; Cooper 1989, p. 50; Winter 1993, pp. 305–306.

62. For tiles of the Roman period in general, see Wikander 1989, p. 193. See also McWhirr 1979 and Brodribb 1987.

63. For the shape and dimensions of Roman pan tiles, see Sackett 1992, p. 409, pl. 22:c.

64. See Koskinas, in prep.; Sackett 1992, pl. 223:43–44; Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 121.

65. For glazed tiles of the Roman period, see Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 121.

LATE ROMAN TILES

Fragments of Late Roman tiles are the best preserved and most diagnostic of all tile fragments observed during the survey.[66] Again, the majority are pan tiles, although the number of cover tiles is generally larger on Late Roman sites than on pre-Roman sites. We cannot tell whether this reflects a general tendency in the use of cover tiles at rural sites, or is an accidental result of the post-depositional history of the sites. For example, at HS-12 and HS-78, which probably represent small agricultural installations, no cover-tile fragments were identified, but at HS-4 and HS-68, both interpreted as farmsteads, and at HS-95, where a church and side buildings stood, a small number of cover tiles was recorded.[67]

In the Late Roman material from the territory of Sikyon only the Lakonian system of roof tiles has been identified.[68] No intact tile was found but through the examination of complete tiles from other regions and the alignment of the long and short sides of fragments, it is certain that we are dealing with shallow concave tiles that taper at one of their short sides, 0.026 m in average thickness (Fig. II.11).[69] The edges of the long sides are not well shaped or uniform along their entire length, and their profiles are predominantly slanted with rounded angles, beveled, and rounded, and in a few examples S-shaped or flat.[70] Their average thickness comes to 0.030 m.[71] The edges of the short sides are flat with rounded angles, slanted with rounded angles, and rounded, with an average thickness of 0.028 m.[72]

The upper concave surfaces are either even and smooth, covered with brownish slips with smoothing marks, or uneven and coarse, with striations, scratches, and in a few cases straw impressions (Fig. II.12). They are decorated with a variety of markings, including (1) groups of up to three straight finger grooves parallel to their short sides, (2) pairs of curved grooves that run diagonally from one corner of the tile to the other, (3) wavy grooves, and (4) groups of up to four semicircular or circular concentric grooves near the edges or at the center of the tile.[73] The convex undersurfaces are mostly

66. The Late Roman tiles follow in terms of shape the Roman and pre-Roman tradition, but they are thicker and have their surface decorated with finger grooves, which distinguishes them from tiles of the previous periods. Finger grooves appear on tiles for the first time in the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic period, but their form is different from those of the Late Roman period. For finger grooves on tiles of the pre-Roman period, see Coleman 1986, p. 152, with references.

67. For the use of specially designed cover tiles on a rural site, see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, p. 384 (tile P1758 on p. 397 [fig. 10-78] seems to be an inverted pan tile); see also Hjohlman 2002, p. 30.

68. For the roof-tile systems employed in late antiquity, see Wikander 1989, p. 193.

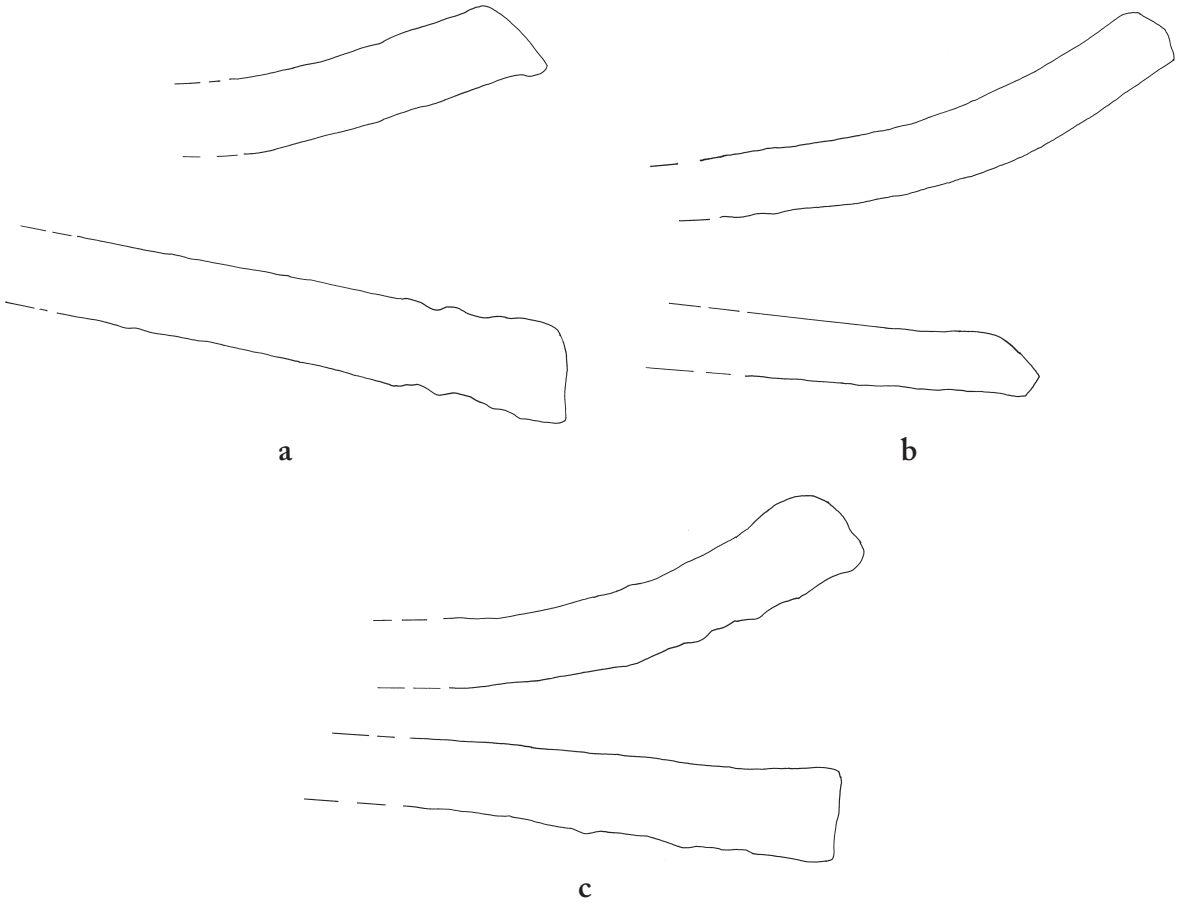
69. Min. Th. 0.015; max. Th. 0.035 m. For the shape and dimensions of Late Roman pan tiles, see Drandakis 1966, p. 244; Lazaridis 1966, p. 12, pl. 6:α; 1967, pp. 14, 21; Barla 1967, p. 84, fig. 6; 1972, pl. 140:γ; Pallas 1972, p. 115, pl. 161:α; 1980, p. 175, pl. 110:α, β; Bace 1981, p. 215, pl. 8; McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 384, 397, fig. 10-77; Williams and Zervos 1990, p. 338, pl. 61:3; Hjohlman 2002, pp. 64, 172, fig. 210.

70. For the shape of the edges of the long sides of Late Roman pan tiles, see Wilson 1979, fig. 2.1, group C; Bace 1981, pl. 8; Hjohlman 2002, figs. 70–73, 210, 281, 282.

71. Min. Th. 0.023; max. Th. 0.038 m.

72. Min. Th. 0.024; max. Th. 0.036 m.

73. For the decoration of Late Roman tiles and the pattern of the finger grooves, see Drandakis 1966, p. 244, pl. 176:γ; Barla 1968, p. 100, fig. 5; Pallas 1972, p. 115, pl. 161:α; 1980, p. 175, pl. 110:β; Wilson 1979, p. 20, no. VIb, pl. 2; Williams and Zervos 1990, p. 338, pl. 61:3; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 323–324, 333, fig. 40:133; Hjohlman 2002, pp. 19–20, 30, 80, 154–155, 182 (figs. 70–73, 281, 282). See also Orlandos 1954, p. 241, fig. 194, for similar curvilinear patterns on Late Roman bricks, and p. 242, fig. 195, for stamped bricks and tiles. For the interpretation of the grooves as signatures of the tile-maker, see Theocharidou 1985–1986, p. 100, and Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 333, n. 120.



(a) HS-68. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.187, W. 0.151, Th. 0.031 m. Upper surface bears two finger grooves along short side. Undersurface bears three finger grooves along short side. Fabric pale brown, hard, coarse, voids, many dark angular inclusions.
(b) HS-68. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.123, W. 0.197, Th. 0.025–0.027 m. Upper surface even. Undersurface coarse, pockmarked, scratches, straw impressions. Fabric brownish yellow to brownish red core, hard, abundant red angular inclusions.
(c) HS-12. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.183, W. 0.172, Th. 0.030 m. Upper surface even. Undersurface pockmarked, decorated with four concentric semicircular finger grooves, 0.014 m in width. Fabric brown to brownish red, hard, few white rounded inclusions.

Figure II.11. Lakonian pan tiles of Late Roman date from various sites.
Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas

unslipped, uneven, and coarse, with striations, pockmarks, scratches, straw impressions, and voids; in a few cases, they are even and smooth. They are decorated with groups of two to three straight finger grooves parallel to their short sides and groups of up to four concentric grooves near the corner of the tile or along its long sides.[74] Finger grooves are generally shallow, ranging between 0.005 and 0.015 m in width (0.012 m average), and the ridges between them are mostly rounded and occasionally well defined and angular. The patterns of the finger grooves are rather uniform in tiles from our habitation sites, showing straight and circular grooves, while in a site associated with a church (HS-95) the decoration becomes more elaborate, with a combination of wavy, circular, and straight finger grooves on the same tiles.

74. The maximum preserved diameter of concentric semicircles recorded on our survey is 0.139 m (on a tile from HS-12).



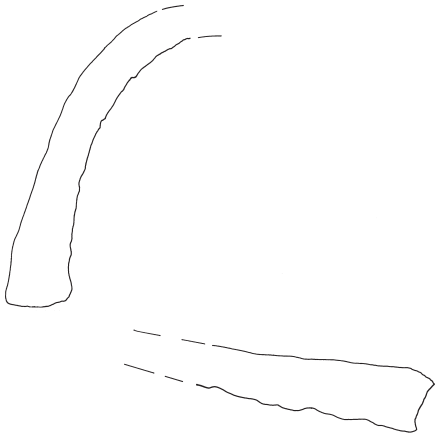


Figure II.12 *(left)*. **Pan-tile fragments of Late Roman date from HS-68 decorated with circular and straight finger grooves**

Figure II.13 *(right)*. **Lakonian cover tile of Late Roman date from HS-4.** Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas
Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.102, W. 0.145, Th. 0.017 m. Upper surface even. Undersurface uneven, coarse. Fabric brownish yellow, hard, pure.

Late Roman cover tiles are convex tapering or sharply convex, 0.024 m in average thickness (Fig. II.13).[75] The sharply convex cover tiles are usually interpreted as ridge tiles.[76] The edges of the long sides generally have the same thickness as the rest of the tile, 0.023 m on average, and are rounded, S-shaped, slanted, or flat with rounded angles.[77] Their short sides are mostly vertical with rounded angles, concave, or rounded, with an average thickness of 0.023 m.[78] The upper convex surfaces are either slipped and even or uneven and coarse, and they are decorated with groups of shallow straight and curved finger grooves that run along the short and long sides, 0.012 m in average width. The concave undersurfaces are uneven and coarse with pockmarks, striations (along the axis of the tile), scratches, and straw impressions.

There seem to be no differences between the fabrics of the pan and cover tiles. The fabrics are mostly unevenly fired brownish yellow with brownish red cores, brown with reddish cores, or evenly fired brown, brownish yellow, red, and yellowish red. The existence of fragments of overfired greenish fabrics suggests that the tiles were locally produced.[79] The fabrics are predominantly hard, with many voids, and tempered with variable quantities of black or red angular as well as white rounded inclusions between 0.004 m and 0.009 m in size. Mica, ground pottery, sand,

75. Min. Th. 0.015; max. Th. 0.026 m. For the shape and dimensions of cover tiles, see Barla 1972, pl. 140:γ; Pallas 1980, p. 175, pl. 110:α, β; Bace 1981, p. 215, pl. 7; McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 384, 397, fig. 10-79; Williams and Zervos 1990, p. 339, pl. 60:4; Hjohlman 2002, pp. 155, 182, figs. 74, 283. For sharply convex cover tiles in the Late Roman period, see Pallas 1967, pl. 196:γ.

76. See McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 385, 397, fig. 10-80. For the use of ridge tiles during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Wikander 1989, pp. 200–202.

77. Min. Th. 0.020; max. Th. 0.026 m.

78. Min. Th. 0.022; max. Th. 0.027 m.

79. Although we found no tile kiln sites during the survey, it is almost certain that ceramic building materials such as roof tiles, bricks, and pipes were locally produced. See Theocharidou 1985–1986, p. 97, for the requirements of tile production, and Peacock 1979 for different modes of production in the Roman period.

and straw were also used as temper.[80] The organic temper can be detected in fractured surfaces by the existence of many small voids of circular section in which are preserved the impressions left by the straw.[81] In our survey area tiles with straw temper appear for the first time in sites of the 3rd and 4th century A.D., and they continue, intermittently, until the Ottoman and early modern periods.[82]

MEDIEVAL TILES

Medieval tiles could be easily recognized in our survey, as they are generally crudely made with uneven edges and coarse surfaces. What is peculiar to Medieval sites is the relatively high number of cover tiles. For example, at HS-24 and HS-59 the majority of the fragments belonged to convex cover tiles and in the Middle Byzantine HS-64 concave pan tiles and convex cover tiles were recorded in equal proportion. On the other hand, at the large, predominantly Middle Byzantine and Frankish site HS-1 no cover tiles were found. Although the use of the Lakonian system, with concave pan and convex cover tiles, is certain for the Medieval period, there were also systems employing only slightly curved tiles as pan and cover elements.[83] At SP-30, which probably represents a church, we recorded concave pan and convex cover tiles, as we did at HS-64, a Middle Byzantine site with a bath complex.[84] In contrast, in settlement sites or sites of rural function of the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods the evidence for typical Lakonian roofs is scanty. It is possible, then, that there were regional variations in the types of roofing systems employed, or even variations between sites of the same region but of different hierarchy and function.[85] An additional factor that we must consider when discussing Medieval tiles is our relative difficulty in distinguishing pan- from cover-tile fragments.[86]

Pan tiles of Medieval date, especially those recorded on Middle Byzantine sites, are concave, taper, and have rounded corners (Fig. II.14).[87] The fragments have an average thickness of 0.023 m.[88] As a rule their edges

80. For the addition of straw in the mixture, see Rostoker and Gebhard 1981, p. 214; Rheidt 1991, pp. 30–34.

81. For sections of tiles with organic temper but of Late Byzantine date, see Rheidt 1991, pl. 14:6, 7.

82. For the use of straw temper in Late Roman times, see Bace 1981, p. 215.

83. For the systems of roof tiles used in the Medieval period, see Wikander 1989, p. 193. See also McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 380–381; Cooper 1996, p. 35; and Gerstel et al. 2003, p. 163, for the use of distinctive pan and cover tiles in Middle Byzantine, Frankish, and Late Medieval sites. For an example of a roof with upturned pan tiles that function as cover tiles, see Rheidt 1991, pl. 14:11.

84. The Byzantine church excavated at Nichoria, as well as the church of Andravida (13th century), were roofed with distinctive concave pan and convex cover tiles: McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, p. 370, fig. 9-9; Cooper 1996, p. 35.

85. In Lakonia the system with slightly concave tiles was used during the Byzantine period: Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 140.

86. In some cases pan tiles have finger grooves on their convex surfaces, while their concave surfaces are coarse: Pallas 1973, p. 142, pls. 176:β, γ, 177:α; Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 140; Cooper 1996, p. 35, fig. 4.

87. No intact tiles were found on any of the sites. For the shapes and dimensions of Byzantine tiles, see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 380–381, 385; Pallas 1973, p. 142, pls. 176:β, γ, 177:α; Moutsopoulos 1994, p. 338, pl. 43. For tiles of Frankish date, see Cooper 1996, p. 35, fig. 4; Williams and Zervos 1992, pp. 143–144, pl. 33:2; Coleman 1986, p. 146, pl. 52.

88. Min. Th. 0.016; max. Th. 0.029 m.

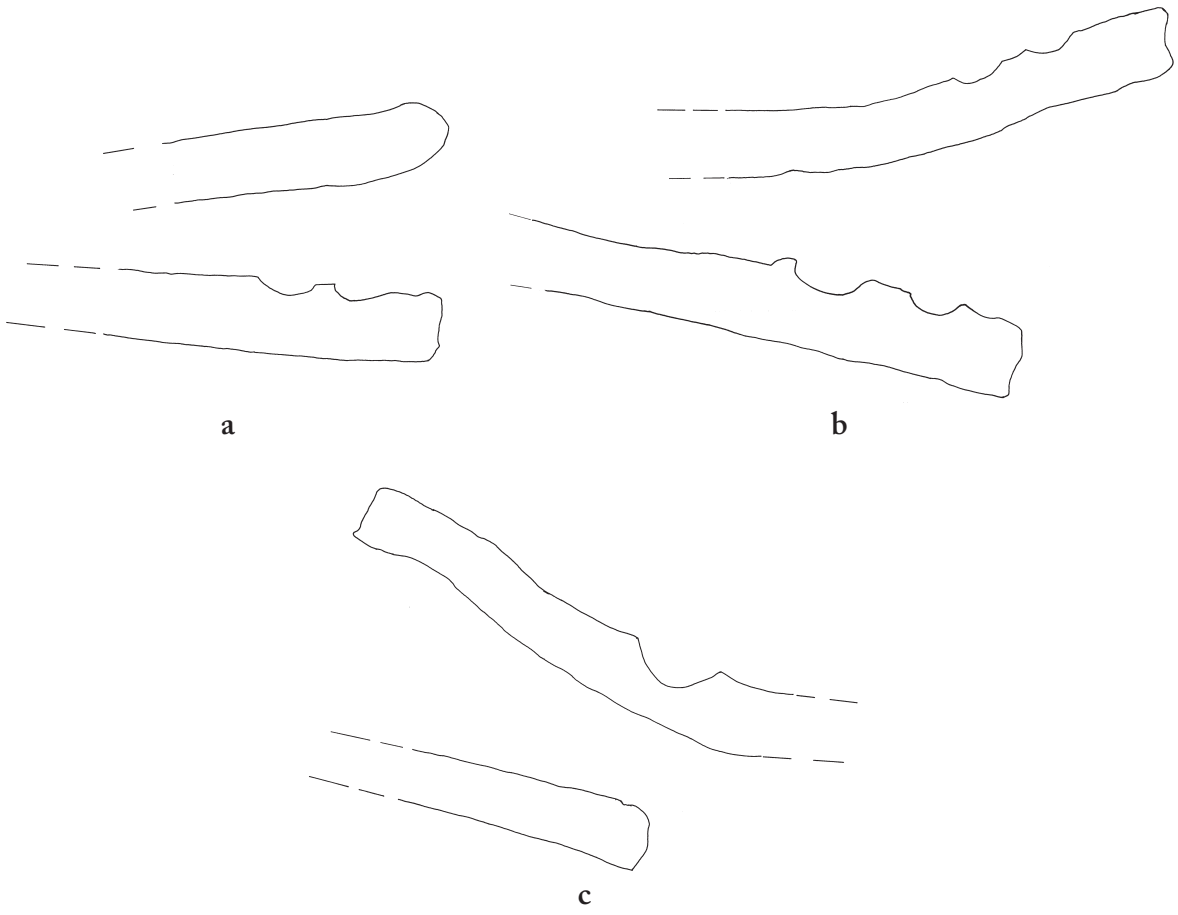


Figure II.14. Lakonian pan tiles of Medieval date from various sites.
Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas

(a) HS-60. Medieval. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.154, W. 0.162, Th. 0.027 m. Upper surface uneven, slipped, straw impressions, two finger grooves along short side, 0.019 m in width. Undersurface uneven. Fabric brownish red, abundant straw, few inclusions.
(b) HS-64. Middle Byzantine. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.249, W. 0.19, Th. 0.027 m. Upper surface slipped, straw impressions, two curved finger grooves along short and long sides, 0.023 m in width. Undersurface uneven. Fabric brownish yellow to brownish red, hard, many voids, abundant straw.
(c) HS-62. Medieval. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.125, W. 0.200, Th. 0.020 m. Upper surface slipped, straw impressions, two curved finger grooves, 0.018 m in width. Undersurface uneven. Fabric brown, hard, voids, abundant straw, mica.

are irregularly made and their thickness and shape are not uniform along the length of the tile. The edges of the long sides are mostly rounded and S-shaped, and in some fragments slanted, beveled, and flat.[89] They are thicker than the rest of the tile, 0.025 m in average.[90] The edges of the short sides, 0.027 m in average thickness, are rounded, S-shaped and slanted, while in some fragments the lower ends are protruding.[91] The upper surfaces are mostly even and smooth with brownish yellow and reddish slips bearing smoothing marks, or they are coarse with straw impressions, voids, and scratches.[92] They are decorated with (1) two or three straight finger grooves that run parallel to the short sides, (2) groups of up to three grooves that run along the short and long sides, forming arcs or oval shapes, or (3) wavy

89. For the shape of edges of the long sides of Medieval pan tiles, see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 389, 397, figs. 10-28, 10-29, 10-82; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 364–365, 375–376, figs. 26, 49:67.

90. Min. Th. 0.022; max. Th. 0.031 m.

91. Min. Th. 0.023; max. Th. 0.031 m.

92. Slipped surfaces were noted mostly on fragments found on Middle Byzantine/Frankish sites.



Figure II.15. Roof-tile fragments of Medieval date from HS-148. Their surfaces are decorated with groups of straight, curved, and wavy finger grooves.



Figure II.16. The undersurfaces of Medieval pan- and cover-tile fragments from HS-64

grooves along the axis of the tile (Fig. II.15).[93] Grooves are mostly deep although deep and shallow grooves coexist on some pieces.[94] The average width of the grooves is 0.015 m.[95] The ridges between them are mostly flat and angular and have an average width of 0.013 m.[96] The undersurfaces are uneven and coarse with striations, pockmarks, voids, scratches, and straw impressions (Fig. II.16).

Medieval cover tiles are convex and narrow, 0.024 m in average thickness (Fig. II.17).[97] The shape and thickness of the long side edges vary

93. See Pallas 1973, p. 142, pls. 176:β, γ, 177:α; Coleman 1986, pp. 146, 151–153, pl. 52; Cooper 1996, p. 35, fig. 4; Williams et al. 1998, p. 240, n. 31. In the material from our area, the Late Roman tradition of deep finger grooves that run parallel to the short side of pan tiles continues into the Middle Byzantine period. The decoration of tiles from Medieval sites in western Achaia share many characteristics with the material from HS-64.

94. In the Middle Byzantine HS-64 finger grooves are deep, while in HS-1, which has a strong Frankish component, the grooves are shallow and narrow.

95. Min. W. 0.010; max. W. 0.023 m.

96. Min. W. 0.007; max. W. 0.018 m.

97. Min. Th. 0.017; max. Th. 0.030 m.

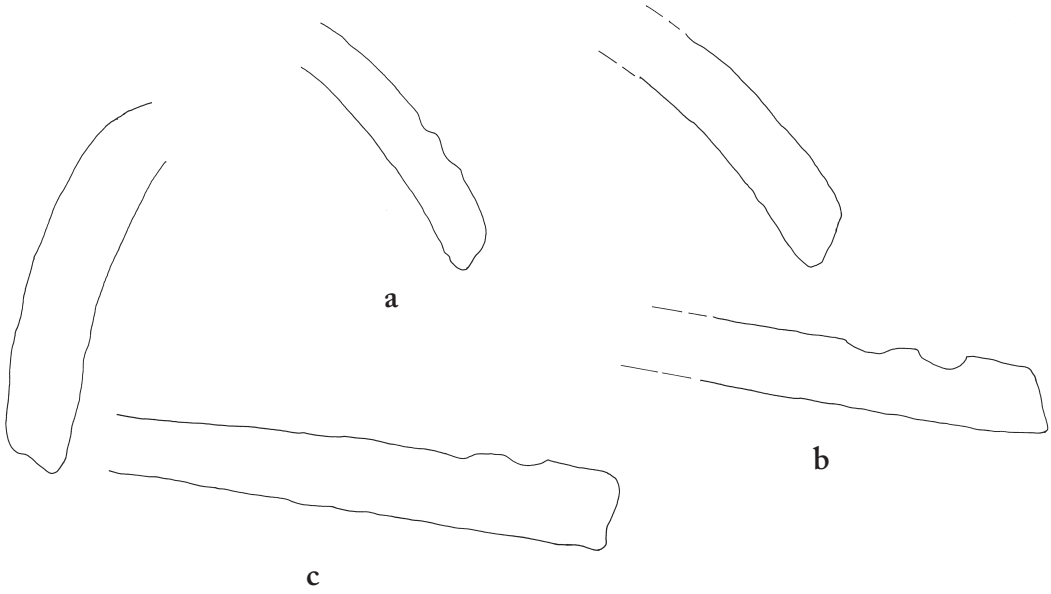


Figure II.17. Cover tiles of Medieval date from various sites. Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas

(a) HS-88. Medieval. Preserves edge of long side. L. 0.131, W. 0.127, Th. 0.018 m. Upper surface even, decorated with wavy finger grooves parallel to long side, 0.012 m in width. Undersurface coarse. Fabric brownish yellow, soft, pure.
(b) HS-24. Middle Byzantine. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.140, W. 0.100, Th. 0.027 m. Upper surface uneven, smoothed, straw impressions, two curved finger grooves from corner, 0.016 m in width. Undersurface uneven, striations, straw impressions. Fabric brownish yellow to grayish yellow, hard, abundant straw.
(c) HS-64. Medieval. Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.211, W. 0.170, Th. 0.022 m. Upper surface uneven, two finger grooves along short side, 0.013 m in width. Undersurface uneven, coarse. Fabric brownish yellow, hard, abundant straw, mica.

along the tile and are mostly rounded and slanted rounded, with only a few S-shaped.[98] They are generally thickened and have an average thickness of 0.027 m.[99] As a rule the edges of the short sides are irregularly slanted and slanted rounded, but there are also a few S-shaped and flat edges. The average thickness of the edges comes to 0.025 m.[100] The upper surfaces are either uneven and coarse with pockmarks, scratches, and straw impressions, or even and slipped with brownish yellow, light brown, or reddish yellow slips with smoothing marks and few straw impressions. The convex surfaces have grooved decoration, which consists of (1) two straight grooves parallel to the short side, (2) groups of curved grooves that start from the corner of the tile and probably formed circles and arcs, or (3) groups of three wavy grooves that run along the long sides (Fig. II.18).[101] The average width of the grooves is 0.014 m.[102] The depth of the grooves varies, with the curved grooves being deeper than the wavy ones. The ridges are flat between the deep grooves and flat between the shallow grooves. The average width of the ridges is 0.013 m. The concave undersurfaces are invariably uneven and coarse with striations, pockmarks, scratches, adhering particles, and straw impressions. Fabrics are unevenly fired and mostly brownish yellow, brownish red, yellow gray, and greenish gray. They are hard with many voids and tempered predominantly with straw and few dark angular and

98. For the edges of long sides of cover tiles, see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 389, 397, figs. 10-26, 10-27, 10-80, 10-81, 10-83; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 390–391, fig. 73:100; Gerstel et al. 2003, pp. 163–164, fig. 11:22.

99. Min. Th. 0.021; max. Th. 0.031 m.

100. Min. Th. 0.013; max. Th. 0.028 m.

101. For the patterns of the grooves on cover tiles, see Pallas 1973, p. 142, pl. 176:γ; McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 385, 397, fig. 10-81; Coleman 1986, p. 146, pl. 52; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 390–391, 435, fig. 73:100; Williams et al. 1998, pp. 240–241, n. 31; Gerstel et al. 2003, pp. 163–164, fig. 11:22.

102. Min. W. 0.012; max. W. 0.018 m.



Figure II.18. Cover tiles of Medieval date from HS-88, showing the grooved decoration

white rounded inclusions between 0.005 m and 0.007 m in size. Sand and mica were also used.

OTTOMAN TILES

The number of roof-tile fragments of Ottoman date recorded during the survey is very small. This is partly due to the relative difficulty in recognizing fragments of this period, but mostly to the small number of sites with a predominantly Ottoman component.[103] Tiles of this period are narrow and convex and made in a crude manner.[104] We have not yet identified pieces especially designed as pan tiles, and it is possible that a clear distinction between pan and cover elements of the roof did not exist, at least in our region.[105] The fragments have an average thickness of 0.027 m and some of them become thinner toward the edges (Fig. II.19). The edges of the long sides are irregularly shaped, generally rounded, and S-shaped, and they have an average thickness of 0.026 m. The edges of the short sides are either rounded or vertical with rounded angles, 0.025 m in average thickness. The convex surfaces are either even with smoothing marks and incisions, or uneven but smoothed and have pockmarks and few straw impressions. The concave surfaces are uneven and coarse with many pockmarks, voids, straw impressions, and adhering sand. The fabrics, unevenly fired, are mostly reddish brown and brownish yellow with reddish cores. They are hard, with many voids, and tempered with abundant straw and a few white rounded inclusions 0.004 m in average size.

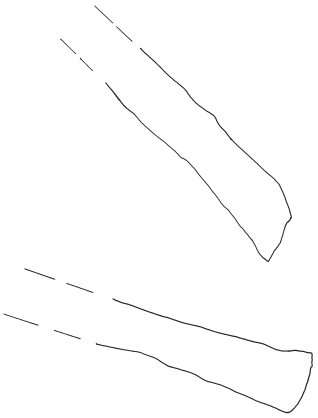


Figure II.19. Slightly convex tile of Ottoman date from HS-14. Scale 1:3. Drawings A. Koskinas

Preserves edges of long (top) and short (bottom) sides. L. 0.048, W. 0.076, Th. 0.016 m. Upper surface uneven. Undersurface uneven, pockmark, straw impressions. Fabric brownish yellow, hard, abundant straw.

103. Assigning precise dates to tiles from Ottoman sites is very difficult, but a general post-Medieval date is more or less secure in the present state of research. To my knowledge no detailed publication of roof tiles of the Ottoman period exists. See Koskinas, in prep., for a brief discussion of tiles of the Ottoman period from western Achaia.

104. For an example of an Ottoman period tile, see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, p. 430, fig. 14-5, pl. 14-6.

105. See Cavanagh et al. 1996, p. 140, for the existence of distinctive pan and cover tiles.

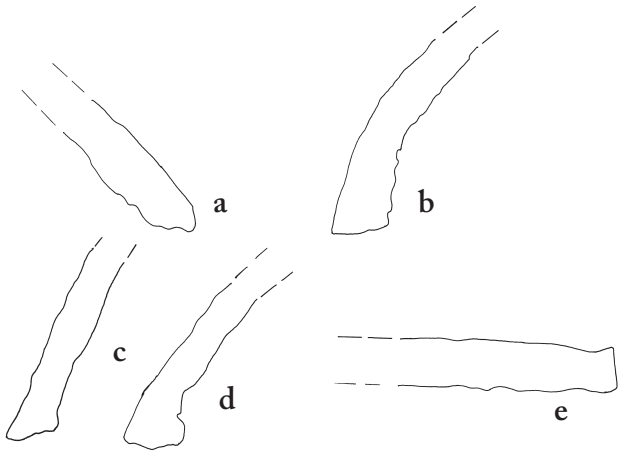


Figure II.20. Convex tiles of early modern date from HS-14. Scale 1:3

(a) Preserves long side edge. L. 0.037, W. 0.069, Th. 0.019 m. Convex surface greenish, uneven, coarse, finger marks. Concave surface uneven, coarse, sand coating, straw impressions. Fabric brownish yellow, voids, many dark inclusions.
(b) Preserves long side edge. L. 0.070, W. 0.100, Th. 0.015 m. Convex surface brown, uneven, smooth, straw impressions. Concave surface uneven, coarse, sand coating. Fabric brown to brownish red, hard, straw, many white rounded inclusions.
(c) Preserves long side edge. L. 0.069, W. 0.075, Th. 0.012 m. Convex surface brown to greenish gray, uneven, pockmarks, striations. Concave surface uneven, coarse, sand coating. Fabric gray, overfired, hard, voids.
(d) Preserves long side edge. L. 0.089, W. 0.075, Th. 0.012 m. Convex surface brown, uneven. Concave surface uneven, coarse, sand coating. Fabric brownish yellow, hard, voids.
(e) Preserves short side edge. L. 0.870, W. 0.064, Th. 0.019 m. Convex surface uneven brownish yellow. Concave surface uneven, pockmarks, straw impressions, sand coating. Fabric brownish red to brownish yellow, hard, voids, pure.

EARLY MODERN TILES

Early modern roof tiles are equally few in number, although they are very distinctive due to their surface treatment and thickness. The extensive character of our survey must partly account for the low number of early modern tiles, because intensive surveys carried out elsewhere in Greece produced abundant examples.[106] Still, even on sites where early modern buildings still stood, the number of tiles was surprisingly low.[107] Fragments of early modern date belong to narrow convex tiles, tapering at one side, 0.019 m in average thickness.[108] The edges of the long sides are irregularly shaped, either flat or slanted and rounded with uneven faces, and they have an average thickness of 0.020 m (Fig. II.20:a–d).[109] The edges of the short sides are mostly vertical angular and in some fragments slanted rounded, their average thickness being 0.018 m (Fig. II.20:e).[110] In the majority

106. See Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 349–429 passim, for the large number of early modern tiles recorded in the Berbati-Limnes region. See also Koskinas, in prep.

107. With the exception of HS-116, where large numbers of early modern tiles were found. For an explanation of this phenomenon, see above, p. 366.

108. Min. Th. 0.014; max. Th. 0.026 m. For the shape and dimensions of early modern tiles, see McDonald, Coulson, and Rosser 1983, pp. 385, 397, fig. 10-84; Iakovidis 1989, p. 247, n. 352; Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 367, 369, 435, fig. 35; and Koskinas, in prep.

109. Min. Th. 0.019; max. Th. 0.025 m.

110. Min. Th. 0.017; max. Th. 0.025 m.



Figure II.21. Roof-tile fragments of early modern and Ottoman date from HS-14; the upper convex surfaces.



Figure II.22. Roof-tile fragments of early modern and Ottoman date from HS-14; the concave undersurfaces with the sand coating.

of the fragments, the convex surface is uneven and relatively coarse with pockmarks, straw impressions, and longitudinal finger marks (Fig. II.21). The surface colors obtained after firing are very different from the color of the tile fabric.[111] The concave surface is always uneven and coarse, with scratches, pockmarks, straw impressions, and sand; this sand coating is observed also on the underside of the edges of the long sides and on the face of at least one of the short sides, usually the upper (Fig. II.22). The fabrics are unevenly fired, mostly yellowish brown with brown-red cores, and brownish red. There are also cases of overfired dark gray and gray-green fabrics. Fabrics are hard with many voids and tempered predominantly with abundant straw, scattered bits of mica, pebbles, and small quantities of white rounded and red angular inclusions 0.003 m in average size.

A description of the fabrication process of early modern roof tiles is necessary here, in order to explain some of their characteristics.[112] After the clay had been treated and the temper added, it was shaped in trapezoidal

111. For example, in tiles of brown fabric the post-firing color of the surface is grayish green, and in other cases yellowish brown. See Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 352, fig. 10.

112. The process is well documented: see Hampe and Winter 1965, pp. 26–29, 204–208, figs. 16–18, 20, pls. 12:4, 15:1–6, 32:1–5, 34:4–5, 42:1–6, 48:1–2, 49:1–2, 55:1–6; Theocharidou 1985–1986, pp. 100–101; Winter 1993, p. 305; Palli 2000, pp. 174–175, figs. 13, 14, 16, 18.

slabs using a wooden frame. The tile-maker pressed the clay and smoothed it with wet hands, producing the finger marks along the length of the tile and the slip of finer clay on the upper surface.[113] Then the slabs were placed over a wooden or iron matrix and were separated from the frame by means of a metal string that produced the flat and slanted edges.[114] Thus the slab took the convex and tapering shape of the tile. To avoid having the slab stick to the workbench and to facilitate the easy removal of the shaped tile from the matrix, a layer of fine sand or ash was spread on the workbench and on the surface of the matrix.[115] This produced the coarse sandy surface of the concave side of the tile. Then the tiles were placed on a layer of sand in order to dry in the sun or under sheds, which explains the sand coating on the edges.[116] Finally, after the tiles had been dried they were fired in closed kilns.[117] Sometimes something went wrong in the firing process, and as a result a whole batch of tiles came out distorted and stuck to each other, and many were vitrified. Misfired tiles are hard and have bluish, gray-green, and greenish surfaces and dark gray or black cores.[118] The wasters were discarded in dumps, along with bricks and lining material from the kiln. These dump sites are highly visible in the landscape because of the large concentration of characteristic fragments of tiles and slags.[119] In our region, to the northeast of Asprokampos and just outside the limits of our survey area, we found the site of a kiln dump, which consisted of a high-density scatter of many hundreds or even thousands of tile wasters and slags of vitrified clay.

113. See Hampe and Winter 1965, pl. 42:1–2.

114. See Hampe and Winter 1965, pl. 42:3–4, and p. 28, fig. 18. See also Palli 2000, pp. 174, 176, fig. 14, for an example of a matrix.

115. Cf. Palli 2000, p. 174.

116. See Hampe and Winter 1965, pls. 12:2, 49:2; Theocharidou 1985–1986, p. 100; Palli 2000, pp. 174, 176, fig. 16.

117. See Hampe and Winter 1965, p. 29, fig. 20, pl. 32:4–5, for the placement of the tiles inside the kiln. For the construction of tile kilns, see Rostoker and Gebhard 1981, pp. 215–220. See Theocharidou 1985–1986, pp. 103–104, for the firing of tiles, and pp. 104–105, figs. 9–13, for a modern kiln.

118. For examples of tile wasters, see Wells and Runnels 1996, pp. 351–352, fig. 10.

119. See Wells and Runnels 1996, p. 363.

Aqueducts of Sikyon

The historian Diodoros referred to the plentiful water resources of the city of Demetrios and praised the gardens that he saw there (20.102.4). In the course of the Hellenistic and Roman eras, the Sikyonians felt the need for additional water, which they brought to the city from sources to the southwest and west of the plateau. Early travelers and scholars reported conspicuous remains of an aqueduct to the south (meaning southwest) of the plateau, and Skias and Meyer recorded traces of it in the area of Elliniko of Megali Valtsa, to the west of the city.[1] No one, however, has ever undertaken a systematic investigation of the water supply of Sikyon. I was able to trace the first (southwestern) line almost entirely, but only a small section of the second (western) one (Fig. III.1).

THE SOUTHWESTERN AQUEDUCT

The sources of the southwestern aqueduct are located in the area of Melisiklias (Μελισικλιάς), southwest of the village of Kryoneri, where I found the collecting basin in a ravine at an elevation of 820 masl (Fig. III.1, no. 1).[2] It is rectangular in shape and only partially preserved (Fig. III.2). Its western (short) side is 3.80 m, and the preserved lengths of its southern and northern sides are 4.6 m and 3.9 m, respectively. The eastern side is not visible, a nearby stream having no doubt washed it away. The maximum visible height of the walls is 1.5 m, and it is mostly covered by foliage. The walls, built of rubble, tiles, and mortar, are 0.55 m thick. In the middle of the western wall there is an opening 1.05 m wide, most likely the point of attachment of the water channel to the basin. The inner face of the walls is coated with stucco to an average thickness of 0.02 m. In recent decades, the community of Kryoneri built a larger tank in cement about 40 m lower in the ravine, and tapped the water of the stream for irrigation purposes.

From Melisiklias, the channel proceeded in a northeasterly direction, along the country road connecting Kryoneri with Lechova. Villagers from Kryoneri, including Panagiotis Zarkos, the driver of the bulldozer used to widen this road, told me that the portions of the channel along the road were destroyed during this process. I found the channel to the north of

1. Ross 1841, p. 48; Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 491; Vischer 1857, p. 276; Bursian 1872, p. 28; McMurtry 1889, pp. 269–272; Frazer 1913, vol. 3, p. 45; Skias 1919, p. 47; Meyer 1939, pp. 5–6; Papademos 1979, pp. 84–85.

2. Approximate coordinates: 379124/4200447. Due to the vegetation, I was not able to take an accurate GPS reading within the ravine.

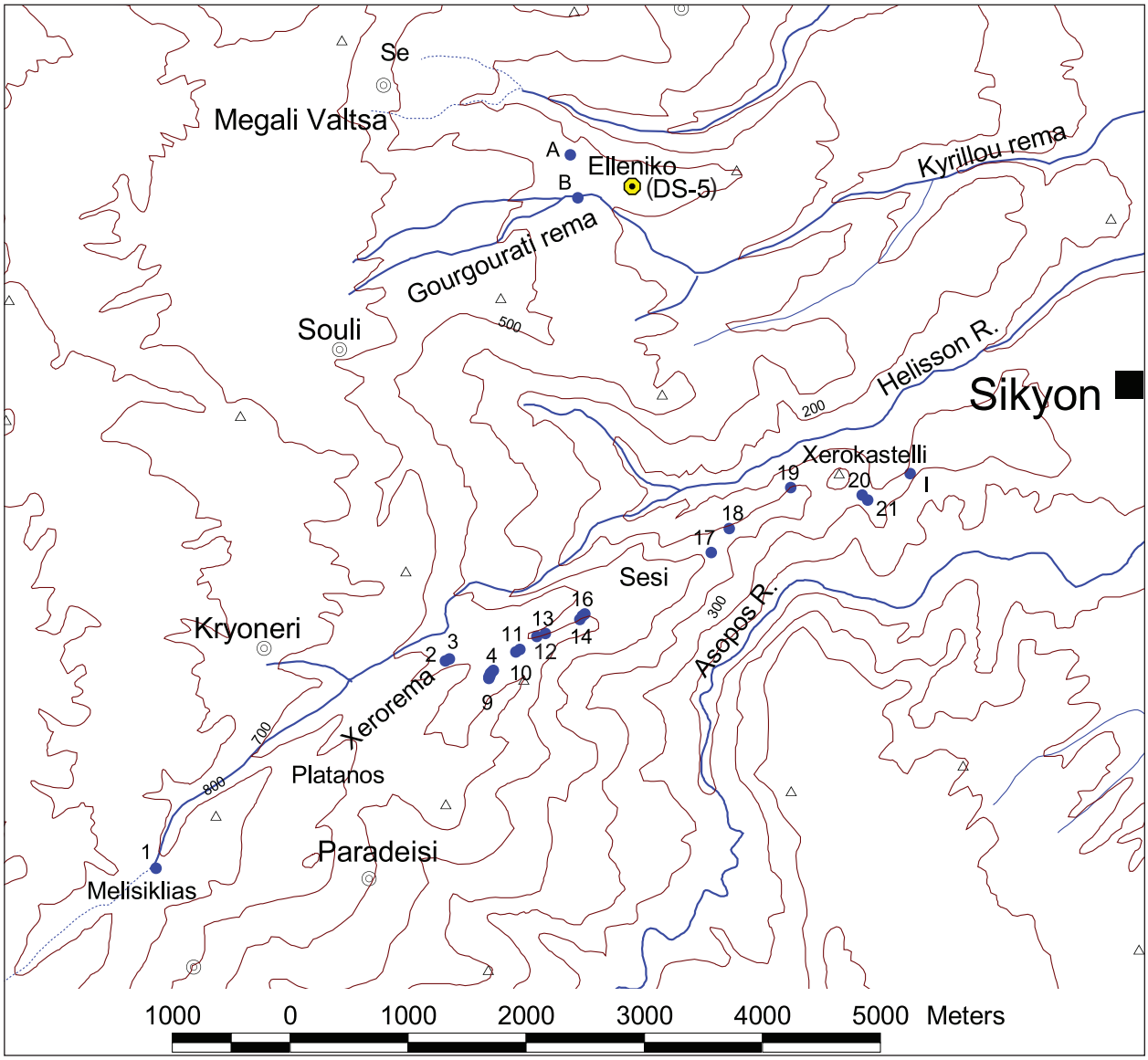


Figure III.1. Aqueducts of Sikyon: traces of the western (A–B, I) and southwestern lines (1–21). Nos. 5–8 are located between nos. 4 and 9; no. 15 is located between nos. 14 and 16.

the asphalt road that leads from Kryoneri to Gonoussa, and due east of the village of Kryoneri, in two places (nos. 2 and 3, ca. 590 masl; Figs. III.3, III.4).[3] A longer section (ca. 80 m) came to light above the western bank of Xerorema, which is a tributary ravine to the Helisson River and flows along the western side of Sesi (nos. 4–8, 470 masl; Figs. III.5, III.6).[4] The channel crossed the ravine on top of a bridge, of which only its western abutment and scanty traces of the eastern one are preserved (no. 9; Figs. III.7, III.8); the length of the bridge must have been between 11 and 13 m.[5] The western abutment, built in loose rubble and mortar, is 1.8 m wide and 2.5 m in maximum height; of the channel crossing on top, only its base is preserved, filled with calcareous deposits (Fig. III.9). The abutment on the eastern bank of Xerorema is only scarcely preserved, and at some point further north the channel begins to run below the surface. I was able to observe its outer masonry in four places, where the earth covering had

3. Coordinates: 381576/4202203 (no. 2), 381613/4202219 (no. 3).

4. Coordinates: 381983/4202124 (no. 4), 381948/4202067 (no. 8). Points 5–7 are located between these two.

5. Coordinates: 381947/4202057 (no. 9, western abutment).



Figure III.2. The collecting basin at Melisiklias (1), looking east



Figure III.3. The water channel to the east of Kryoneri (2), showing the rubble-and-mortar masonry and thick incrustations



Figure III.4. The water channel to the east of Kryoneri (3), made of terracotta

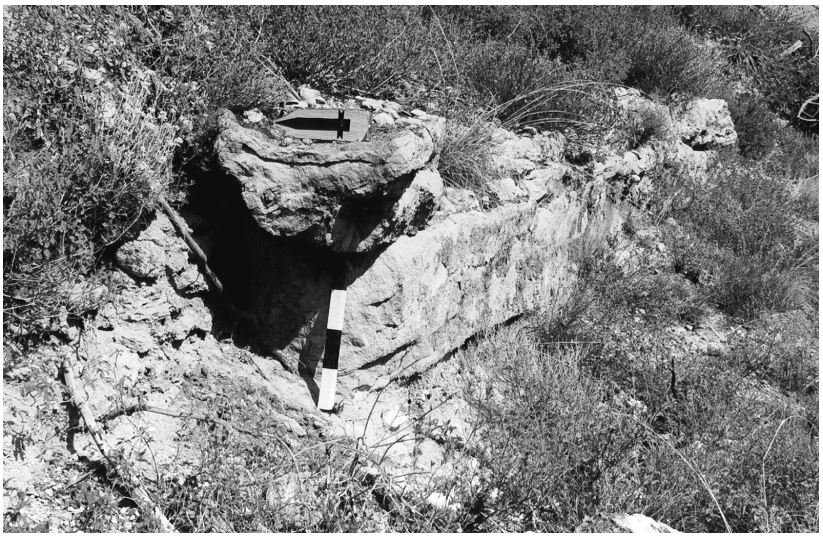


Figure III.5. The aqueduct along the western bank of Xerorema (4–5); the southern side-wall has collapsed.



Figure III.6. Detail of the double layer of incrustation accumulated atop the base of the channel at Xerorema (4–5)

been washed away (nos. 10–13; ca. 550 masl).[6] Further to the northeast, and still above the east bank of Xerorema, the water entered into a tunnel of unknown length (nos. 14–16, ca. 520 masl; Figs. III.10, III.11).[7] The tunnel, dug into marly soil, is on average 0.7 m wide and 1.7–1.8 m high. One could access it by vaulted openings on its sides (Fig. III.12). Inside the conduit, a series of holes carved on the sides every 0.8–0.9 m were probably meant to receive lamps for inspections of the interior. Between Sesi and Xerokastelli, the aqueduct follows more or less the line of the country road to Sikyon; its subterranean channel was cut by the widening of this road in at least six places, over a total length of ca. 1,500 m (nos. 17–21; ca. 350–250 masl). The segment visible to the northeast of Sesi (17) preserves heavy calcium carbonate deposits that formed on the bottom of the channel, as well as the two rubble-and-mortar side-walls (Fig. III.13).[8] Circa 250 m to the northeast, the aqueduct remains, which here run from west to east, consist only of a thick layer of incrustation ca. 5 m in length (18; Fig. III.14).[9] Further to the northeast, and due west of Xerokastelli, the

6. Coordinates: 382176/4202282 (no. 10), 382209/4202303 (no. 11), 382354/4202411 (no. 12), 382425/4202437 (no. 13).

7. Coordinates: 382717/4202555 (no. 14), 382758/4202600 (no. 16). Point 15 is located between these two.

8. Coordinates: 383831/4203123.

9. Coordinates: 383980/4203327 (west end); 383985/4203328 (east end).



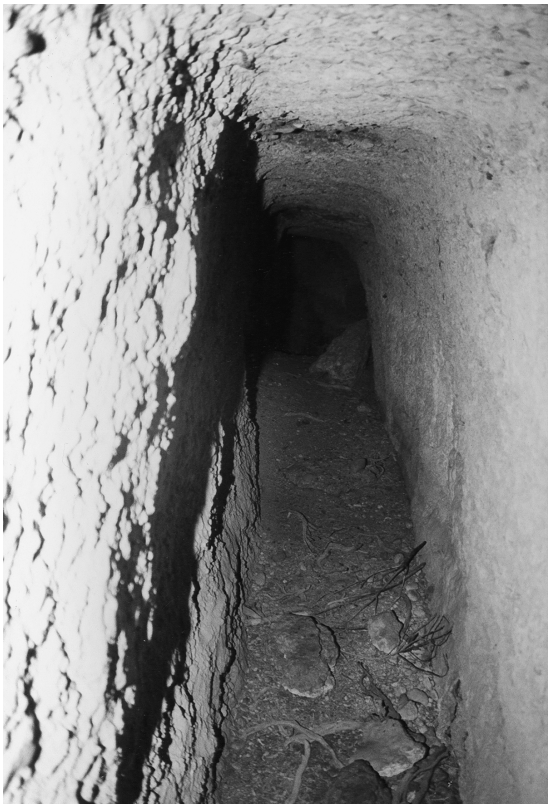
Figure III.7. Side view of the western abutment of the bridge at Xerorema (9), looking southwest. Visible in the photograph are the rubble masonry of the bridge and the base of the channel with thick incrustation.



Figure III.8. Frontal view of the western abutment of the bridge at Xerorema (9), looking east



Figure III.9. View of the water channel on the bridge of Xerorema, showing the incrustration along the bottom



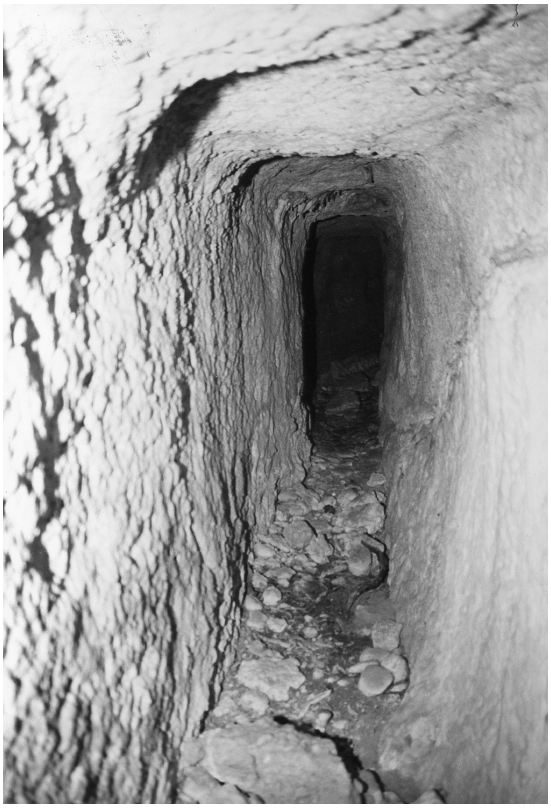


Figure III.10 *(left)*. The tunnel at Sesi (14–15)

Figure III.11 *(right)*. The tunnel at Sesi (15–16)



Figure III.12. Sesi: vaulted access to the tunnel from the side



Figure III.13. The channel to the northeast of Sesi (17), with thick incrustation along the bottom and rubble-and-mortar side-walls



Figure III.14. The aqueduct between Sesi and Xerokastelli (18), looking southwest. Only the thick incrustations formed atop the floor of the channel are preserved.

terracotta conduit, running in a southwest–northeast direction, is visible for a length of 9.5 m in the scarp of a dirt road (19; Fig. III.15).[10] The next section (20), ca. 6 m in length and again exposed by the opening of a road, is visible to the southeast of Xerokastelli; it belongs to the rubble-and-mortar channel with only its inner wall and the base of the channel preserved (Fig. III.16).[11] Some 60 m to the southeast, one more segment of the channel is visible along the edge of the ridge (21; Fig. III.17); it follows a northwest–southeast direction and preserves only one side-wall and part of the base for a length of 6 m.[12]

The approximate length of the aqueduct from Melisiklias of Kryoneri to the Sikyonian plateau is 10 km, and the average gradient reached the high figure of 6%. I was not able to find traces of it on the plateau, but it is possible that a tunnel I observed above (south of) the theater is also

10. Coordinates: 384501/4203669 (southwest end); 384507/4203676 (northeast end). Elevation: ca. 312 masl.

11. Coordinates: 385110/4203609. Elevation: ca. 225 masl.

12. Coordinates: 385152/4203571 (northwest end); 385157/4203567 (southeast end).



Figure III.15. The terracotta channel to the west of Xerokastelli (19)



Figure III.16. The channel to the southeast of Xerokastelli (20); the northern side-wall has collapsed.



Figure III.17. One side-wall of the aqueduct preserved to the southeast of Xerokastelli (21). On the right is the steep slope of the ridge toward the Asopos River valley.

part of the aqueduct. Early travelers mention more than one tunnel in the vicinity of the theater, and light wells opened onto the roof.[13] Furthermore, Wheler saw many water pipes leading to the ruins of the baths, and this led him to deduce the nature of the building.[14] In the excavations of the baths by Orlandos, the water supply was not investigated, and no pipes are visible at ground level today.

The southwestern aqueduct of Sikyon was found in two different forms: one is built of rubble and mortar and shows heavy incrustation along the bottom (Figs. III.3, III.5–III.7, III.13, III.14, III.16, III.17), and the other consists of rectangular terracotta channels (Figs. III.4, III.15). The rubble-and-mortar channel has a rectangular cross-section with side-walls 0.3–0.4 m wide, and an internal width of 0.41 m; thus, its overall width comes to 1.0–1.2 m. Its original height was nowhere observed. The maximum preserved height of the channel was measured at Xerorema and at Xerokastelli, as 0.9 and 0.8 m, respectively. It is not clear how the channel was roofed.[15] At Xerorema, and close to the line of the channel (which was heavily damaged by the opening of a dirt road), I observed many fragments of roof tiles. It is possible, therefore, that large tiles had once been used to roof the channel.

The most characteristic part of this rubble-and-mortar channel is the calcium carbonate deposits ("sinter") that accumulated on its floor. The thickest sinter incrustations were observed along the segments with the highest gradients, most notably at Xerorema (Figs. III.5, III.6) and to the northeast of Sesi (Fig. III.14). This is due to the calcareous material contained in the water and to the turbulence of the water within the conduit, which increases the rate of precipitation of calcium carbonate deposits.[16] At Xerorema, the calcareous deposits form two separate layers, or more properly, chunks of layers, 0.55 and 0.4 m high, which is the result of an interruption in the functioning of the aqueduct at some point in its history and its subsequent reinstatement (Fig. III.6).[17] The sides of these sinter formations preserve the mortar that originally lined the side-walls and the floor of the channel. I discerned two distinct layers, the inner one (i.e., the outer one of the sinter) is coarse and 5 mm thick, the outer one is smooth and fine and 2 mm thick. The V-shaped cross-section of the sinter was formed by the flow of the water along the center of the channel.[18]

13. Curtius 1851–1852, vol. 2, p. 491; Vischer 1857, p. 276; Bursian 1872, p. 28; McMurtry 1889, pp. 269–272.

14. Wheler 1682, p. 446.

15. The possibility that the channel was open and ran above ground is unlikely. Most Roman aqueducts followed a subterranean course in order to be protected from the elements and so that the water retained its original volume and purity. Water channels in the Roman period were typically built by first digging a ditch deeper than the external height of the aqueduct, then building the channel, and finally covering it with earth; for good examples from the Hadrianic aqueduct of Corinth, see Lolos 1997, pls. 68:a, 70:d, 71:b.

16. For turbulence as a factor in sinter formation, see Grewe 1985, pp. 244–245.

17. In June 2010, Cees W. Passchier, professor of geology at the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz (Germany) and an expert on Roman aqueducts, took samples of these calcium carbonate deposits for oxygen isotope analysis. We hope that we will soon have information on the history of this aqueduct and its lifespan.

18. For a similar case of heavy sinter deposits with a V-shaped cross-section, see the Roman aqueduct of Veroia in Macedonia (Petkos 1995). The excavator erroneously believes that these sinter deposits, 0.5 m wide, are oblong travertine blocks that had their upper surface carved in order to serve as a water conduit, and that were reinforced by external side-walls built of rubble and mortar.



Figure III.18. Joining sections of the terracotta channel at Kryoneri (not in situ)

Comparison of the sinter deposits on the floor of the aqueduct at Sesi (Fig. III.14) and at Xerokastelli (Fig. III.16) shows well the effects of turbulence: along the segment preserved at Sesi, which features a high gradient, the thickness of the calcium deposits reaches 0.40 m while at Xerokastelli, where the aqueduct follows a more level course, the thickness of the deposits does not exceed 0.20 m.

The clay conduit can best be seen to the north of Kryoneri, where it has been partially destroyed by a bulldozer (Figs. III.4, III.18). It is rectangular in shape and originally had three sides, 0.3 (bottom) × 0.24 m. In the visible sections, one of the sides is destroyed, while I was not able to find any cover slabs. The channels are 0.05 m thick and at both ends have a flange 0.095 m wide and only 0.025 m thick which was intended to be inserted into the adjoining channel (Fig. III.19). Incrustations accumulated on the bottom of this type of channel as well, as shown on a displaced fragment lying between Sesi and Xerokastelli (Fig. III.20). There are numerous examples of terracotta cylindrical pipes from practically every region of the Roman empire, but terracotta channels of rectangular section are rare in comparison. The only case of such a channel that Hodge cites is a ∪-shaped open conduit from Aachen (Germany), but it was used for domestic water supply only.[19]

Overall, the two types of channel presented above have similar dimensions and represent either two different but parallel lines, or repairs along a single line. If the terracotta channel was not covered, as the present evidence suggests, it must have been used for purposes other than drinking,

19. Hodge 1992, p. 316.





Figure III.19 *(left)*. **Detail of the join between two sections of the terracotta channel at Kryoneri**

Figure III.20 *(right)*. **Part of the bottom of the terracotta channel between Sesi and Xerokastelli (not in situ), showing thick incrustation**

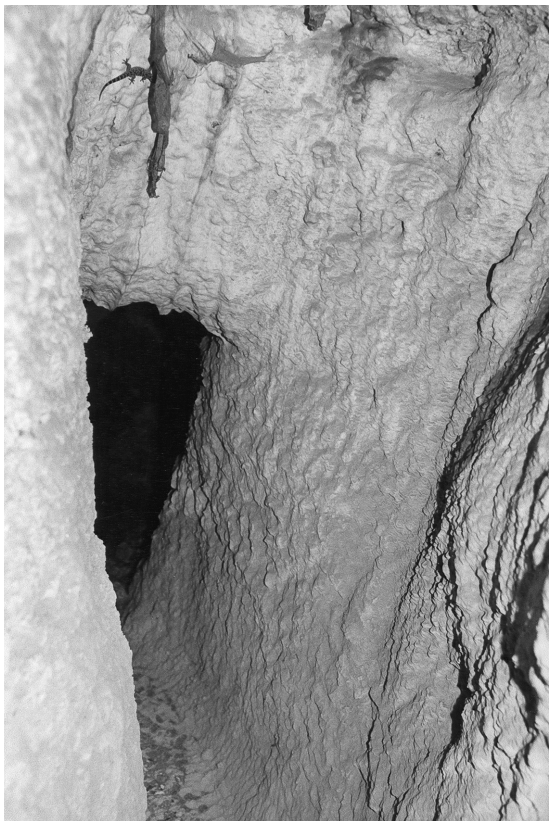


Figure III.21. Detail of the tunnel at Sesi: the meeting point of the ancient diggers of the tunnel

like irrigation or the public baths. It is unclear whether the terracotta line was funneled into the tunnel at Sesi as was the rubble and mortar aqueduct. The opening of this tunnel involved different crews working from opposite directions. At one point, the crews almost missed each other, and adjustments had to be made that involved lowering the bottom at one end (Fig. III.21).



Figure III.22. The old fountain at Se of Megali Valtsa. Although the fountain is no longer in use, it likely represents the location of the ancient spring.



Figure III.23. The channel to the west of Elliniko of Megali Valtsa (A); the northern side-wall has collapsed.

THE WESTERN AQUEDUCT

The abundant springs of Se (Σέ), near the village of Megali Valtsa and northwest of Sikyon, flow with water of excellent quality (Fig. III.22), and they appear to have supplied water to the western aqueduct of Sikyon in antiquity. Unfortunately, no traces of the collecting basin for this aqueduct are visible near the sources today, nor have they ever been reported in the past.[20] The rocky formations by the springs are still visible, but the area has been severely disturbed in recent decades.[21] The actual channel was first spotted by Skias and later by Meyer to the east of the springs, along the road leading from Elliniko to Megali Valtsa.[22] The channel was visible until 1998 to the left of the country road to Megali Valtsa, at an elevation of ca. 448 masl (A; Fig. III.23).[23] I observed only the bottom of the channel and one of its side-walls, preserved to a height of 0.65 m. It was built in rubble and mortar, with its interior coated with plaster. Meyer described it as square in section, lined with stone slabs, and covered with larger slabs 0.4 m

20. Meyer (1939, p. 5) observed a rock-cut votive niche, measuring 0.4 × 0.4 m, presumably near the sources of the springs, which convinced him of the antiquity of the aqueduct. I was unable to locate this niche.

21. Two tavernas have been operating here, and their owners keep relandscaping their surroundings.

22. Skias 1919, pp. 46–47; Meyer 1939, pp. 5–6.

23. Approximate location: 382633/4206491. It was destroyed, along with the ancient road that ran beside it, when the country road was widened; see above, p. 162.



Figure III.24. The bridge at Kamari (B), showing both abutments in *opus quadratum*

wide. He was able to follow its subterranean course, which runs some three meters below the surface, through a series of manholes opened on its roof.

Of great importance for chronological purposes is the aqueduct's connection to the defensive complex at Elliniko (DS-5). Meyer explored the underground staircase of the tower, which opens onto three galleries, two of which lead to the aqueduct. Less than 500 m west-southwest of Elliniko stand the abutments of the bridge of the aqueduct over a branch of Gourgourati (B, ca. 420 masl; Fig. III.24).[24] The area is known locally as Kamari (Καμάρι), presumably from the arch of the bridge, which must have been visible in earlier times. The southern abutment is the best preserved with eight isodomic courses, and I detected mortar in the joints. The overall height is 3.9 m, the width 1.5 m, and the span 3.8 m. According to Vasileios Mytas, former secretary of the community of Souli, one more bridge of the aqueduct was visible over the southern branch of Gourgourati, but is no longer preserved. Following the contour, the aqueduct must have passed ca. 20 m higher than the church of Agios Konstantinos of Souli, and local farmers ran into it as they were plowing their fields in this area. The subsequent course of the channel is unknown, and it is not clear how it crossed the gully of the Helisson River. Ross saw piers of an aqueduct standing behind the Sikyonian plateau, but no such remains are visible today.[25] Unfortunately no description of their masonry is provided, but by analogy to the bridge at Kamari, we could imagine ashlar masonry. I suggest that these piers belonged to the western aqueduct of Sikyon.

Recent landscaping operations between Xerokastelli and the western edge of the Sikyonian plateau have brought to light further remains that may be associated with this western aqueduct. The remains, which were partially destroyed, consist of an underground pipeline ca. 1.80 m in length (Fig. III.25, marked I on Fig. III.1).[26] The pipeline is made of cylindrical terracotta sections, each measuring 0.48–0.49 m in length with an external diameter of 0.29 m and an internal diameter of 0.17 m. Each section has a recessed band 8 cm wide and 3 cm thick on one end in order to tightly join with the next section, which has a corresponding flange (Fig. III.26). The considerable thickness of the pipes (0.06 m) in relation to their diameter

24. Approximate coordinates: 382691/4206128.

25. Ross 1841, p. 48: "Hier [referring to the plateau], wo man noch asehnliche Reste der alten Mauer sieht, fällt die Höhe wieder steil ab, und hängt nur durch einen schmalen Isthmos, auf welchem Reste von Pfeilern einer Wasserleitung stehen, mit dem dahinter liegenden höheren Berge zusammen."

26. Coordinates: 385518/4203790. Elevation: ca. 202 masl.



Figure III.25. The terracotta pipe to the east of Xerokastelli (I)



Figure III.26. Fragments of the terracotta pipe east of Xerokastelli (I) showing thick walls and joint surfaces

suggests that they belonged to a pressure line.[27] I have not been able to locate other examples of this terracotta pipe along the ridge that connects the Sikyonian plateau to Kryoneri and Paradeisi, therefore I do not believe that the spring of Melisiklias was the starting point of this aqueduct. We should also exclude the possibility that the water came from across the very deep and wide Asopos gully. This leaves us with the possibility that the water came under pressure from across the Helisson, given the depth and width of the Helisson river gully, perhaps utilizing the bridge seen by Ross as a venter bridge. I understand that the evidence is insufficient to support the existence of a siphon across the Helisson, but it may have been the only way to overcome this natural obstacle and bring water to Sikyon from the west. The connection of the aqueduct to the complex of Elliniko indicates that it predated the Roman period. Siphon technology was known to the Hellenistic kings, although no examples have ever been reported from mainland Greece.[28]

27. On the thickness of pressure pipes, see Hodge 1992, p. 113.

28. Our best examples of siphons come from Asia Minor: see Hodge 1992, pp. 31–45. The most impressive is the siphon of the Madradag aqueduct of Pergamon.

Public Land: An Epigraphical Testimony

The inscription discussed below is located on the western slope of the plateau that extends between the villages of Klimenti-Kaisari and Velina, above the church of Agia Paraskevi of the village of Manna, and at an elevation of ca. 1080 masl. It is carved on the almost vertical western face of a limestone rock, 1.7 m above ground level, and it clearly preserves six letters in horizontal alignment: ΔΑΜΟΣΙ (Figs. IV.1–3). No letter can be seen next to the iota, but obliquely above it one can make out an omicron, and accordingly read ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟ.[1] The inscription is 0.98 m long; the height of the letters varies between 0.18 and 0.25 m (the diameter of the omicron is 0.11 m), and their depth between 0.02 and 0.03 m. The difficulty in dating rock-cut inscriptions, such as horoi, and the various names in genitive or dative case is well known. Based on the shape of the letters, I would assign the inscription in question to the 4th century B.C.

It is clear that the inscription does not call "public" the rock on which it is carved, but an area that was defined by boundaries, one of which is marked by the inscription. In other words, we are dealing with an implied horos: [ὅρος] δημοσίο̣[υ]. Similar horoi are listed on a rectangular stele of the Roman period from Crete, [ὅρ]οιι δημοιισίων, undoubtedly referring to public lands.[2] The public land of our inscription is in contrast to others that were private or sacred.[3] The distinction between public and sacred land is attested numerous times in the ancient sources, whereas references to public *temene* or *hiera* are rare.[4] References to public γῆ, τόποι, χῶραι,

1. The unfinished incision of words is common on rock-cut inscriptions, e.g., ΔΙΑΝΟ instead of ΔΙΑΝΟΜΟΥ or ΕΥΘΥΔΟΤ instead of ΕΥΘΥΔΟΤΟΥ on Mount Hymettos; see Langdon 1985, pp. 260, 269.

2. *IC* I.5 11.

3. For example, Polybios tells us that Apollo possessed sacred land somewhere in Sikyon; see above, p. 380.

4. Perhaps the earliest distinction between public and sacred property appears in the Solonian legislation (fr. 4) with regard to greedy rulers who would spare nothing sacred or public; see Lewis 1989, p. 245. Aristotle maintains that the division of the land into three parts—sacred, public, and private—was first undertaken by Hippodamos of Miletos (*Pol.* 1267b34), while the distinction between sacred and public land appears in a Late Hellenistic inscription from Argos (Kritzas 1992, p. 237), as well as in an Attic decree of the Roman period (*IG* II^2 1035), to which I refer below. See also *IG* VII 2446, line 2 ([τ]ὴν δημοσ[ίαν καὶ τὴν] ἱερὰν γῆν), *SEG* XLI 282 (τᾶς ἱερᾶς καὶ δαμοσίας χώρας), as well as Hegyi 1976 and Isager 1992. Reference to δημόσια τεμένη is contained in [Arist.] *Oec.* 1346b13–24. The leasing of *temene* is also discussed in the Aristotelian *Athenaion politeia* (47.4). For the latter practice, see Walbank 1983.



Figure IV.1. The rock bearing the inscription above the village of Manna

or χωρία are numerous in the epigraphical corpus.[5] In addition, an Attic inscription of the Roman period mentions δημόσια ὄρη, evidently of Attica.[6] If we accept the existence of an *omicron* next to the *iota* of our inscription, then the reference is to a δημόσιος τόπος, χωρίον, or ὄρος. If there is no *omicron,* then it could refer to a γῆ or χῶρα as well. In any case, the land in question must have spread behind (to the east of) the rock. Given that no similar inscriptions have been located thus far from this area, it is not possible at this point to determine the boundaries of the public land.[7]

Horoi carved on rocks abound, particularly in Attica.[8] The majority mark the boundaries between cities or tribes, or they have a civic character (such as the boundary stones marking the limits of the Athenian Agora). I know of only one other rock-cut inscription, found on the island of Lesbos, that may name something as "public."[9] On the other hand, roof tiles

5. δημόσια γῆ: *IG* VII 2446, line 2; *SEG* XXX 568, verses 4–5. δημόσιος τόπος: *SEG* XXXIII 1040, lines 23–26; *IG* IX.2 1106, line 8; *IG* XII.7 395, line 37; *TAM* V.1 235. δημόσια χώρα: *IG* V.1 1370, line 6; *IG* V.2 443A, line 14; *SEG* XXXIX 1426, lines 26 and 29–30. δημόσιο χωρίο: *IG* XII.3 86, line 1; *Syll.*[3] 279, 936. A single reference is also made to δαμόσια, in other words, lands that were not to be distributed to settlers, unlike the ἀπότομα: *IG* IX[2].1 609 = *SEG* XLI 527.

6. *IG* II[2] 1035, lines 20 and 58. Culley, who published the inscription, believes that the horoi on the Alepovouni ("Fuchsberg") of Hymettos may have defined one of the "public mountains" of the inscription, a suggestion endorsed by Langdon: Culley 1977, p. 290, n. 27; Langdon 1985, p. 259.

7. I have heard of the existence of a similar inscription, allegedly located at Sares of Kyllene and preserving only the first three letters (ΔΑΜ). "Sares" is a precipitous area, ca. 4.5 km southwest of Manna, at an elevation of 1,100–1,200 masl. I looked for the inscription in the fall of 2002, but was not able to find it. If this inscription exists, then the "public area" must have been quite extensive, as it would have included the area of Isomata above the village of Kephalari.

8. E.g., the horoi from Mount Hymettos (Langdon 1985), or from Euboia (Apostolidis and Apostolidis 1990–1991).

9. Only the three first letters are carved, 0.18 m high, and the rest are restored: ΔΑΜ[ΟΣΙΟΝ]: *IG* XII.2 486. Conceivably, ΔΑΜ could also be the initials of a proper name such as Δάμις (*IG* XII.2 551), Δάμων Πολυάρχων (*IG* XII.2 527 from Eressos) or Δάμος (*IG* XII.2 511c12 from Methymna), but this is not very likely.



Figure IV.2. Detail of the rock-cut inscription

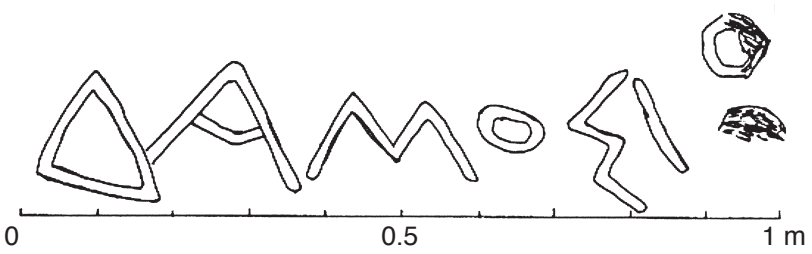


Figure IV.3. Tracing of the inscription (from a photograph). Drawing Y. Lolos

stamped with the letters ΔΑΜ, and rarely the entire word ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΣ, are common in the Peloponnese and were even found in Sikyon.[10]

Three main questions arise from this inscription: To which city or settlement does the named area belong, why was the inscription carved, and what kind of land does the inscription define?

With regard to the first question, I found no traces of a sizable settlement in the surrounding area, as I have already pointed out in Chapter 5. Therefore, it is wiser to assign the area to one of the large cities of the region, Stymphalos, Pellene, or Sikyon. In Chapter 1, I tentatively assigned the *kampos* of Kaisari and the mountainous area between it and the Sythas River to Sikyon. Accordingly, the inscription and the area that it defines fall within Sikyonian territory. Its public ownership, confirmed by our inscription, agrees with the typical nonprivate status of borderlands in ancient Greece.[11]

As for the reasons behind the carving of the inscription, one can easily imagine that public areas were threatened by individuals or neighboring towns encroaching upon them. In a decree of 334/3 B.C. from Zeleia in Bithynia, the demos decided to elect nine ἀνευρεταί who were to inspect the status of the public lands. If these lands were occupied, the individuals were obliged to pay to the city the price of the lands, or they would have to evacuate.[12] Public land is contested among citizens of Melite and Peraia, Melite and Narthake, and Miletos and Herakleia.[13] In lines 78–87 of the last inscription, which is a *sympoliteia* between Herakleia and Miletos of 185/4 B.C., a reference is made to "the part of the contested mountain land" (τοῦ μέρους τῆς χώρας τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης). The people of Herakleia claimed that both the sacred and public mountainous land was theirs, which the Milesians contested. Finally, in a Macedonian decree of the Roman period, the citizens of Battyna protest because they

10. See, e.g., *IG* V.2 170 (Tegea); *SEG* XI 265, XIII 238 (Sikyon); Miller 1994, p. 93 (Nemea); Themelis 1994, p. 148 (Messene).

11. See Rousset 1994, pp. 123–124.

12. *Syll.*[3] 279; *SEG* XXXIV 1257.

13. *Syll.*[3] 546B = Ager 1996, no. 56, lines 12–17 (Μελιταῖοι/Ἱεραῖοι: 213/2 B.C.); *Syll.*[3] 674 = Ager 1996, no. 156, lines 19–30 (Μελιταῖοι/Ναρθακαῖοι: ca. 140 B.C.); *Syll.*[3] 633 = Ager 1996, no. 108, lines 78–87 (Μιλήσιοι/Ἡρακλειῶται: 185/4 B.C.).

were prohibited from the use of public lands (τῆς τῶν δημοσίων τόπων χρήσεως) by the stronger among the provincial authorities (οἱ δυνατότεροι τῶν ἐπαρχικῶν).[14] The precise definition of public land by the setting of boundary markers would have prevented, to a lesser or greater degree, disputes or encroachments upon it.

Finally, what was so important in a mountainous land as to dictate its delimitation? On public lands, logging, agriculture, pasturing of herds, and quarrying were the main activities, practiced in most cases by individuals either for their own profit or on behalf of their cities.[15] I believe that in our case the most relevant testimony is given in the two decrees of the Roman period regarding the restoration of the Attic sanctuaries (*IG* II^2 1035). The last line of the inscription (59), despite its fragmentary condition, contains a reference to the right that everyone had to the pasture and lumber on public mountains.[16] These must have been the activities in the area defined by our inscription as well. I have already mentioned that Sikyonian lumber was an important resource in antiquity.[17] And the plateau that opens up to the east of the inscription was a forest of black pine until it was burned down in the 1980s. It is possible, then, that the rock-cut inscription above the village of Manna, together with similar inscriptions, defined a public land for the purpose of logging.

14. *SEG* XXX 568. See also Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1985, no. 186; Buraselis 1993.

15. Leasing of public *choria* to individuals is mentioned in the decree of 334/3 B.C. from Zeleia in Asia Minor (*Syll.*^{3} 279), and in the text referring to the arbitration between Melite and Peraia (*Syll.*^{3} 546B). A Theban inscription of the Roman period preserves the names of those who undertook the cultivation of public and sacred land (*IG* VII 2446, lines 1–2). An inscription of the 2nd century B.C. from the Epidaurian Asklepieion refers to the right of "buyers" to the quarrying and transport of stones within the limits of the common land (*IG* IV^2.1 76, lines 9–13). Cf. a decree of 332/1 B.C. from Eleusis containing the proposal to render to the god the quarrying around the Akris: Koumanoudis and Gofas 1978; *SEG* XXVIII 103. For references to pastoral activity in the mountainous *eschatiai* of ancient Greek cities, see Georgoudi 1974, pp. 162–163.

16. [δ]ημόσια ἃ καὶ [. . . . . .ἅ]πασιν νέμειν κ[αὶ ὑ]λάζεσθαι. For the restoration of ὄρη in front of δημόσια, see Culley 1977, p. 290.

17. See above, pp. 57–58, for the relevant ancient sources.

Excavations at the Cave of Lechova: A Preliminary Report

by Lina Kormazopoulou, Ioanna Zygouri, and Vassilis Papathanassiou

The cave of Lechova (SP-6), near modern Kryoneri, is situated on the forested east slope of Mount Vesiza, approximately 550 m north-northeast of the women's Monastery of the Dormition.[1] The cave lies within the territory of ancient Sikyon, which included the entire Vesiza range and probably extended as far south as Kokkinovrachos (DS-4).[2] Ancient activity in the vicinity of the cave is centered on two areas: Titane, famous for its Asklepieion (HS-67), and Gonoussa (formerly Liopesi), where two sizable habitation sites (HS-59, HS-60) and a fort (DS-3) have been identified. The existence of the cave was made known to the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology in 1994, following a long period of clandestine digging that resulted in the destruction of stratigraphic evidence and extensive fragmentation and dispersion of the finds. Rescue excavations were undertaken at the site between 1995 and 2003.[3]

The site is a drawdown cave, about 45 m long, created along a large fracture in the conglomerate bedrock. It consists of a single large chamber following the inclination of the fracture and affected by episodes of roof collapse (Fig. V.1). The dimensions of its present entrance have been directly influenced by these episodes, which were caused by a combination of tectonic events, stratigraphy, and cohesion of the conglomerate (Fig. V.2). The formation of the entrance together with the shape of the surrounding landscape affected the nature of sediments within the cave: thus, in the lower layers are sandy beds created by the weathering of the conglomerate, possibly during a time when there was no communication with the outside world; on top of this sediment, different soil material accumulated from the outside, and it is in this soil that all of the artifacts were found. The dating of two stalactites collected near the entrance elucidates the relationship between the roof-collapse episodes and traces of human activity: the youngest of these samples, with an estimated age of ca. 12,800 B.P., provides

1. We thank our colleagues and friends in the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology for the sorting of the archaeological material and the preliminary study of the finds: the archaeologists Dimitris Chatzilazarou and Alexandra Zampiti, the geologist Vassilis Giannopoulos, the topographer Theodoros Hatzitheodorou, the speleologist Theologos Kontrolozos, and the conservators Panagiotis Polydoropoulos, Giota Ghioni, and Vaso Papamikou. The photographs in this appendix were taken by George Maravelias and Andreas Iliakopoulos.

2. See above, pp. 23–24.

3. For preliminary reports of the excavation, see Kormazopoulou and Zygouri 2003, forthcoming a, forthcoming b; Kormazopoulou, Zygouri, and Papathanassiou 2006.

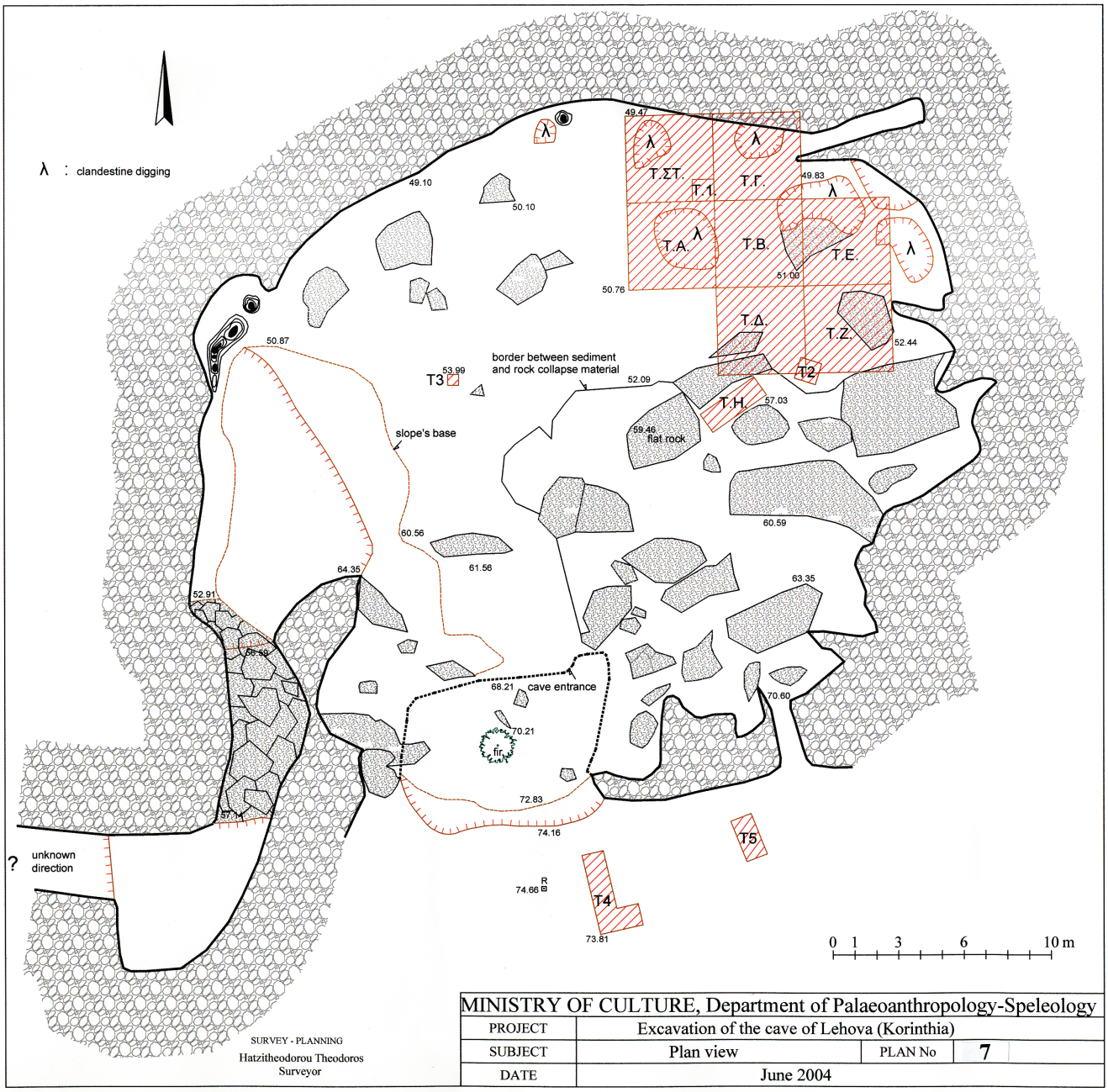


Figure V.1. Plan of the cave of Lechova (SP-6). T. Hatzitheodorou

a terminus post quem for the formation of the cave entrance, after which the creation of speleothems in this area would have ceased.[4] This process has continued only at the back end of the cave, where dripping still occurs and has created small pools in the soft sandy soil.

Excavations were concentrated at the base of the cone of the roof-collapse material, where the deepest deposits lay (Fig. V.3). The whole area had been heavily disturbed, especially the central part, where there was an enormous robber's trench. The initial small trial trenches (T1 and T2) revealed more disturbed areas. Other trials made at the far end of the cave, on a western sloping section (T3) or higher up, close to the entrance (T4 and T5), produced no finds at all. The main area of excavation

4. Electron Spin Resonance (ESR) dating was conducted at the Laboratory of Archaeometry–NCSR "Demokritos" by Georgios Bassiakos. The samples produced dates of 14,500 ± 12% and 17,000 ± 15% B.P.





Figure V.2 *(top)*. **The entrance to the cave, viewed from the interior**

Figure V.3 *(bottom)*. **Excavated area during the first season (1995)**

covered the almost level central floor and the east-sloping part of the lower cave, which we divided into seven trenches (ΤΑ–ΤΣΤ), measuring 4 × 4 m each (Fig. V.4). Digging in the central area revealed two distinct layers: (1) a brownish red clay-rich deposit with some angular pebbles, where the entire archaeological assemblage was found; and (2) a brownish yellow sandy deposit with rounded pebbles that proved to be sterile. Excavation in the eastern part uncovered the remaining portion of the mass of collapsed roof material.

There was no significant difference in the quality or quantity of finds, or in their state of preservation, from one trench to the next; furthermore, clandestine activity throughout the cave made the discovery of in situ



Figure V.4. View of the central area of the cave, with the flat rock in the foreground

material virtually impossible. The only spot that has probably remained undisturbed was discovered above the excavated area, east of the impressive flat rock that projects from the cone halfway down the cave. In this spot (TH) was found a small, narrow deposit that accumulated between chunks of roof collapse, 1.5 m below the flat rock; the deposit contained a considerable number of items, all dating to the 5th century B.C.

The excavated material consists of numerous sherds, clay figurines, and plaques, a small number of metal objects, a lamp and a handful of lamp fragments, tile fragments, and some animal bones. Almost all objects are fragmentary, and the surface of the figurines is very weathered. Calcitic deposits are often observed on the surface of finds. The poor preservation of the finds can be partly attributed to the climatic conditions in the cave, namely, the intense dripping and the soil humidity.

A preliminary study of the terracottas and of the painted pottery[5] has revealed a rich series of types known within the Corinthia and areas of Corinthian influence. The coroplastic material from the site represents a considerable part of the Corinthian production from the second half of the 6th until the 4th century B.C., with the exception of some fragments belonging to the 3rd century B.C.[6] The flat seated female figurines with handmade body and moldmade head constitute the earliest group, dating to the second half of the 6th century (Fig. V.5). The sanctuary flourished during the Classical period, as is confirmed by the number and variety of types. Starting with the female figurines, the most popular terracotta votive offering is the typical Corinthian standing kore, who is dressed in a chiton and wears a polos over her long hair. This figurine type spans the entire 5th century and occurs in many variations: holding a wreath in her right hand and a fold of her garment in her left, or having a flower and a fruit (or fruits) in either hand, or even holding a fawn and a bow, as Artemis. In the most common variation she has a dove in her right hand at her chest, her left hand holding a fruit against her belly: standing or seated, she appears in a variety of sizes (Fig. V.6). The head of this type, wearing a polos and with the hair arranged in horizontal grooves on either side, is also used in

5. Plain ware and coarse pottery are not included in this review.

6. Review of the terracottas is based on Higgins 1954, pp. 240–267, pls. 131–138; *Corinth* XV.2, pp. 3–243, pl. 1–47; *Corinth* XII, pp. 9–20, 22–41, pls. 1–15; *Corinth* XVIII.4, pp. 48–60, pl. 13 (nos. C118, C122, C127), pl. 15 (no. C168), pp. 68–73, pl. 19 (no. C227), pp. 78–80, pl. 23 (nos. C274, C275, C278, C279), p. 268, pl. 61 (no. V9), pp. 321–346.



Figure V.5. Flat seated female figurine dating to the Archaic period.
Scale 2:3



Figure V.6. Variations of the Corinthian standing and seated korai.
Scale 2:3



Figure V.7. Female protomai wearing a polos. Scale 2:3



a **b** **c**

Figure V.8. Male figurine types: (a) grotesque figure holding an offering; (b) reclining boy; (c) Silen. Scale 1:1

a large series of female protomai (Fig. V.7). Female figures with peplos, standing or seated, were found in smaller quantities, as well as in some protomai, both of which refer to Attic prototypes.

Male types are also common, the preferred types being adolescents, seated boys, young shepherds with overcoat, reclining or standing male figures, Silens with double flute, Satyrs and comic figures with moldmade head and handmade bodies in a variety of postures, and also a few fragments of Pan (Fig. V.8). Quite common are sphinx and rooster "cutout" reliefs. More interesting, though, are some relief plaques representing three female figures supporting the pediment of a small naos (Fig. V.9), a few typical articulated dolls, and numerous handmade dancing circles with four





Figure V.9 *(left)*. **Relief plaque with three female figures supporting a pediment.** Scale 2:3

Figure V.10 *(right)*. **Handmade dancers from dancing circles.** Scale 1:1

dancers and a central flute player (Fig. V.10). Finally there are a variety of handmade animal figures: birds, horses, dogs, and rams, as well as some horses and birds with riders.

There is a considerable decrease in the cave's coroplastic material during the 4th century. A few fragments from female figurines can be dated to the Early Hellenistic period, and some fragments and female heads date to the 3rd century B.C. Accompanying the Corinthian products are a few imports from Attic workshops (Fig. V.11).

The ceramic material from the cave includes samples of Attic and Corinthian or Sikyonian workshops, as well as some Corinthian imitations of Attic products. The finds range in date from the mid-6th to the beginning of the 4th century B.C., with the majority dating to the 5th century, primarily its first half.[7] There is a remarkable variety in pottery forms. The Attic group is richly represented by sherds of palmette cups; figured cups with Dionysiac depictions flanked by palmettes or decorated with ivy leaves below the handle (Fig. V.12); type C and Droop cups; a few sherds of red-figured cups; miniature skyphoi of the Lindos group; palmette, black-figured and black-painted lekythoi; skyphoi of the CHC group; and black-painted bases of large vessels, such as amphoras, kraters, and skyphoi. The presence of such high-quality pottery from Attica reveals the importance of the cave within Sikyonian territory.[8]

The majority of the ceramic finds, however, are Corinthian, dating from the end of the Middle Corinthian to the end of the Late Corinthian III period. There is a rich collection of Classical, mainly 5th-century, examples, represented by a vast number of miniature vases, typically Corinthian in shape and decoration. The Corinthian shapes include large quantities of kotylai, pyxides, lekanides, plates, and omphaloid phialai, and smaller numbers of oinochoai, krateriskoi, thymiateria, kalathiskoi, and aryballoi. There are also a number of black-painted and red-figured Corinthian vessels imitating Attic ones: cups, kotylai, skyphoi, plates, and

7. Review of the pottery was based on *Corinth* XV.3, pp. 160–224, pls. 48–50; *Perachora* I, pp. 271–289, pls. 112–116, pp. 290–313, pls. 117–123; *Corinth* VII.5; and *Agora* XXIII.

8. Cf. the imported Attic pottery identified on a few large sites in the countryside, including Titane (HS-67); see above, p. 373.

oinochoai (Fig. V.13). Among the few metal objects found in the cave is a small series of rings and earrings known also from other sites (Fig. V.14).[9]

A preliminary review of the finds indicates that the use of the cave of Lechova extends from the mid-6th to the 3rd century B.C., with a peak during the 5th century. The predominance of female figures observed in the coroplastic material, the presence of numerous handmade circular dancing groups with a central flute player, the figurines of Satyrs and Silens, and above all the existence of at least five votive inscriptions to the Nymphs incised on sherds testify to the worship of the Nymphs here.[10] The scarcity of Pan figurines suggests a very limited presence in the cave of Lechova, in contrast with other locations where Pan had been hosted and worshipped since the 5th century.[11] The choice of votive offerings is most likely related to the attributes of the Nymphs and their power to intervene in certain areas of human life, though a random predilection for such objects cannot be excluded. The presence of partner deities such as Artemis, Aphrodite, Hermes, and the Silens can be explained by the existence of common attributes or particular relationships with the Nymphs.[12]

The cave of Lechova, a rural sanctuary in Sikyonian territory, shares only some of the characteristics of other cult sites of the Nymphs located in the broader region of the Corinthian Gulf. Among its closest counterparts, the Achaian cave of the Nymphs at Pitsa, a famous and long-lived sanctuary in the Pellenean *chora* that was in use from the 7th century B.C. to the Hellenistic period, is characterized by a wide variety of votive offerings.[13] In the Late Archaic and Classical material from Pitsa and Lechova, some types of seated and standing Korai are common to both, but the Lechova assemblage is characterized by a much greater variety of types. Male types, other than Silens and Satyrs, are scarce in Pitsa, and Pan seems to play no special role in this cave either, while the animal series is more varied and includes piglets, turtles, cicadas, and porcupines.[14] The coroplastic material collected from a rock shelter above the village of Lafka and west of the Stymphalian basin is related mostly to Argive types and bears no resemblance to the finds from Lechova.[15] In the Corycian Cave on



Figure V.11. Imported Attic female figurine. Scale 1:1

9. Similar rings are known from the Corycian Cave: Zagdoun 1984, pp. 198–201, nos. 21, 29, 33. A group of pyramidal earrings has been found at the sanctuary of Hera Akraia in Perachora: *Perachora* I, pp. 176–177, nos. 3–11, pl. 79; identical with the earring shown in Fig. V.14 is an example from Olynthos: *Olynthus* X, p. 272, pl. XVII.

10. Dancing is one of the most important activities of the Nymphs, and it is attested by both literary and archaeological sources. Most examples of circular dancing groups date from the Archaic period and come from Corinth, Perachora, and Argos: *Corinth* XV.2, p. 42; Pasquier 1977, pp. 375–376. As many such objects have been found in caves of Nymphs, they have been identified as representations of the circular dance of the Nymphs, used either as ritual objects or as offerings: Pasquier 1977, pp. 379–383. The discovery of a long series of dancing circles in cult sites of the Nymphs in the Corinthian colonies of northwestern Greece points to possible Corinthian influence on this cult and its associated ritual, as well as a Corinthian origin for this representation: see Tzouvara-Souli 1988–1989, pp. 35–40, where a number of cave sites are mentioned.

11. For a review of the joint cult of the Nymphs and Pan in caves, see Larson 2001, pp. 226–229, and Wickens 1986, with detailed bibliography. It has been estimated that in about half of the caves dedicated to the Nymphs the Nymphs are worshipped alone, while in the others they appear as cult partners, mainly with Pan and occasionally with other deities. The cult of the Nymphs in caves is most probably original, and wherever joint cults are observed, the Nymph cult takes precedence: see Samartzidou and Hatziotou 2003.

12. *Corinth* XVIII.4, pp. 334–341; Alroth 1989, pp. 108–113.

13. Orlandos 1960; *EAA* VI, 1965, pp. 200–206, s.v. Pitsa (A. Orlandos).

14. Mostly unpublished material stored in the museum of Sikyon.

15. The site has not been excavated, but surface material was collected for rescue purposes, and is now kept at the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology.



Figure V.12. Sherds from Attic black-figured cups. Scale 1:1



a b

Figure V.13. Corinthian pottery: (a) sherd by the Sam Wide workshop; (b) powder pyxis. Scale 1:1



Figure V.14. Rings and pyramidal earring. Scale 2:1

Mount Parnassos, where Corinthian influence is in evidence, the Nymphs' prophetic qualities are testified by the presence of 23,000 astragaloi, and Pan is at home here due to Attic and Boiotian influence.[16] Finally, a quick review of the published material from ancient Corinth shows that there are parallels for the majority of the finds from Lechova.

It is almost impossible to reconstruct the cult activity in the cave because of illegal digging that has obliterated all traces of religious practice or the arrangement of the area. Was the cave itself a place of worship, or just the votive deposit of a neighboring sanctuary? Or did it serve both purposes? The cult of the Nymphs was practiced either in caves or in sacred precincts *(temene)* throughout Greece. At Lechova, the evidence for ancient activity is confined to the lowest, central and eastern portions of the cave. The easiest way to the bottom runs along the east side and passes by the flat rock that marks the central area and stands out as a balcony on top of the precipitous surface of the collapsed roof below (Fig. V.4). The archaeological deposit lay 10 m below, at the bottom end of the collapsed material. Direct ritual use of this area should probably be excluded, considering the difficulty of approaching it. A more suitable place for ritual activity seems to be the flat rock itself. There are a number of rock-shaped altars described in literary sources and represented on votive reliefs from excavated cult sites of the Nymphs; the flat rock, then, could have been used as the platform for an altar.[17] A sizable sculpted rectangular stone, found in the rubble just below the rock, may have served this very purpose.[18] The possibility of observing the cult somewhere outside the cave cannot be excluded, although trial excavation near the entrance produced scarcely any material. The considerable number of roof tiles among the finds poses further questions as to the nature of the shrine. Although the information on cult and ritual that could have been drawn from stratigraphic evidence is lost, much may still be revealed by the future study of the finds themselves.

16. See Pasquier 1977.

17. A common practice in the case of rural sanctuaries: see Burkert 1985, p. 87; Tzouvara-Souli 1988–1989, p. 43, with references.

18. In the cave of the Nymphs at Poros of Kephallonia a specific rock was used as an altar; the excavators uncovered ashes and offerings buried around it (Chatziotou and Stratouli 2000, pp. 64–65). In the cave of Paliambela (Aitoloakarnania), recently excavated by the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology, a prominent bedrock outcrop, slightly worked, definitely served as an altar, as ash was recovered from within its crevices (Chatziotou and Kormazopoulou, forthcoming).

An Inscribed Sherd from the Cave of Lechova

by Angelos Matthaiou and Yannis A. Lolos

On March 24, 1997, the archaeologist Konstantinos Kissas of the 1st Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities gave Angelos Matthaiou a photograph of an inscribed sherd found in the cave of Lechova, and encouraged its publication, which we present here.[1]

The completely preserved graffito was incised on the torus ring foot of a cup after firing (Figs. VI.1,VI.2). The cup is most likely a Sikyonian product of the early 5th century. Based on the photograph (no profile is available), the foot belongs to a Late Archaic stemless kylix or to a Late Archaic/Early Classical skyphos.[2]

L.H. 0.005 m.

ca. 500–450 B.C.

Ἰαρᾶ τᾶν ⟨ν⟩υνφᾶν τᾶν ἐν Γυλιδι

"Sacred [I am] of the Nymphs who [dwell] in Gylis"

The inscription is written in the Doric dialect, in the Sikyonian alphabet. The Sikyonian *epsilon* found here is regular in Sikyonian inscriptions down to the mid-5th century.[3]

Ἰαρᾶ. Aspirate omitted; cf. ἐστιατόριον, *SEG* XI 244 (Early Classical bronze tablet also found in the area of Kryoneri, line 1); Ἀρμόδιος, *IG* IV 425 (fragmentary stele found near the site of ancient Sikyon, line 4); see also Lejeune 1943, pp. 194–195.

τᾶνυνφᾶν. For the haplography, see Threatte 1980, pp. 511, 513. Doric genitives (Attic τῶν νυνφῶν).

νυνφᾶν. On the assimilation of the nasals, cf. Ἐνπέδον (*SEG* XI 244, line 14); see Threatte 1980, pp. 592–593.

Γυλιδι. Either masculine (cf. Γῦλις, Lakedaimonian polemarch: Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.21) or feminine (cf. Γιλλίς, *IG* II^2 11660; Συλλίς, Paus. 6.6.7).

1. The sherd, donated by Kissas, is now housed in the storeroom of the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology together with the excavated material from the cave.

2. The foot resembles that of a type C cup with plain rim (*Agora* XII, p. 265, no. 422, fig. 20 [early 5th century]).

3. See Jeffery 1990, p. 138.





Figure VI.1 *(left)*. **The inscribed foot of the cup.** Scale 1:1. Photo G. Maravelias

Figure VI.2 *(right)*. **Tracing of the graffito (from a photograph).** Scale 1:1. Drawing Y. Lolos

The association of the cave of Lechova with the Nymphs is documented by at least five more sherds found in excavations of the cave conducted by the Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology between 1995 and 2003.[4] The graffito published here is alone in providing a toponym: ἐν Γυλιδι. Γυλις is not previously attested from Sikyonia or elsewhere. Related words include γύαλος and γυλλός, a block of stone; γύλιος and γυλιός, a long traveling bag; and γύαλον, a hollow space, by extension possibly a cave.[5] Although the sherd was found in a cave, it is doubtful that γυλις is a diminutive Sikyonian version of γύαλον. It is better, we think, to understand Γυλις as a place-name, probably in the feminine (Γυλίς).

Our list of ancient Sikyonian toponyms, 16 in total, concerns rivers, mountains or heights, towns, villages, and sacred sites.[6] "Gylis" may have referred to the Vesiza mountain or to the immediate area of the cave. If the former, we now possess the ancient names for all three mountains of Sikyonia: Θυαμία, which most likely applies to Evangelistria, the summit of Trikaranon in the eastern section of the state; Γυλίς, the flat summit of Vesiza almost at the center of the ancient territory; and Κυλλήνη, the formidable heights to the west.

4. All five, unpublished, fragments preserve part of the word "nymph."

5. Chantraine (1968–1980, vol. 1, p. 241) does not exclude a remote etymological connection between γυλιός and γύαλον; cf. Frisk, vol. 1, p. 232.

6. These are Νεμέα, Ἀσωπός, Σελίανδρος//Σελλήεις, Κηφισσός, Σύθας, Θυαμία, Ἐπιείκια, Δειραί, Ιλαταιαί, Ἐφύρα, Φοιβία//Βουφία, Γονούσα, Τιτάνη, and Ιυραία.

A Building Inscription from Agios Nikolaos of Vasiliko

A 16th-century building inscription from Vasiliko provides valuable evidence for religious activity during this poorly documented period. The inscription is carved on the exposed face of a marble block that serves as the epistyle of the south door of the church of Agios Nikolaos (Figs. VII.1, VII.2).[1] The block, which bears rosette decoration, dates from the 8th or 9th century A.D., and thus comes from an earlier church.[2]

L. (of inscribed surface) 0.250, H. 0.200, L.H. ca. 0.015 m.



Figure VII.1. Part of the epistyle block and the building inscription

1. I would like to thank my colleague Yannis Varalis, as well as Georgios Velenis, for their help in reading the inscription. Pouqueville (1826, pp. 436–437) was the first to provide a copy of this inscription, as well as of a second one that now seems to be lost. Unfortunately, Pouqueville's transcriptions contain many errors and as a consequence the texts are hardly legible. Nonetheless, one can read "Agios Nikolaos" on the second inscription, which indicates that it came from the same church as the inscription published here.

2. See Lolos and Varalis, in prep.

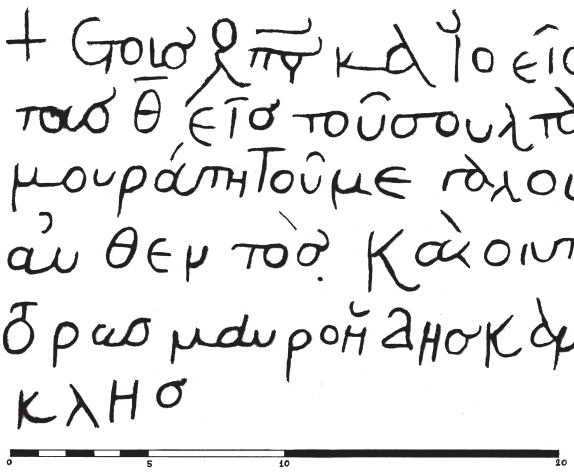


Figure VII.2. Tracing of the inscription (from a photograph)

A.D. 1578

† Ἔτοις ζπστ΄ Μαίο εἰς
τας θ΄ εἰς τοῦ σουλτάν
Μουράτη τοῦ μεγάλου
αὐθέντος. Καὶ ὁ κτί-
5 τορας Μαυροήδης Κανή-
κλης.

On May 9th of the year 7086 during the reign of sultan Murat, the great ruler. And the builder Mavroidis Kaniklis

Lines 1–4 provide the date of the dedication, May 9, 1578.[3] The sultan mentioned is Murat III, who reigned between 1574 and 1595. Lines 4–6 refer to the builder, Μαυροήδης Κανήκλης; the name is otherwise unattested in the region.

In our study area, no other 16th-century building inscription from a church has so far come to light, and the century is poorly represented by archaeological evidence.[4] Yet textual information and ecclesiastic monuments from other parts of the Corinthia indicate a revival of religious activity in the second half of the century.[5] Based on this inscription and on reports by early travelers of ruined churches in the vicinity, we can expect that other churches in Sikyonia date from the late 16th century.[6]

3. That is, the Byzantine year 7086 less 5508 (years since the world's creation).

4. See above, p. 360.

5. See Gritsopoulos 1972, pp. 228–232.

6. On churches reported to be in ruins by early modern travelers, see above, pp. 288–291.

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Map 2. Geology [doi:10.2972/978-0-87661-539-3-2]

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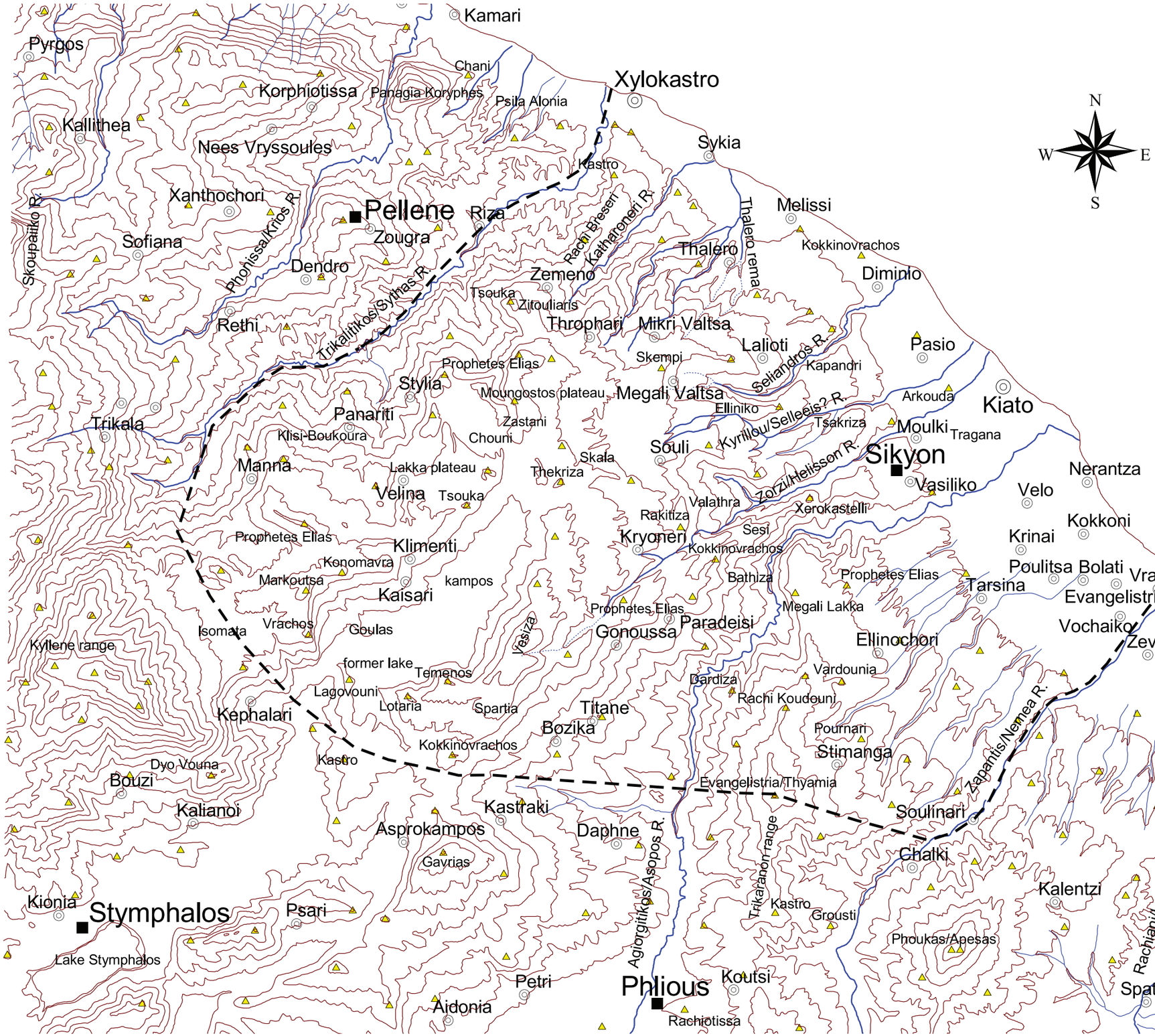
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Map 5. The Acropolis and the Plain of Sikyon [doi:10.2972/978-0-87661-539-3-5]

Map 6. The Plateau of Ancient Sikyon [doi:10.2972/978-0-87661-539-3-6]

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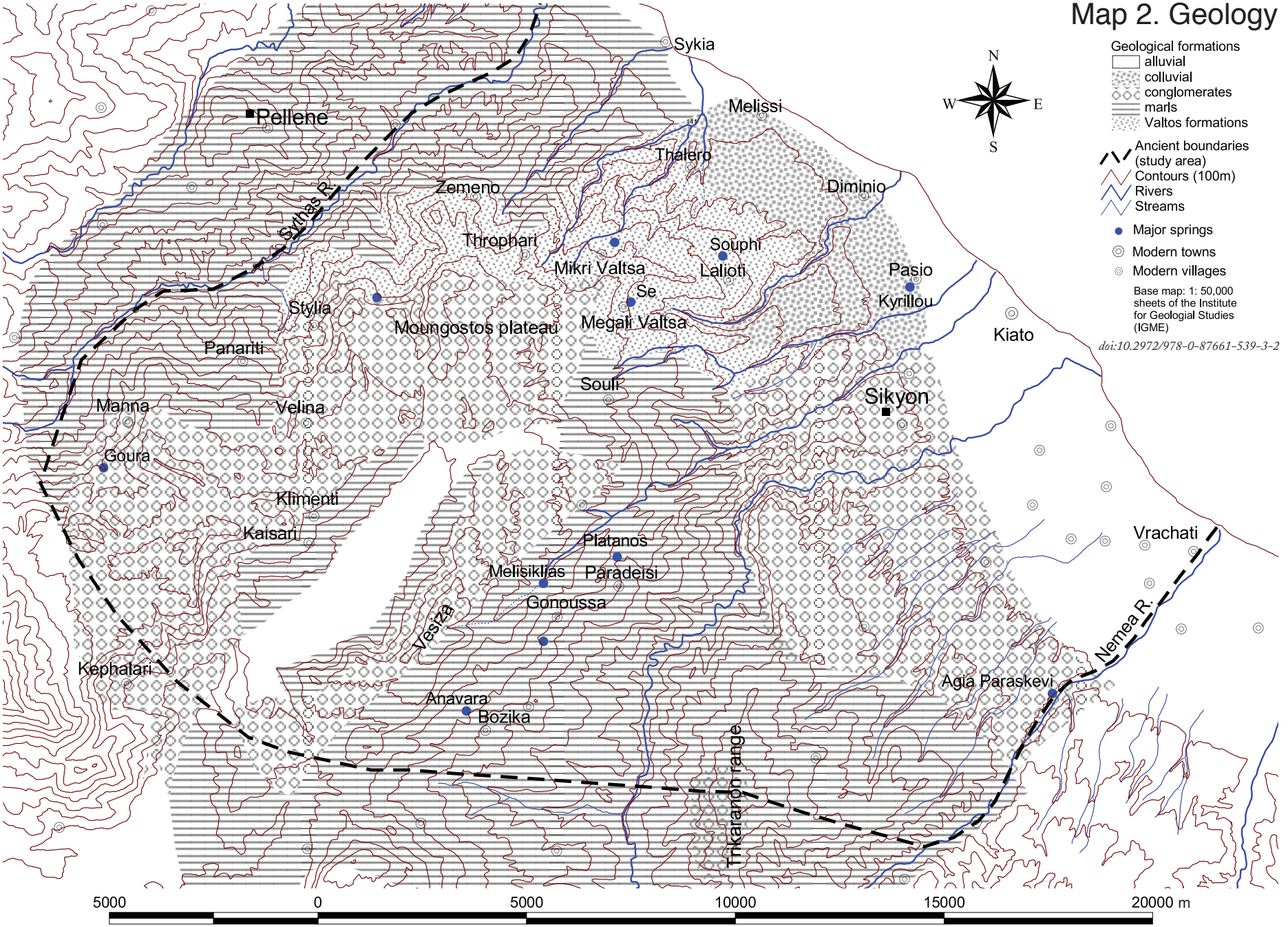
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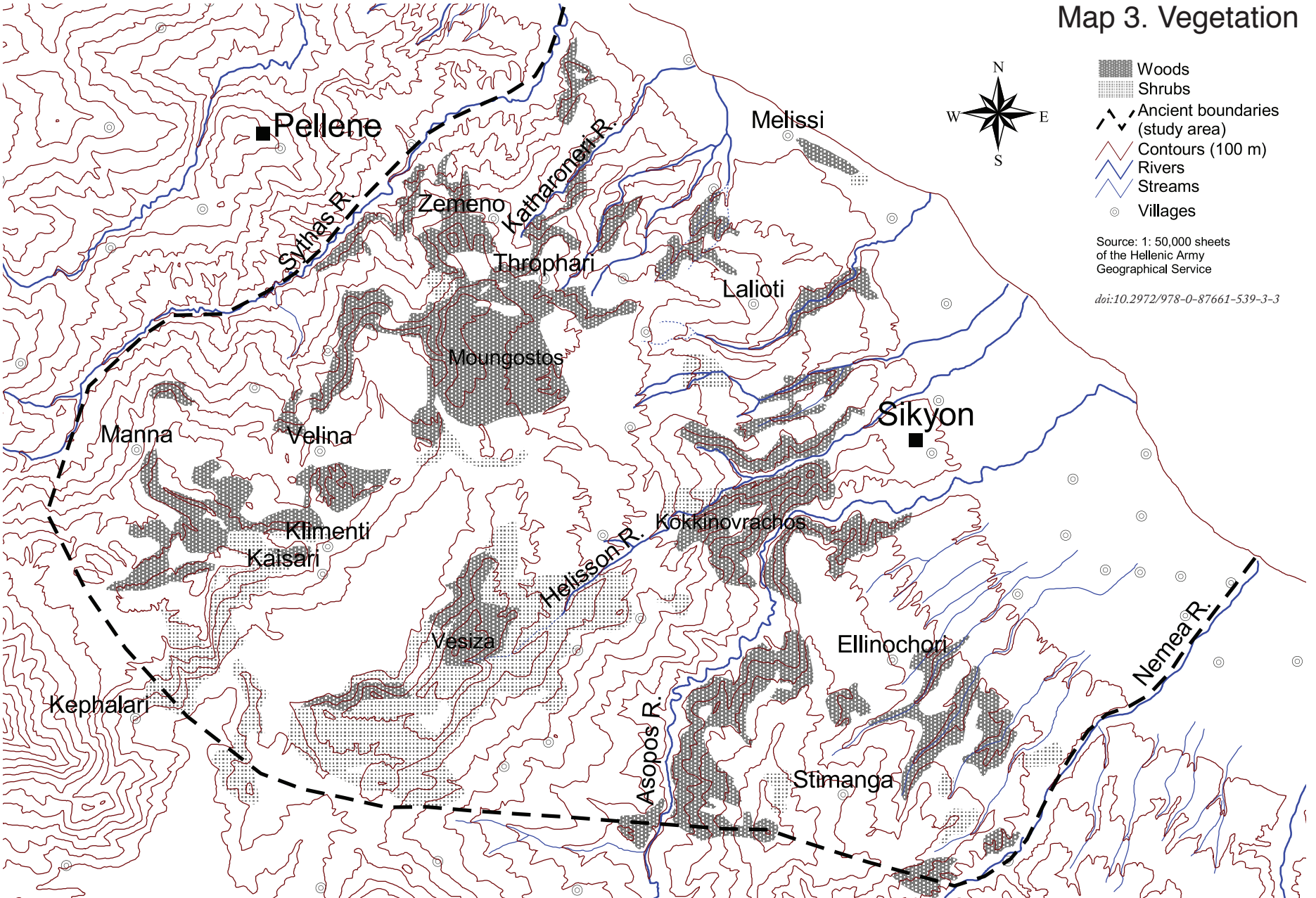
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Map 4. Archaeological Sites

- Ancient political boundaries
- Ancient cities
- Settlements (in sq. m.)
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  - 1001 - 5000
  - 5001 - 10000
  - 10001 - 30000
  - 30001 - 150000
- Settlements (very small or unknown surface area)
- Special purpose sites
- Road traces
- Ancient roads (reconstructed)
- Ancient forts
- Medieval forts
- Ancient towers
- Medieval towers
- Alleged sites
- Towns
- Villages
- Churches
- Contours (100 m)
- Rivers
- Streams

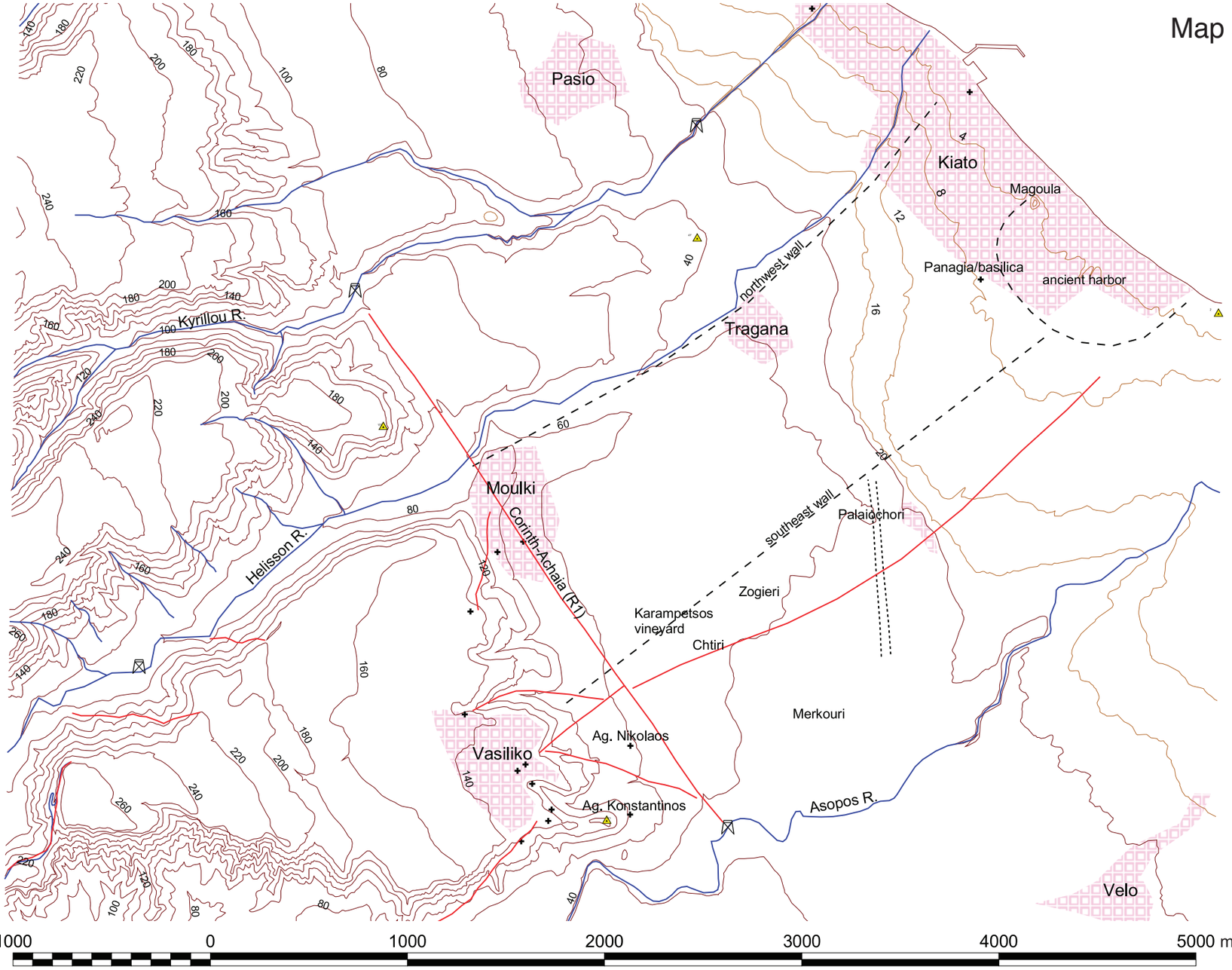
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5000 0 5000 10000 15000 20000 25000 30000 m

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Map 5. The Acropolis and the Plain of Sikyon



N
W E
S

- Classical walls (hypothetical)
- Ancient roads (reconstructed)
- Ancient bridges
- Modern settlements
- Churches
- New railway excavations
- Trigonometric points
- Rivers and streams
- Contours (20 m)
- Contours (4 m)

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Map 6. The Plateau of Ancient Sikyon

- City-wall segments
- City-wall blocks (in situ)
- City-wall blocks (scattered)
- Ancient architectural features
- Ancient quarries
- Ancient graves
- Ancient bridges
- Ancient roads (reconstructed)
- Ancient streets (reconstructed)
- Modern villages
- Churches
- Contours (20 m)
- Trigonometric points
- Rivers
- Springs

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N W E S

Helisson R.
Corinth-Achaia (R1)
Moulki
Graves
Locus 10
To Achaia
Locus 11
Gate 1
Ag. Eirene
Locus 12
Street 1
Quarry 4
Street 5
Locus 13
Chtiri
To the harbor (R20)
To the harbor 2
To the harbor 1
Locus 14
Mikri Vrysi
Gate 2
Ag. Anna
Ag. Nikolaos
Locus 1
To Corinth
Locus 2a
Locus 2b
Vasiliko
Gate 3
Ag. Paraskevi
Ag. Trias
Panagia
Trani Vrysi
Megali Vrysi
Locus 3
Ag. Athanasios
Ag. Konstantinos
Gate 4
Ag. Theodori
Cemetery
Locus 4
To Philous (R3)
Asopos R.
Locus 9
To Stymphalos 2
Gate 7
Locus 8b
Locus 8a
Locus 7b
Locus 7c
Locus 7a
Stadium
Bath complex
Doric temple
Theater
Stoa 3
Square structure
Temple
Palaistra
Quarry 3
Stoa 2
Stoa 1
Bouleuterion
Street 2
Gate 6
To Stymphalos 1
Locus 6c
Locus 6b
Locus 6a
Quarry 2
Street 3
Locus 5b
Locus 5a
Gate 5
Pano Kokkinia
Quarry 1
Street 4
To Titane (R7)
SP01
SP45

500 0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500 3000 m

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